THE SEMANTICS OF CO-OCCURRENCE
WITHIN ENGLISH REPORTING SENTENCES

V.R. RIESCHILD

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Unless otherwise acknowledged, this work is the product of the author.

Verna R. Rieschild.
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INTRODUCTION

1. AIMS

The aim of this thesis is to analyse and explain a number of the semantically-based constraints on co-occurrences within English reporting sentences.

For the purpose of this thesis, reporting sentence is used to refer to those sentences which report speech events. The sentence:

John threatened Peter with dismissal.

is therefore classed as a reporting sentence. The following is not; although it reports something that happened, it does not report a speech event:

John hit Peter with a stick.

The main verb in a reporting sentence will be termed a report verb. A report verb is a verb, part of whose meaning entails that someone said something. There are different types of report verbs, depending on what focus the reporter wants to give on the original speech event: the illocutionary force of the original utterance (in which case a verb like admit, warn or promise will be used); the involuntary manner with which the original utterance was made (in which case verbs like lisp, stutter and stammer will be used); a gesture accompanying the original speaker's utterance (in which case verbs like grin, wink, shrug will be used); or the effect of the utterance (in which case verbs like convince, persuade, and discourage will be used).

A report verb may also have a use outside the reporting field. Verbs referring to accompanying gestures obviously have more than one use. Some verbs which can be used to express the illocutionary force
of an utterance may also be used to refer to events which do not involve speech:

  e.g. The new drainage scheme threatened to strain the Council's budget.

This thesis concentrates on those report verbs which express the illocutionary force of an utterance.

That part of the reporting sentence which contains the report verb will be termed report expression. It may take the frame:

  NP V : The Prime Minister warned........

or: NP V NP : The Prime Minister warned reporters......

Adverbs or prepositional phrases may also occur:

  The Prime Minister angrily warned reporters on the steps of Parliament House......

The report expression is the minimal kind of reporting sentence. A number of report verbs may occur without a sentential, phrasal or clausal object:

  He abstained.
  She confessed.
  He promised.

In many cases, the reporting sentence is more complex. The report expression may occur with a quote, as in:

  "We shall not even spare nine-year-old girls," warned Tehran's Islamic prosecutor..." ("The Bulletin": 14/7/81:97)

  "You just keep your head down, right?" he ordered. ("Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy": 49)

  "Let's walk outside," Bernstein suggested.' ("All the President's Men": 319)

The report expression may also occur with a sentence, clause or phrase, not in quotes:
'He promised that everyone would be heard in due course,'
("Ice"; 41)

'He even criticizes the way I teach,'
("Coins For the Ferry man": 130)

'The delegates agreed to outlaw "cold" (or non-explosive) harpoons on minke whales...' ("Time": 3/8/81: 69)

It is these two kinds of English reporting sentences (one containing a quote, one not containing a quote) which are the object of analysis in this thesis.

The specific task has been to determine, through comparison of the components of meaning of the report verb and the meaning of a quote or sentential/clausal/phrasal object, the reason for the acceptability and coherence of the preceding reporting sentences, and the implausibility and incoherence of ones like the following:

1. *"Bury my heart at Wounded Knee," he congratulated her.
2. *"Whatever happened to Maralyn?" he ordered.
3. *"Can you tell me where Honeywell's is?" he promised.
4. *He condemned her for her brave and loyal stand against the conspirators.
5. *He praised her for her blue eyes.
6. *She asked me to feel happy.

These examples illustrate some of the more obvious clashes between the meaning of the two different parts of a reporting sentence. Taking (2) as example, the meaning of the verb order entails that the original speaker wanted the original addressee to do something, assuming that the original addressee has to do what he says. The lack of reference to addressee action plus the use of the question form is incompatible with the meaning of ordering, so this co-occurrence of report expression containing order, and quote is incoherent, and the reporting sentence is ungrammatical.
The semantic field of report verbs is vast; hundreds of verbs are used to describe what someone did when he said something. Naturally there will be greater and lesser degrees of similarity in meaning between the members of this field.

Differences in meaning between two related report verbs predicts that there will also be differences in the type of quote or range of sentential/clausal/phrasal objects which may occur with those report verbs in reporting sentences.

Taking order and tell (to) as example, a report expression containing order may occur with a nominal or prepositional object in a reporting sentence without the direct quote, or with a quote consisting of a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase in a reporting sentence containing the direct quote.

Tell (to) is restricted to co-occurrence with quotes clearly stating the desired original addressee action, (in reporting sentences containing the direct quote); and to co-occurrence with to+infinitive in reporting sentences without the direct quote:

"Outside!" he ordered.
"Outside!" he told him.

In the order reporting sentence, what is clearly wanted is for the addressee to cause something "to be outside". Paraphrases of this sentence, to illustrate its possible meanings, would be:

He ordered him to go outside.
He ordered him to leave/put/carry the dog/bomb/suitcase outside.

If the original speaker of the utterance represented by the quote "Outside!" wanted the addressee to go outside, a possible grammatical reporting sentence would be:

He ordered him outside.

In a similar tell reporting sentence, that sense of tell which is not
directive is evoked; its meaning is:

He told him it/John/the car was outside.

The reporting sentence:

He told him outside.

again evokes the non-directive sense of tell, with "outside" referring to the place of the act of telling him.

As well as there being parallels between co-occurrences in both types of reporting sentences, there are also interesting differences.

The fact that a particular quote is barred from occurring in a reporting sentence with a particular report verb will not necessarily preclude that quote prompting a reporting sentence without the direct quote, which reporting sentence has that same report verb as its main verb.

Taking the quote:

"Did you know John got the scholarship to Cambridge?"

it can be imagined that the utterance represented by this quote could prompt the later report:

Peter just told me John got the scholarship to Cambridge.

despite the fact that the original quote may not occur with a report expression containing tell:

*"Did you know John got the scholarship to Cambridge?"

Peter told me.

Similarly, with the report verb boast, a quote such as:

"Show me another girl with such thick, beautiful hair as mine!"

is incompatible with a report expression containing boast, yet the utterance represented by the quote could prompt the following reporting sentence:

Jane was just boasting about her hair.
This pinpoints another aim of this thesis. Through analyzing co-occurrence constraints and comparing the two types of reporting sentences, some of the differences in the function of the types of reporting sentences can be explained.

In the main body of the thesis, both types of reporting sentence will be analyzed in terms of the semantic compatibility or otherwise between the two parts of the reporting sentence.

The constraints postulated for reporting sentences containing the direct quote are more detailed and more numerous than the constraints postulated for reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote, owing to the greater potential of quotes to express or relate to all the parts of the meaning of a report verb.

Reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote present different areas of interest. Some verbs allow a to-infinitive; others don't. Some verbs allow a nominal object, not referring to the original addressee. The use of prepositions, not referring to the time or place of the original utterance, is also constrained.

Again, one basic hypothesis is being tested: that the meaning of the report verb will accurately predict the possible co-occurrences in reporting sentences without the direct quote.

The topic of this thesis is related to speech act theory. Although all report verbs do not express the illocution of the quote, (that is, not all report verbs are illocutionary in nature), any illocutionary verb has a report verb use. A large number of report verbs which are illocutionary also have a performative use. All of the verbs chosen for analysis in this thesis belong to that class of report verbs which match illocutionary verbs, with some of them being illocutionary report verbs with no 'performative' use.
The theory of speech acts has therefore provided a starting ground for the topic of this thesis. The aim of this thesis, and the aims of the works of other speech theorists differ in approach, yet the basic tenet, that people use words systematically and in characteristic ways to perform actions within their society, is common. Wittgenstein, amidst numerous remarks on propositions, meaning and logic posited the idea of 'language games'; that 'the speaking of a language is part of an activity, or of a form of life'.

J.L. Austin drew definite links between philosophy and linguistics, by using empirical evidence to substantiate his claims about language being an ordered mass of conventionalized ways of "doing things". His stepping stone was the long held view that the function of a statement was to describe some state of affairs, or 'state some fact', which it must do either truly or falsely. What Austin attempts firstly, is a distinction between utterances which can be called 'constative' and utterances which can be called 'performative'. His excursion into the nature of performatives leads him up a different path than the one he had previously anticipated. The 'true' or 'false' test is no longer at issue. His aim becomes one of considering: '...the senses in which to say something may be to do something (and also perhaps to consider the different case in which by saying something we do something).'

He attempts to count the explicit performative verbs in English and to classify them according to similarity in illocutionary force.

It is the notions introduced by Austin which are particularly relevant to this thesis: performative, illocutionary, locutionary and perlocutionary. Although the act of reporting speech acts is not explicitly discussed in Austin's work, he does at times make observations which are relevant to the analysis of illocutionary report verbs.
The fact that a given illocution may be performed in a number of ways, that there is not just one way to perform, say, the act of warning, is relevant to analysis of verbs of reporting.

Looking at reporting sentences which contain the direct quote, and observing everyday speech, it can be seen that there is a range of plausible utterances for a given illocutionary force within a given context. It follows that there will be a correlation between the range of utterances which may be used to perform a particular illocutionary force, and the range of quotes allowable within a reporting sentence containing the corresponding report verb.

Since Austin, a number of philosophers and linguists have expanded and developed the original notion of speech acts\textsuperscript{10}, and analyzed the relationship between form and function, in relation to speech act theory, or speech act verbs\textsuperscript{11}. As this thesis aims at linking form and function in as precise a way as possible, many of these works have provided important basic information.

The object of this study is the reporting sentence containing an illocutionary report verb as its main verb: reporting sentences offering analyzable chunks of empirical evidence, and allowing for more immediate, objective semantic analysis than the 'live' utterance within its real world context.

Quote and utterance are of course related, so that the rules predicting the range of possible, plausible quotes occurring with a particular report verb should parallel the rules other speech act theorists need to determine the content of an utterance in order for that utterance to be used to convey a particular illocutionary force.
2. METHOD

i. As mentioned in the statement of aims, the notion of meaning is basic to this thesis. Each report verb studied is firstly defined.

The term definition refers to a representation, in natural language, of the meaning of a particular report verb. The method used will be that of reductive paraphrase (along the lines of Wierzbicka, particularly (1972) and (1980))

Many dictionary definitions provide little actual insight into the characteristic meaning of a verb. Taking admit as example:

'admit...accept as valid (proof, plea, statement);
acknowledge (a. this to be so, a. that it is so, this, I a., is true)....'

(The Pocket Oxford Dictionary: (1966))

One could assume that the definition of acknowledge will make the meaning of admit more explicit, but this is not the case:

'acknowledge...admit the truth of, admit, own,
recognize the claims of ...' (Ibid)

If related report verbs are to be differentiated, the subtle and regular differences in meaning need to be captured. The dictionary definitions of admit and acknowledge do little to explain the precise nature of the acts of admitting and acknowledging, so that the differences in meaning between the verbs cannot be illustrated.

The definitions made throughout this thesis make the precise meaning of each verb clear. Except for differences in speaker and addressee referents, report verb X will be seen to parallel illocutionary verb X, having the same essential intention, assumptions, expectations, thoughts and feelings. What is referred to in speech act literature as the illocutionary point of an 'illocutionary act' is expressed in the definitions: wanting X (A said: this)
(A is used to refer to the original speaker of the quoted utterance; B refers to the original addressee; X refers to something).

The report verb order would have the point:

wanting to cause B to do X (A said: this)

Report verbs also have as part of their meaning the necessary conditions related to speaker assumptions. What are often termed "felicity conditions" in speech act literature may be expressed by components like: A assumed/thought/knew/expected X. Again, with order as example:

assuming B has to do what A says

because A has the right to cause B to do things

There are also assumptions, which, although related to facts in the real world, are necessary parts of the meaning of the verb. With order:

assuming B can do X.

The dictum is expressed:

A said: I want you to do X

The underscored part does not represent what must occur at the surface. However, what occurs in an utterance or a quote which can be reported with order must not be incompatible with I want you to do X.

Full definition of the report verb order:

he ordered (him)

(A) (B)

wanting to cause B to do X

assuming B can do it

assuming B has to do what A says

because A has the right to cause B to do things

A said: I want you to do X

assuming saying this will cause B to do it.
By detailed analysis of report verbs, related report verbs can be seen to be differentiated by differences in, say, one component of their meaning. Taking order and command as example, the difference in meaning between these two verbs predicts differences in surface realizations of the acts of ordering and commanding. The verb command has a slightly but crucially different, illocutionary point to order.

command: wanting to cause B to do X now.\textsuperscript{14}

Both order and command may occur with quotes expressing that the original speaker wanted an immediate action:

"Leave the room immediately." he ordered/commanded.

"See me in my office right away," he ordered/commanded.

A quote referring to a distant future time may occur with an order report expression, but may not so occur with a command report expression.

"Meet me under the bridge at two o'clock a week from today," he ordered/*commanded.

"See me in my office in a fortnight," he ordered/*commanded.

Should "a fortnight" be replaced by "an hour", command is still odd, though marginally less so than the more distant time, "a fortnight". Apart from this difference, order and command share the same components.

This manner of defining, as well as being a tool for predicting plausible co-occurrences, and barring incoherent co-occurrences, also serves to provide evidence of similarity between report verbs. The more shared components that two report verbs have, the higher degree of similarity in co-occurrence constraints.

Defining report verbs in this way, (that is, considering the assumptions, expectations and feelings that regularly accompany that report verbs use, as integral parts of the meaning of that report verb, and not incidental extra-linguistic features,) differentiates
the approach taken by this thesis, from the approach taken by many other speech act theorists.

John Searle (particularly (1979)) has contributed much to our knowledge of speech acts; his observations clarifying many of the interesting and previously unexplored areas of speech act theory. Searle's observations and analyses can, however, be extended by this approach. Whilst he recognises that the illocutionary point is part of the illocutionary force of a speech act, (that there are other elements which together with the point combine to form the meaning of a speech act) his analysis seems to concentrate on illocutionary point as marker of difference between acts, not considering the import of what he classes as "different additional elements".

"Some illocutionary verbs serve to mark what we might call the special style in which an illocutionary act is performed. Thus, the difference between, for example, announcing and confiding need not involve any difference in illocutionary point, or propositional content, but only in the style of performance of the illocutionary act." (1979: 8)

(Austin's classification is) "...not a classification of illocutionary acts but of English illocutionary verbs. Austin seems to assume that a classification of different verbs is eo ipso a classification of kinds of illocutionary acts, that any two non-synonymous verbs must mark different illocutionary acts. But there is no reason to suppose that this is the case. As we shall see, some verbs, for instance, mark the manner in which an illocutionary act is performed. e.g. announce. One may announce orders, promises and reports, but announcing is
not on all fours with ordering, promising and reporting. Announcing, to anticipate a bit, is not the name of an illocutionary act, but of the way in which an illocutionary act is performed." (1979: 9)

"Many of the verbs we call illocutionary verbs are not markers of illocutionary point but of some other feature of the illocutionary act. Consider "insist" and "suggest". I can insist that we go to the movies or I can suggest we go to the movies". (27)

"Both "insist" and "suggest" are used to mark the degree of intensity with which the illocutionary point is presented. They do not mark a separate illocutionary point at all... Paradoxical as it may seem, such verbs are illocutionary verbs, but not names of illocutionary acts." (28)

Searle's basic thesis is that there is only a small number of illocutionary acts representing a small number of intents. He further maintains that there are a large number of illocutionary verbs which reflect the 'style or manner' of performance of an illocutionary act.

What Searle has recognised is that there are different degrees of similarity between illocutionary verbs; evidenced by the fact that the propositional content of the utterances occurring with those similar illocutionary verbs may be similar, or in some cases identical.

By considering the assumptions, expectations and feelings characteristically associated with a particular verb as part of its meaning, the differences and similarities between the verbs can be clarified, and some argument may be made for the different illocutionary verbs relating to different illocutionary acts. Searle's explanation
of insist and suggest, whilst it seems to account for the similarities between the two verbs, does not account for the differences. If these verbs represent just different 'ways' of performing one act, then it could be suggested that the two associated report verbs would be interchangeable in reporting sentences. This, however, is not the case.

By looking at quotes which characteristically occur with insist, and at quotes which characteristically occur with suggest, and by stating the necessary conditions for the use of these verbs, it can be seen that insist is regularly accompanied by a set of components different from the set of components for suggest, and that these components do not represent differences in style of speaking but in basic meaning.

He insisted that I go with him.
He suggested that I go with him.
He insisted on it.
*He suggested on it.

He suggested where I might be able to find John.
*He insisted where I might be able to find John.

He suggested using the new correspondent.
*He insisted using the new correspondent.

Both insist and suggest have two senses: one may suggest or insist that X is the case; or one may suggest or insist that the addressee do something. Take the following:

a. I insist you consider seeing a doctor.
b. I suggest you consider seeing a doctor.

To my ear at least, the sentence with insist seems distinctly odd, whereas the following:
a. I insist you see a doctor.
b. I suggest you see a doctor.

are equally plausible.

Similarly:

a. I insisted he might like to come to tea.
b. I suggested he might like to come to tea.

in which the insist sentence seems less acceptable than the suggest sentence. I would suggest (not insist) that these two verbs entail not only different assumptions and expectations, but different illocutionary points. Take the following four sentences:

1. "Tell me!" he insisted. (insist 1)
2. "Tell me about it," he suggested. (suggest 1)
3. "Reagan WILL get in!" he insisted. (insist 2)
4. "Reagan might get in," he suggested. (suggest 2)

(1) is an example of an insist 1 reporting sentence; what the original speaker was wanting was to cause the original addressee to tell him something.

Compare this to sentence (2), which is an example of a suggest 1 reporting sentence. In this sentence the original speaker is not so much wanting to cause the addressee to tell him something, but is offering this course of action (viz: tell me about it) as a possible good thing for the addressee to do. What he is wanting is for the addressee to think about doing X.

In sentence (3) the original speaker's aim is to cause the original addressee to believe that what he is saying is true; in contradistinction to sentence (4), in which the speaker wants the addressee to know that it is possible that X is the case.

The assumptions necessary to the meanings of both verbs also differ. When a speaker insists 1, he knows or assumes that the addressee does not want to do X. When a speaker suggests 1 he assumes
that the addressee has not yet considered the possibility of doing X. When a speaker insists, he knows or assumes that the addressee does not believe that X is the case. When a speaker suggests, he assumes the addressee has not considered yet that it is possible that X is the case. Insisting has a prescriptive assumption: the speaker assumes that the addressee will do X, because the speaker assumes he has the right to say what the addressee should do. Suggesting has no such assumption.

That the speaker of an insisting quote expects that X will be done is reflected by the intonation of insisting utterances, and the possible use of exclamation marks in quotes occurring with insist report expressions.

Utterances used to suggest, or quotes occurring with suggest report expressions may not have the same intonation or punctuation as those occurring with insist. The frequent use of question marks in quotes occurring with suggest reflects the fact that the speaker is leaving the choice of believing or doing X to the addressee.

It also seems reasonable to assume that if an utterance or quote type can be found that is characteristically reported with one particular report verb, then that illocutionary verb can be classed as referring to a discrete illocutionary act.

The quote frame: "How about doing X?" characteristically occurs with suggest report expressions, and does not occur with insist report expressions.

Both illocutionary verbs have parallel performative uses:

I insist you see a doctor.
I suggest you see a doctor.

Only an act of insisting may take a parenthetical performative tag:

You've got to see a doctor, I insist on it.

*You could see a doctor, I suggest.
This discussion has attempted to illustrate the value of
detailed and precise semantic analysis of report verbs, and their
relationship to speech act theory; with particular relevance to
analyzing the compatibility constraints between report verbs and their
quotes or propositional complements.

As Tarvis (1975) states:

'Illocutionary forces are to be distinguished from each
other by a variety of features. Any force with any
such feature differs, and is to be understood differently
from any force without it.' (p. 45)

and Fotion affirms:

'Distinctive speech acts, then, can be identified by
the distinctive formula contained in each of them.'
(1971: 233)

2.ii. Realization of the aim of this thesis involves necessary
collection of data from which to make generalisations and draw
conclusions.

A small number of report verbs, from within the field of
hundreds of English report verbs, was chosen for study. Random selection
is justified on the grounds that study of any report verb will be
revealing as to the nature of the use of report verbs. The ones
chosen are: admit, advise, agree, ask, boast, complain, demand,
exclaim, order, promise, suggest, tell, threaten, and warn; (all of
which may occur in reporting sentences with or without the direct
quote); praise, (which mostly occurs in reporting sentences without
the direct quote) and criticize, (which may only occur in reporting
sentences without the direct quote).

Modern fiction (a good part of it Australian), newspapers, and
current affairs journals were perused for examples of reporting sentences
containing these verbs as the main verb. Where possible, observations and conclusions are attested to by annotated data. In those cases where such data is not available, plausible English reporting sentences are suggested, and their validity tested by intuition as well as semantic rules.

This study is not concerned directly with how to grammatically realize a given illocution; nor with whether illocutionary utterances derive from deep performative sentences. Grammatical, acceptable quotes are taken as given. Any acceptable English quote is a potential contender for the direct quote slot in a reporting sentence, in the way that any well-formed phrase, clause or embedded sentence is a potential contender for the object slot of the report phrase in a reporting sentence without the direct quote.

2.iii. The formulation of constraints on the co-occurrence of quote or proposition with a certain report expression will depend on a number of commonly used notions. The terms interrogative, imperative and declarative are used to describe both syntactic frames and intonation and punctuation. In reporting sentences containing the direct quote declarative intonation is represented by a quote-final comma, as in:

"I'll never do that again," he vowed.

or, if the report phrase occurs sentence initially, with a full stop:

Vowed James: "I'll never do that again."

Interrogative intonation is represented in written reporting sentences by a question mark, as in:

"Will you come on Friday?" he asked.

Imperative or exclamative intonation is represented by an exclamation mark:

"Come here immediately!" he commanded.

"What a fool I've been!" she exclaimed.
The differences in intonation which are realized in spoken English are hardly adequately represented by the punctuation found in our written language, yet these three punctuation marks are useful criteria for disambiguating the meaning of quotes, as well as for constraining their co-occurrence with certain report verbs.

At the most obvious level it is clear that a report expression containing order will be constrained from occurring with a quote, albeit in the imperative frame, if that quote contains a question mark. Echo questions may be in the imperative and not occur with a report expression containing a directive report verb:

"Bring the rear flank to checkpoint 7," he ordered.
"Bring the rear flank to checkpoint 7!" he ordered.
*"Bring the rear flank to checkpoint 7?" he ordered.

Punctuation can also determine the appropriateness of verbs such as assert and query:

"The chairman has the casting vote," he asserted/*queried.
"The chairman has the casting vote?" he queried/*asserted.

tell and suggest:

("Where's John?")
"Still at work," he told her. /*he suggested.
"Still at work?" he suggested. /*he told her.

An exclamation mark with an interrogative frame quote will indicate that the speaker was demanding rather than asking, in the same way that it can indicate an act of complaining, rather than asking

"Where have you been?" she asked.
"Where have you been!" she demanded.
"Why is my back so sore." she complained.
"Why is my back so sore?" she asked.
The term declarative frame is used to refer to the configuration, within a quote:

\[ \text{NP} \quad \text{VP}. \]

imperative frame to:

\[ \text{VP} \]

and interrogative frame to the grammatical frame of a question, (though, strictly speaking, all utterances with the interrogative frame are not, in terms of speech acts, 'questions').

Syntactic frames and more importantly, punctuation, are important indicators of the illocutionary meaning of the original utterance. The formulation of constraints for co-occurrences within reporting sentences will depend not only on analyzing the meaning of the proposition in those quotes, but also in analyzing the compatibility of frames and punctuation with the meaning of the report verb under question.

The declarative frame and punctuation are compatible with the illocutionary component:

wanting you to know X.

Interrogative frame and punctuation are compatible with the illocutionary components:

wanting to know X (assuming you don't have to cause me to know it)

Imperative punctuation (representing utterance final pitch drop) and the imperative frame are compatible with the component:

wanting you to do X

Exclamative frame and punctuation are compatible with the component:

wanting to say what I feel.

There is something of a problem with the identical expression of imperative and exclamative punctuation, but this can be easily
disambiguated by the content of the quote with which the exclamation mark occurs.

Reporting sentences are starred throughout the thesis to indicate the ungrammaticality of those sentences; an ungrammaticality based on the semantic incompatibility of the two parts of the reporting sentence.

Quotes which express a meaning which is identical to the meaning of a particular report verb, may not occur with a report expression containing that report verb:

"I admit I made a few mistakes," she admitted.
"Admittedly, I made a few mistakes," he admitted.

At the other end of the spectrum, a quote whose meaning is totally at odds with the meaning of a particular report verb will not occur with a report expression containing that report verb:

"I hate you," she promised.
"You are so clever!" he boasted.

Quotes which have the potential to be used, as utterances in real life situations, to express a number of illocutions will naturally be the quotes which need the particular illocution spelled out in the report expression. In the quote, the reporter gives the reader/hearer the words that were used, and in the report expression he gives the appropriate illocution. So, out of context, the quote:

"I'll kiss you"
could represent an original act of promising or threatening, or telling or agreeing. In the reporting situation, surrounding dialogue will make it obvious to the reader/hearer of the reporting sentence why that particular report verb is appropriate.

This is not to say that any quote stating that the original speaker will do something is automatically able to be reported with either promise or threaten.
If a quote posits an action which may be interpreted as being good, or bad for the original addressee, depending on context, then such a quote will not be automatically barred from occurring in a promise or a threaten reporting sentence. The surrounding dialogue may exclude the occurrence with one or other of the verbs, but just taking quote + report expression, such co-occurrences are possible.

This might lead one to think that whether some event/state of affairs is good, or bad depends on inference.

However, the meaning of the quote or proposition may contain a component stipulating either the goodness or the badness of the event. In such cases, if the stipulated notion is antithetical to the meaning of a particular report verb, that quote and that report verb will be constrained from co-occurring.

The quote:

"I'll embarrass you publically, in front of all our guests." could be used as a threat, and so could be reported with threaten. One would be hard-pressed to imagine how this would be interpreted as a promise, and be reported with promise.

Even if one were persistent and imaginative enough to devise a context in which being embarrassed was a good thing that the original addressee wanted to happen, and so consider that promise would be an appropriate report verb to occur with this quote; then one is merely proving, from another angle, that promise and threaten require constraints predicting that "I will do something good for you" may not occur with a threaten report expression, and "I will do something bad for you" may not occur with a promise report expression.

Although there is a variety of syntactic frames which a report expression may take, and a number of sentence positions the report expression may fill, one frame:

"..........." pronoun report-verbed (oblig. object referring to the original addressee (when required))
is used throughout in the explanation and formulation of the constraints, to stand for the others:

NP R-V: ".........".
R-V NP: "........."
"..."NP R-V/R-V NP,"........."
"........." R-V NP.

Similarly, with reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote, although a number of syntactic frames may be used (though not with the variety of reporting sentences containing the direct quote) the most common:

Pronoun report-verb... will be used.

2.iv. The main body of the thesis contains sections, each of which is based on the use of a particular report verb. Each section follows the format:

I. Examples of reporting sentences containing the direct quote with a report expression containing that verb
   Definition of that report verb.
   Discussion and explanation of a number of constraints on the co-occurrence of quote and report verb.

II. Examples of reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote with a report expression containing that verb.
   Discussion and explanation of some of the constraints on co-occurrence of that report verb and its object.

III. Summary of constraints and unacceptable, incoherent reporting sentences containing that verb.

In some cases related verbs will be discussed.
Note that praise and criticize, having only a use in reporting sentences without the direct quote, will naturally only have those constraints.

Following this analysis of the set of verbs, the co-occurrence of report verb expression and preposition will be explained. This section is only a pilot study, and deserves more thorough and exacting analysis. Its inclusion in this thesis is, however, justified, as the observations which have been made on the possible co-occurrence of report verb and preposition have shown that it is the meaning of the report verb which predicts the plausible or implausible co-occurrence.

Lastly, the conclusion attempts to extrapolate from the evidence presented by reporting sentences, and the constraints reflecting their plausible, characteristic use; and provide an explanation of the function of the different kinds of reporting sentences and some conclusions about the report verb field itself.
THREATEN

I. In Reporting Sentences Containing the Direct Quote.

1. A threaten report expression occurs with a quote to indicate that the original speaker intended to cause something bad to happen to the original addressee if the addressee didn't do what that speaker wanted.

Examples:

"...you're never going to forget this," he almost threatened.  
("Dear Me": 110)

"I'll fetch your Ma to you - that I will!" threatened Sarah, called by the noise of the fight.

'A man charged with murder...threatened a Crown Witness in court yesterday, saying: "I shall cut you up into little pieces."'  
("The Canberra Times": 20/10/81:10)

"Watch it you," she threatened him, her voice trembling a little. "You put another finger on me, and it'll be mah Da who'll come to see ye, no' mah Mother."  
("The Winter Sparrows": 95)

DEFINITION:  
A threatened B wanting to cause B to do X assuming B didn't want to do it  
A said: if you do not do X I will cause something bad to happen to you (Y)  
expecting that saying this would cause B to do X.
2. The quote occurring in threaten reporting sentences may take a number of syntactic frames: declarative, interrogative or imperative; full or ellipsed:

a. **Declarative:**

   a) If you\{ don't do what I want  
      \{ do what I don't want you to do \}\} I'll do something bad to you.

   b) I'll do something bad to you if you\{ don't do what I want. 
      \{ do what I don't want you to do \}\}

   c) You either do what I want or I'll do something bad to you.

   d) Either you do what I want or I'll do something bad to you.

b. **Imperative:**

   a) Do what I want or I'll do something bad to you.

   b) Do what I don't want and I'll do something bad to you.

   c) Do what I want...

   d) Do what I don't want...

c. **Interrogative:**

   Are you going to do what I want, or am I going to (have to) do something bad to you?

   Do you want me to do something bad to you?

   Are you going to do what I want?

3. Although the most explicitly threatening utterances contain you as the subject of the X clause, and I/WE as the subject of the Y clause, as in:

   "If you don't give me the money, I'll throw you to the sharks," he threatened.

   this need not be so:
1. "If I don't get the money, you'll be shark food," he threatened.
2. "If there's anymore trouble, you'll end up in the brig," he threatened.
3. "If that essay's not on my desk by Monday, you'll get an F for the whole course," he threatened.
4. "One more step, and this little lady gets an acid bath," he threatened.

There is the potential in all of the above quotes for the underlying agent of the X clause to be the addressee:
1. If you don't give me the money....
2. If you cause any more trouble...
3. If you don't hand in that essay...
4. If you take one more step....

and for the agent of the Y clause to be the speaker:
1. I'll throw you to the sharks.
2. I'll put you in the brig.
3. I'll fail you.
4. I'll throw her in the acid tank.

If the agent of the action posited in the Y clause is a third person, it is possible, in those cases where the third person is considered to want the same thing as the original speaker, for the quote to be reported with threaten:

"Don't move or my buddy here'll plug you full of holes," he threatened.

If, however this slot is filled by a noun phrase indicating that the speaker and the person referred to by that noun phrase want different things, threaten will not be used:

*"Don't move or the bastard'll shoot you," he threatened.
*"If you move that bastard won't think twice about shooting you," he threatened.
If the same noun phrase is filled by you and the verb slot is filled by an action verb, indicating that the addressee will cause something to happen, threaten will not occur as the main verb in a reporting sentence with that quote:

"Don't run or you'll trip," he threatened.
"Don't run or I'll trip you up," she threatened.

"If you move, you'll hurt yourself," she threatened.
"If you move, I'll hurt you," he threatened.

The starred third person and second person quotes may not occur with a threaten report expression because their meaning is incompatible with that component of the meaning of threaten:

I will cause something bad to happen to you.

This can be expressed by the constraints:

*"...........you'll action verb," he threatened.

and

*"...........3rd person will do something I don't want him to do," he threatened.

(In both of these cases the dots indicate any of the possible clauses that could appear in these quotes. e.g.:

"Do(n't do) X"
"If you do(n't do) X"
"Either you do(n't do) X" )
4. Looking next at the X clause, the subject slot may be filled with a noun or pronoun referring to a second, third or first person. The occurrence of the pronoun I is restricted to clauses in which I is not the agent of the action referred to.

"If I don't get it soon, you'll die," he threatened.

*"If I don't give it to you soon, you'll die," he threatened.

Perception verbs may occur with the third person pronoun:

"If I ever hear that you've done it again, I'll smack you," she threatened.

"If I ever see you do that again, I'll smack you," he threatened.

A third person pronoun or a noun referring to a third person may occur. In such cases it is assumed that the addressee can do something to cause that third person to do what the speaker wants:

The following are acceptable threaten reporting sentences:

"If your son doesn't get the money to us by Friday, we'll kill him," he threatened.

"If he/Franco tells anyone, we'll cut off his protection," he threatened.

"If you tell anyone, I'll fire you," he threatened.

*"If you're told anything, I'll fire you," she threatened.

"If you hurt anyone, I'll blow the story to the Press," he threatened.

*"If you get hurt by anyone, I'll blow the story to the Press," he threatened.

The starred sentences containing I do X and you are/get something done to you are not coherent because their meaning is incompatible with the
essential meaning of threaten:
wanting to cause B to do X

This can be expressed by the constraints:

*"If I do X, I will do Y," he threatened.
*"If you {are verbed get something done to you}, I will do Y," he threatened.

5. What is posited in the Y clause for the quote must be something assumed to be bad for the addressee if that quote is to occur with a threaten report expression. Any Y clause which posits an action considered to be good for the addressee will not be reported with threaten, being incompatible with that part of the meaning of threaten:

I will cause something bad to happen to you.
"If you tell mum, I'll hit you," she threatened.
*"If you tell mum, I'll give you all of my next month's pocket-money," she threatened.
"If you testify, I'll break both of your legs,"
he threatened.
*"If you testify, we'll drop all the charges against you," she threatened.
"Tell the sheriff, and your days are numbered," he threatened.
*"Tell the sheriff and we'll back you up," she threatened.
This can be expressed by the constraint:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\{\text{"Do X and }\} \quad \text{I'll cause something good to happen for you," he threatened.} \\
&\text{\text{"If you do X}}
\end{align*}
\]

6. A quote may not occur in a threaten reporting sentence if the clause positing the speaker-caused, bad event for the addressee refers to a past or present time:

"I'll smack you if you're rude to Grandma," she threatened.

*"I'm smacking you because you were rude to grandpa," she threatened.

"If you move, I'll shoot you," he threatened.

*"If you had moved, I'd've shot you, he threatened.

It is quite feasible for a quote occurring in a threaten reporting sentence to contain no explicit reference to future time in the X or the Y clause of the quote:

"One more step and it's curtains for you," he threatened.

"Any cheek from you and it's daddy's strap again," she threatened.

Present and past time reference in the Y clause bars that quote occurring in a threaten reporting sentence because it is incompatible with the meaning of threaten: when one threatens, one aims to cause changes in the addressee's behaviour, to make them do something in the future; and posits a future bad event as the consequence of not complying with one's wishes.
The Y clause often occurs as the quote in a *threaten* reporting sentence:

"I'll smack you," she threatened.

"I'll cut off your allowance," he threatened.

"I'll kill myself," she threatened.

In quotes like these and in conditional quotes, past tense, or past or present time reference may not occur with *threaten*.

*"I smacked you,"

*"I have smacked you," he threatened.

*"I'm smacking you,"

*"I did Y to you," he threatened.

*"I have done Y to you," he threatened.

*"I'm doing Y to you," he threatened.

*".........., I did/ am doing Y," he threatened.

7. Although a *threaten* report expression may occur in conjunction with a quote containing both the X and the Y clauses, it is more often the case that it will occur with a quote expressing one or other of these components. In these cases, the reporting sentence plus immediately related dialogue work in concert to provide all of the necessary parts of the *threatening* situation. For example:

"Where is it! Tell us where it is!"

I stood my ground, determined not to give them any of the information they so desperately needed.

The tall one leant closer, his voice hollow and warm in my ear.

"I'll torture it out of you," he threatened.
The quote occurring in the threaten reporting sentence expresses the Y part of the meaning of threaten. The preceding dialogue makes it clear what action is desired of the addressee.

An imperative or conditional X clause may also occur. In these cases, one can imagine the menacing intonation of the corresponding original utterance:

"Put it on the table...," she threatened.

"If you tell anyone...," he threatened.

8. The report verb threaten does not have a performative use.

II. In Reporting Sentences which do not contain the Direct Quote.

In reporting sentences without the direct quote, a threaten report expression may occur with a number of complements:

a. with a to+infinitive

'I threatened to leave him there and then...' (Bull:28/7/81: 46)

'In discussion we have found the State Premiers threatening to refer to Westminster their powers in off-shore areas...' ("Hansard: Senate" 21/5/80: 2619)

'He wouldn't admit there was a problem. Finally we had to threaten to declare open war against him.'

("Time": 13/7/81 20)

'...Agca...threatened to go on a hunger strike unless his case was turned over to the Vatican...' 

("Time": 3/8/81: 23)

'...Cooke said Jimmy's drug supplier had threatened to kill her if she revealed her sources...' 

("Time": 27/4/81: 58)

'Mussolini had called himself a genius. Hitler had threatened to attack Poland.' ("A Friend of Kafka": 181)
b. with a nominal object (not referring to the addressee)

'While negotiations were taking place, the Government threatened PJT action, but it did not eventuate.'

'After a near disaster, Mrs Lennie threatened some dire consequences if she ever found Lennie smoking in bed again.' ("Australasian Post": 29/1/81: 48)

c. with with X:

'He was a bit of a lad but white girls were threatened with dismissal if they went out with him.'

("National Times": 27/9/-3/10/81: 15)

'...the woman righteously cursed the villain and threatened him with retribution...'

("The Winter Sparrows": 70)

(about lice in the school) 'It was a problem he (the headmaster) hadn't encountered before, he complained. In the end he had to be threatened with the Health Department.' ("Winter Sparrows: 311)

d. a NP (referring to the addressee):

'Caulfield threatened McLord.' ("All the President's Men": 318)

2. In order for a to+infinitive to occur with a threaten report phrase, it must contain an action verb:

She threatened to kill herself.

*She threatened to be dead.

He threatened to go on a hunger strike.

*He threatened to be hungry.

*A threatened to+non-action verb.
3. What occurs in the NP in a \textit{with X} complement of a \textit{threaten} report phrase must be a noun with connotations of \textit{badness}:

He threatened them with dismissal.

*He threatened them with the salary raise they had asked for.

He threatened her with retribution.

*He threatened her with sympathy.

*A threatened B with something assumed to be good.

4. The noun phrase filling the X slot in \textit{with X} phrases must be a noun involving the notion of action; and so be consistent with the component of \textit{threaten}: 'I will cause something bad to happen to you'.

reprisal, retribution, revenge, could fill this slot, but hatred, bitterness, and loathing could not.

This construction parallels the non-illocutionary meaning of \textit{threaten}, seen in sentences like:

He threatened her with a gun/knife/spear/big stick.

*A threatened B with something with which A couldn't cause bad things to happen to B.

5. The action verb in the \textit{to}+infinitive also may not refer to something wanted:

He threatened to let the dogs loose on her if she didn't give him the information he wanted.

*He threatened to free her if she didn't give him the information he wanted.
She threatened to sack him.

*She threatened to give him the rise in salary that he had asked for.

*A threatened to do something he assumed was good for B.

THREATEN - SUMMARY

a) Constraints

I. 1. "..., you'll action verb," he threatened.
2. "..., 3rd person will do something I don't want him to do," she threatened.
3. "If I do X, I will do Y," he threatened.
   *If you get something done to you, I will do Y" she threatened.
4. "If you do X I'll cause something good to happen for you," he threatened.
   "Do X and I'll cause something good to happen for you," she threatened.
5. "I did Y to you,"
   "I have done Y to you," he threatened.
   "I am doing Y to you,"
   "..., I did/am doing Y," he threatened.

II. 1. *A threatened to non-action verb.
2. *A threatened B with something assumed to be good.
3. *A threatened B with something with which A couldn't cause bad things to happen to B.
4. *A threatened to do something he assumed was good for B.
b. Unacceptable reporting sentences with threaten.

*"If you move, you'll hurt yourself," she threatened.

*"If you testify, we'll drop all the charges on you," he threatened.

*"Testify and we'll drop the charges on you," he threatened.

*"We'll back you up," he threatened.

*"If you'd moved I would've shot you," she threatened.

*He threatened to be hungry.

*He threatened her with sympathy.

*She threatened to give him the raise he wanted.

*She threatened him with bitterness.
I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. A warn report expression may occur with a quote stating that something is the case; which statement is assumed to be related to some future bad event. Examples:

"It's only two months now till the qualifying examinations," she was warning us." ("The Winter Sparrows": 134)

'As Kania warned his comrades, "Outside the doors of this hall, we will face hard reality."' ("Time":3/8/81: 22)

"Don't expect any mercy from us. We shall not even spare nine-year-old girls," warned Tehran's Islamic prosecutor, Asadollah Lajverdi,' ("The Bulletin": 14/7/81: 97)

A warn report expression may also occur with a quote in the imperative, stating an action the original addressee should carry out, or avoid, in order to prevent something bad happening to him. Examples:

"Don't ever fall in love with me," he warned. "I'm not capable of loving."" ("Coins for the Ferryman": 142)

'Finally he warned Sandro: "Keep away from my lass. Right?"' ("The Winter Sparrows": 286)

"Stay in touch and keep your noses clean," he warned.' ("All the President's Men": 211)

Then someone knocked on the door. My mother said:

"Who can this be?"

"Mother, don't open," my sister warned. She was always afraid...Warsaw was full of murderers.' ("A Friend of Kafka": 32)
Warn may also occur in report expression occurring with quotes which combine these two meanings:

"You'll be dead by Christmas if you continue to work at the same pace," he warned.

"Don't you go saying any dirty things tae us, Jimmy Donleavy," Jean warned him enticingly, "cause mah mammy's goin' tae see your Da if ye dae."" ("The Winter Sparrows": 94)

"You move him and he'll die," the doctor warned.

("Bad Man's Return": 13)

**DEFINITION:**

> warn: A **warned** B

- thinking that something bad (Y) will happen (because of something I know about Z)
- assuming B doesn't know this
- wanting to cause B to know it so that B is able to do something to prevent something bad happening

A said: something bad will happen (Y) unless you do something

---

2. A quote will occur with a **warn** report expression if it gives the original addressee knowledge about a certain situation and proposes, or implies, a future event assumed to be bad. The original speaker's intention is to cause the original addressee to be in a position to do something to stop the unwanted event occurring, as in:

"Don't move or he'll shoot!" he warned.

in which it is assumed that by doing something: keeping still/not moving, the unwanted event will not actually occur. In other cases, all that the original speaker can hope for is that knowledge about a future bad
event will put the original addressee in the position of being able to ameliorate the negative effects of that event on himself. When the Weather Bureau warns farmers of a sudden chilly snap, it is not expected that the farmers can then change the weather pattern; rather, that they will be able to do something to stop the weather having a bad effect on them; say, move their sheep into sheltered paddocks.

A number of syntactic frames may be used in quotes occurring with a warn report expression:

a. **Indicative conditionals:**
   
   "If you move him he'll die."
   "If you drink out of that bottle you'll die."
   "If you rein Frosty too hard, he'll bolt."

b. **Imperative conditionals:**
   
   "Don't move him or he'll die."
   "Don't drink out of that bottle or you'll die."
   "Don't rein him too hard or he'll bolt."

c. **Indicative (unwanted event)**
   
   "He'll die!" (implied: if you move him)
   "You'll die!" (implied: if you drink that)
   "He'll bolt!" (implied: if you don't loosen his rein)

d. **Ellipsed conditional:**
   
   "If you move him...", (implied: he'll die.)
   "If you drink that..." (implied: you'll die)
   "If you rein him too hard..." (implied: he'll bolt)

e. **Imperative (unwanted event implied by context):**
   
   "Don't move him!"
   "Don't drink it!"
   "Don't rein him too hard!"
f. Stative (predicating the reason for the future event being unwanted):

"His spine could be damaged."

"That's weedkiller!"

"He's a very touchy horse!"

3. As 2.c,d,e, and f indicate, many quotes occurring with a warn report expression rely on inference for the realization of their illocutionary force, within the actual speech situation. In reporting sentences with such quotes, the use of warn in the report expression, plus the context of the sentence within the written dialogue provides the reader with whatever extra components are missing from the quote itself. Quotes like "He'll die!" correspond to that component of warn: thinking that something bad will happen (Y)

Quotes like: "If you move him..." correspond to that component of warn: wanting to cause B to know it
so that A can cause B to be able to prevent it from happening.

Quotes like: "Don't move him" correspond to that component of warn: wanting ...to cause B to be able to prevent it from happening.

Quotes like: "His spine could be damaged." correspond to that component of warn: because of something A knows about Z.

Quotes like: "He's a real bastard!"

"It's loaded."

could occur with a warn report expression, having the potential to be triggers for the other essential components of warn: the topic of such quotes being able to be related to the original addressee, and to some connected bad future consequence:

"He's a real bastard!" she warned.

(implied by the speaker: if you date him you could get hurt)
"It's loaded!" he warned.

(implied by the speaker: if you keep fooling with that gun, someone will/could get hurt)

4. Whatever the syntactic frame, the constraints on the use of warn in report expressions occurring with a particular quote remain constant. The first constraint relates to the fact that the consequence must be seen to be in the future:

*"If you'd moved him, he would've died," she warned.
*"If you'd married him you would have ended up in the poorhouse," he warned.
*"If you'd married him...," she warned.
*"You'd have ended up in the poorhouse...," she warned.
*"You got into trouble," she warned.

When a speaker warns someone about something, he is aiming at giving the addressee the chance to be able to change something, so that bad things won't happen to him. Events in the past are unchangeable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{If } & \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
X \text{ had happened,} \\
\text{you'd done } X,
\end{array} \right. \\
\text{something bad would have happened (to you)} & \text{ he warned.}
\end{align*}
\]

*"If you'd done X...," she warned.
*"Something bad would have happened," he warned.
*"Something bad happened," she warned.

This constraint only applies to indicative conditional quotes (full or ellipsed). It need not apply to statives (of the f. type mentioned in Point 2.)
For example:

(Secretary to executive (who is about to see the boss to ask for a raise)):

"He was in a foul temper earlier this morning," she warned.

"He's just had a fight with the chairman," she warned him.

5. If the quote contains an assertion of a good future event, that quote will not occur with a warn report expression:

*"If Reagan gets in, the U.S. will hopefully double its NPG within two years," he warned.

"If Reagan gets in there'll be no hope left for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East," he warned.

*"If you mow the lawn now Dad'll give you five dollars," he warned.

"If you mow the lawn now, the frost'll kill it," he warned.

*"If you eat those blue mushrooms, you'll have the psychedelic experience of your life!" he warned.

"If you eat those blue mushrooms, you'll die a horrible death," he warned.

(as addressee is about to drink from a bottle:)

*"That's a great drink!" she warned.

"That's weedkiller!" she warned.

(lifesaver to surfer who is about to dash into the surf:)

*"It's as calm as a mill pond out there today," he warned.

"There's a strong rip out there today!" he warned.
"Don't be careful," he warned.
"Be careful," he warned.

"Drive too fast," she warned.
"Don't drive too fast," she warned.

"Tease that dog and we'll let you join our secret club," he warned.
"Tease that dog and he'll bite you!" she warned.

"If X happens, something you want to happen will happen," she warned.

"Something about Z (assuming you do not think of this meaning something bad could happen)," he warned.

"Do X (and something you want to happen will happen)," she warned.

"Something you want to happen will happen," she warned.

"Don't do something good," she warned.

8. Because the meaning of warn entails giving information, most interrogative frame quotes are barred from occurring in a warn reporting sentence:

"Are there snakes in the long grass?" she warned.

"Will you drive carefully?" she warned.

"Has he killed anyone yet?" she warned.

The meaning of these quotes is not compatible with the component of warn:

assuming B doesn't know this

and these quotes also do not have the potential for implying the other
components of warn. The one interrogative frame quote which can occur in a warn reporting sentence is:

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{"Do you know } \\
&\text{"Did you know } \\
&\text{"Are you aware of the fact that something bad is the case?"}
\end{align*} \]

as in:

"Did you know there's poison in that bottle?" he warned.

or, emphatically:

"Don't you know there's poison in that bottle!" he warned.

"Do you know he's already killed a man?" she warned.

"Don't you know he's already killed a man!" she warned.

"Are you aware of the fact that this is the worst place in Australia for Tiger snakes?" he warned.

"Aren't you aware of the fact that this is the worst place in Australia for Tiger snakes!" he warned.

Similarly, a yes/no question with a negative, and with an exclamation mark, may occur as the quote with a warn report expression

"Isn't that poisonous!" he warned.

"Hasn't he murdered someone already!" she warned.

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{"Is X the case?" he warned.} \\
&\text{"Isn't X the case?" he warned.}
\end{align*} \]
Imperative and declarative sentences may take a tag and occur with a warn report expression; the tag acting to emphasize the seriousness of the situation; or, in imperative cases, making it more strongly directive:

"Be careful, won't you?" she warned.
"You won't come home alone in the dark, will you!" she warned.
"Watch out for wolves in sheeps clothing, right?" she warned.
"You'll take a gun with you, won't you," she warned.
"He's not to be trusted, you know," she warned.

9. If a quote contains a warn performative phrase, it will not occur with a warn report expression

**"I warn you, one more step and I'll shoot!" he warned.**

**"No good will come of it, I'm warning you," she warned.**

**"I hereby warn you that if the account is not settled within 14 days, the matter will be placed before the Court," he warned.**

**"I warn you,.........," she warned.**

**"........., I warn you," he warned.**

**"I'm warning you.........," he warned.**

**"I hereby warn you.........," she warned.**
II. In Reporting Sentences without the Direct Quote.

1.a. A warn report expression may occur with a sentential object introduced by that:

'Experts warn that the industry does not have the capacity to build arms at the pace that Reagen wants.' ("Time": 27/7/81: 27)

'...Mr Gordon Lewis warned yesterday that police and the media could be hindered if it became general practice to open inquests when police had not completed their brief of investigation.' ("The Age": 9/7/81: 3)

'Admiral of the Fleet Lord Hill-Norton warned Australians that this country lies at the rim of another arc of potential crisis...' ("The Bulletin": 24/4/81: 34)

'A French senator warned the Minister of Justice that the public would be outraged if a Japanese student accused of eating the flesh of a girl he had murdered was not punished with exceptional severity.' ("The Bulletin": 14/7/81: 91)

'Somehow she knew of all my abominations and kept warning me that she would leave me, get married, and what not.' ("A Friend of Kafka": 246)

b. With a sentential object even without that:

'...his attorney warned him he would be liable for the salaries of Crawford and Fonda...' ("Joan Crawford": 149)
c. With to+infinitive:

'...the prosecutors had warned the jurors to beware of jokers wearing press cards." ("All the President's Men": 210)

d. With not to+infinitive:

'Mr Thatcher disregarded the advice from an Australian friend who had warned him not to make speeches in Australia because, "with an accent like yours they will think you have come from outer space."'  
("The Canberra Times": 4/10/81: 18)

e. An interrogative pronoun may occur:

"Ah've warned him what ah'd dae tae him if ah ever catch him at anything."' ("The Winter Sparrows": 82)

f. A number of prepositions may co-occur with warn report expressions:

of: 'I even found the courage..., to decline a charming invitation to dance with the Queen...by warning her of the physical dangers encumbent on such an initiative." ("Dear Me": 96)

'Finance Minister John Kaputin has consistently warned over the past four months of impending crisis if the government does not discipline its spending program.' ("The Bulletin": 12/5/81: 106)

about: '...China's acting Foreign Minister...warned about Vietnamese 'duplicity'." ("Time": 27/7/81: 45)
against may co-occur:

'...the Opposition had warned the Government against relying on the net balance-of-payments position to provide nearly half the total growth in money supply in 1981-82' ("The Canberra Times": 16/10/81: 8)

'I think mothers were right when they warned their daughters against sleeping with boys,' ("Cosmopolitan": Oct/81: 104)

Warn may combine with off to form a phrasal verb:

'When they tried to warn off Fawkner's Enterprise party, they were completely ignored.' ("Australian Post": 29/1/81: 49)

The passive may occur:

'President Nyere said African leaders had been properly warned before they came to Melbourne that Mr Muldoon would be looking for a fight.' ("The Canberra Times": 7/10/81: 16)

2. In order for (that-) S and of X to occur with a warn report expression, some reference to badness must be made:

*The doctor warned (her) of drugs.

The doctor warned (her) of the dangers of drugs.

*He warned the "Wildlife Heritage" group that the legislation would protect Australia's wildlife.

He warned that the new legislation would offer no protection to

endanger

Australia's wildlife.
*He warned him he wouldn't be liable for any costs.
He warned him he would be liable for costs.

*He warned him he would get the public support he was after if he opposed the Bill.
He warned him he would arouse public outrage if he opposed the Bill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(that) something assumed to be good</th>
<th>would happen</th>
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<tr>
<td>*A warned (B)</td>
<td>is the case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of something assumed to be good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. The action posited in a to+infinitive may not be a positive action if it is to occur with a warn report expression:

*He warned him to trust the Press.
He warned him to {be wary, beware} of the Press.

'A warned B to+infinitive' sentences commonly have the infinitive slot filled by:

be aware of X
watch out for X
be careful {about} X
guard against X
be {wary, suspicious} of X
distrust X

all of which are consistent with that component of the meaning of warn:

...so that I can cause you to be able to do something to prevent something bad happening to you
Any verb with a component **not do X** may also fill this slot:

He warned him to *keep away from his daughter.*

*He warned her to see his daughter.*

She warned him to *avoid* talking to reporters.

*She warned him to seek out reporters.*

He warned her to *shun* the Press.

*He warned her to welcome the Press.*

*A warned B to do something that wouldn't cause him to be able to prevent bad things happening to him.*

*not to+infinitives are not so constrained:*

He warned her not to shun the Press.

He warned her not to welcome the Press.

She warned him not to welcome reporters.

She warned him not to avoid talking to reporters.

She warned him not to be **too timid** in his replies to the Press.

She warned him not to be **too bold** in his replies to the Press.

**but:**

*He warned her not to be careful in her driving.*

He warned her not to be **too careful/cautious** in her driving.
He warned her not to beware of wolves in sheep's clothing.

He warned her not to be too wary of wolves in sheep's clothing.

He warned her not to distrust other people.

He warned her not to be so distrusting of other people.

He warned her not to be suspicious of strangers.

He warned her not to be too suspicious of strangers.

* A warned B not to do something that would cause him to be able to stop bad things happening to him.

4. about X phrases need have no reference to badness:

   The doctor warned them about drugs.
   The doctor warned them about the dangers of drugs.
   She warned her about men.
   He warned me about you.
   I warned him about it.

SUMMARY - WARN

a. Constraints.

I. 1. *"If X had happened, something bad would have happened to you," she warned.
    *"If you'd done X, something bad would have happened to you," he warned.
"If you'd done X..., she warned.
"Something bad happened," he warned.

2. "If X happens, something you want to happen will happen," he warned.
"Something about Z (assuming you will not think of this meaning something bad could happen)," he warned.
"Do X (and something you want to happen will happen), she warned.
"Something you want to happen will happen," he warned.

3. "Is X the case?" he warned.
"Isn't X the case?" she warned.

4. "I warn you...........," she warned.
"...........I warn you," he warned.
"I'm warning you...........," he warned.
"I hereby warn you...........," she warned.
"Let me warn you...........," he warned.

II.

1. *A warned (B) \{ (that) something assumed to be good \} \{ would happen \} \{ was the case \} of something assumed to be good.

2. *A warned B to do something that wouldn't cause him to be able to prevent bad things happening to him.

3. *A warned B not to do something that would cause him to be able to prevent bad things happening to him.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences with warn:

"If you'd moved him he would've died," she warned.
"If you eat those blue mushrooms you'll have the psychedelic experience of your life!" she warned.
"It's as calm as a mill pond out there today," she warned.

"Tease that dog and you can join our secret club," he warned.

"Are there any snakes out here?" he warned.

"I warn you, there's a treacherous rip out there," he warned.

* He warned them of the possibility of long-hoped for peace in the Middle East.

* He warned her she was sure to get a sympathetic hearing.

* He warned her to trust the Press.

* She warned him to welcome reporters.

* He warned her not to beware of the Press.

* He warned her not to be careful driving.
DISCUSSION: WARN AND THREATEN

Both warn and threaten have, as part of their meaning, the notion that 'something bad will happen'. Both also involve the idea of the original addressee being able to do something to stop that bad thing happening, although for different reasons.

This sharing of meaning is evidenced, not only in the similarity of quote meaning, as can be seen in:

"Don't move!" he threatened.
"Don't move!" he warned.

"Watch it!" he threatened.
"Watch it!" he warned.

"If you move you'll be shot!" he threatened.
"If you move you'll be shot!" he warned.

but also in the propositions occurring with threaten and warn report expressions in reporting sentences without the direct quote.

a. He threatened he'd kill her if she moved.

b. He warned her he'd kill her if she moved.

The differences in interpretation of the above sentence points out the differences in meaning between threaten and warn.

Interpretation:

He₁ threatened he'd₁ kill her if she moved.

*He₁ threatened he'd₂ kill her if she moved.

(he₂ refers to someone over whom he₁ has no control)
He warned her he'd kill her if she moved.
He warned her he'd kill her if she moved.

threaten contains as part of its essential meaning that the speaker will cause the bad future event to occur; whereas warn merely postulates that a bad future event will occur.

In the following examples, it is clear that the speaker will be the one causing the bad event, yet warn has been used in the report:

"His face was red and sweating and he kept sucking his lips in and out. Finally he warned Sandro: "Keep away from my lass. Right?"
("Winter Sparrows": 286)

"'Don't expect any mercy from us. We shall not even spare nine-year-old girls," warned Tehran's Islamic prosecutor, Asadollah Lajverdi.'
("The Bulletin": 14/7/81: 97)

"Hold it!" Bauch warned, in a jittery voice.

Whippletree stopped and looked. Bauch had the .45.

One can imagine that the verb threaten could appear instead of warn in these sentences. In fact, any quote which may be reported with threaten, could also be plausibly reported with warn.

The converse does not hold. Not any quote which may be reported with warn may also be reported with threaten.
"If you eat those blue mushrooms you'll get terrible stomach cramps," he warned/threatened.

Why is it that a reporter may choose to report an utterance with the apparent illocutionary force of threaten with warn?

The rule barring the occurrence of a certain verb in a report expression, if that verb appears performatively in the associated quote provides us with a clue.

Reporting sentences like:

*/"I warn you, you'll kill yourself if you drink that stuff," he warned.

are unacceptable because of tautology. It is obvious from the performat­ative phrase that the speaker is warning. To give this information in the report expression as well is unnecessary. As noted in points 6 and 7 of the discussion on threaten, quotes whose meaning may not be unequivoc­ally "threatening" are most likely to occur with a threaten report expression, in order for the reporter to clarify the illocutionary force of that quote. If the threatening utterance is fully explicit, particularly if it expresses that the speaker will cause the bad thing to happen to the addressee, the force of this is equivalent to the force of a performative phrase (which threaten cannot take), and, to avoid tautology, the reporter may choose to use warn in the report expression occurring with that quote.

Another point needs to be made. warn entails a greater degree of certainty as to the actual occurrence of the future bad event. When one warns, one assumes that the bad event will occur unless the addressee does something to prevent it occurring. When one threatens, one assumes that the bad event will not occur, because the addressee will choose to do what the speaker wants. It could be suggested that warn is
chosen for the report expression with a **threatening** utterance (as well as for the previously stipulated reason,) to emphasize that the reporter considers that the original speaker was fully intending to carry out his dastardly deed, and that it was not an 'empty' threat.

There are differences in the occurrence of **threaten** and **warn** in reporting sentences without the direct quote which point up the differences in meaning between the two verbs.

Both report verbs may occur with a **to**+infinitive, but the agent of the posited action with a **threaten** report expression is understood to be the subject of the main clause (the original speaker), whereas the subject or agent of the posited action in the proposition occurring with a **warn** report expression is understood to be the addressee. What is referred to in the **to**+infinitive occurring with a **threaten** report expression must be something that is bad for the addressee: which is consistent with that part of the meaning of **threaten**:

....I will cause something bad to happen to you

What is referred to in the **to**+infinitive occurring with a **warn** report expression must be something which is a beneficial course of action for the addressee to carry out; consistent with the meaning of **warn**:

wanting to cause B.../to be able to prevent this bad thing from happening

Co-occurrence of a **not-to**+infinitive with a **threaten** report expression is less usual, and in most cases distinctly odd; yet, a **warn** report expression may easily take a **not to**+infinitive:

?He threatened not to let her go unless she told him the combination.

He threatened to leave her there forever if she didn't tell him the combination.
She warned him not to talk too freely to the Press.
She warned him not to appear too cocky on the witness stand.

In reporting sentences without the direct quote, a warn report expression may occur with against X; and off X, both of which are related to the not to+infinitive construction; and all of which are derived from the component of the emaning of warn:

wanting to cause B ...to be able to do something to prevent this bad thing from happening

Threaten report expressions may not take against X in the same way.

* * *

"Best you get him out away, Miss Mary," Billy answered,

"You and me memristor, if you,' " Portuguese replied. ("Hunting the Wild Goose" - 82)

"Well go and see them inside," Cook advised.

("Picture of Hanging Pocket" - 94)

"Last of the mare and see if your facts are straight."

The attorney advised. ("All the President's Men"

"If I were you, I'd take a three month rest," he advised."

* * *
ADVISE

I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. There are two senses of advise. The bureaucratic sense, occurring in sentences such as:

"The department has advised the minister of the matter."

whose sense is that of official informing, will not be analyzed here.

The sense of advise discussed in this section is that of giving someone information concerning the best thing that person can do.

Examples:

"Best you get him put away, Miss Geary," Willy advised, touching the dog with his gentle fingers. "Pretty old feller now."

("Hunting the Wild Pineapple": 92)

"Read it first, won't you," Porteous advised silkily.

("Tinker, Tailer, Soldier, Spy": 186)

"Best go and see them inside," Cook advised.

("Picnic at Hanging Rock": 94)

"Look at it more and see if your facts are straight," the attorney advised. "All the President's Men": 128)

"If I were you, I'd take a three month rest," he advised.
DEFINITION: \( A \) advised \( B \)
assuming \( B \) would think \( A \) would know what someone in \( b \)’s situation should do
wanting to cause \( B \) to know the best thing \( B \) could do in that situation
assuming \( B \) understands that if he doesn’t do this, something bad could happen to him
\( A \) said: If I were you, I’d do X
assuming \( B \) doesn’t have to do what he says

2. The quote occurring in advise reporting sentences may not have an interrogative frame, or interrogative punctuation; the component: I don’t know \( X \)
which is carried by the interrogative, being incompatible with the essential component of advise:
assuming \( B \) would think \( A \) would know...

**"Have you thought of seeking another opinion?" he advised.**
**"Don’t you think you should have a holiday?" she advised.**
**"Australia should utilize its mineral resources?" he advised.**
**"You should see a doctor?" she advised.**

**".........?" he advised.**
3. A quote with content relating to a future addressee action may not occur with an advise report expression if the action is modified by a modal or adverbial expressing possibility.

A speaker advises by saying that of all possible things the addressee could do, the one stated is the best.

"You should sue them," he advised.
*"Perhaps you could sue," he advised.
*"Maybe you shouldn't answer any questions," she advised.
*"You might try another solicitor," she advised.

*"You could do X," she advised

4. Quotes occurring with advise report expressions characteristically have the following frames:

"You should do X."

"The best thing for you to do is X."

"Best you do X."

Any quote whose agent slot is filled by a first person pronoun will not co-occur with advise report expression. A speaker may not advise himself to do something:

*"I should do something about this back of mine," he advised.

*"I should go and see mother tonight," she advised.

*"I should be more considerate," he advised.

*"I should do X," he advised.
"I would do X, if I were you,"
is compatible with an advise report expression:

"I would see a doctor about that back, if I were you," she advised.

This is more formal and less frequent than:

"I'd see a doctor about it, (if I were you)."

which may occur with or without the "if I were you" tag and occur with an advise report expression. "If I were you I'd do X" may also co-occur.

5. A speaker may offer a possible beneficial course of action to the addressee by saying something that has been beneficial to some third person, yet such quotes may not occur with advise:

(doctor to patient):

"Take Vitamin B for your headaches," he advised.

"Another patient of mine, with symptoms similar to yours had considerable success with massive doses of Vitamin B," he advised.

(mother to daughter, about baby's colic):

"Give him a little brandy," she advised.

"My mother used to say that a little brandy in the bedtime bottle worked wonders," she advised.

(one student to another) (who wants to know how to pass an exam):

"You should learn them off by heart," she advised.

"John learns his texts by recording them and playing them over and over for weeks before the exam," she advised.

The starred quotes are incompatible with advise report expressions because, although future addressee actions are alluded to, no explicit reference to a future action by the addressee is made:
*"Feel X," he advised.

This kind of quote is incompatible with the meaning of advise. "feeling" is not something the addressee can cause to happen.

9. A quote with an imperative followed by an expressive or exclamative tag will not occur with an advise report expression. Expression of feelings is not basic to the meaning of advising. Expression of feelings indicates that the speaker wants the addressee to do X for some reason of his own:

*"See a doctor, for chrissakes!" she advised.

*"Keep quiet about it, will you!" she advised.

*"Look at it from her point of view, why don't you!" she advised.

*"Plead guilty, for pity's sake!" he advised.

One tag may occur with the imperative, and be reported with advise:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{"See another doctor,} \\
\text{"Take him to court,} \quad \text{won't you," he advised.} \\
\text{"Read it first,} \\
\text{"Take a long holiday,}
\end{align*}
\]

In such quotes "won't you" emphasises the beneficial nature of the action posited in the imperative clause.

*"Do X, because I will feel bad if you don't!" he advised.
10. A quote with an *advise* performative phrase may not occur with an *advise* report expression:

*"I advise you to seek professional help," he advised.*

*"I advise you to do X," he advised.*

II. In Reporting Sentences without the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb *advise* can be used in reporting sentences without the direct quote with:

a. *(not) to*+infinitive:

"I have advised her to have a separate bank account of her own. ..." ("Lucinda Brayford": 169)

'One of the judges, Tenor Beniamino Gigli advised her not to rush her career.' ("Time": 3/8/81: 65)

b. a nominal object:

Her doctor advised a three-month rest to restore her well-being.

To accuse or keep silent? Friends and relatives might advise silence, for in the long run, odds are always loaded in favour of the wife and children.

c. *about*+X:

The lawyer advised her about Family Law Court counselling services and financial settlements.

d. *that*+ clause:

The consumer's association has advised that consumers should seriously consider not taking out health insurance, since the cost has outstripped the benefit.
10. A quote with an advise performative phrase may not occur with an advise report expression:

"I advise you to seek professional help," he advised.

"I advise you to do X," he advised.

II. In Reporting Sentences without the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb advise can be used in reporting sentences without the direct quote with:

a. (not) to+infinitive:

"I have advised her to have a separate bank account of her own. ..." ('Lucinda Brayford": 169)

'The judges, Tenor Beniamino Gigli advised her not to rush her career.' ("Time": 3/8/81: 65)

b. a nominal object:

Her doctor advised a three-month rest to restore her well-being.

To accuse or keep silent? Friends and relatives might advise silence, for in the long run, odds are always loaded in favour of the wife and children.

c. about+X:

The lawyer advised her about Family Law Court counselling services and financial settlements.

d. that- clause:

The consumer's association has advised that consumers should seriously consider not taking out health insurance, since the cost has outstripped the benefit.
He advised her that it would be in her best interests to seek another opinion from a reputable firm.

e. **on**+X:
She advised them on correct court procedure.

f. **against** X:
She advised all heads of government against changing the agreement.

2. Any proposition contained in an advise reporting sentence must not be incompatible with the component of advise:

wanting to cause B to know the best thing for B to do

He advised her to think about it.
*He advised her to worry about it.

She advised him not to take any drugs.
She advised him on what drugs to take.
She advised against taking any drugs.
She advised him on the dangers of drugs.
*She advised him to take dangerous drugs.

She advised him to make his position clear to the Press.
*She advised him to spill the beans to the Press.

*A advised (B) to do something that would cause bad things to happen to him.

3. The proposition may not express an addressee action with the product beneficial only to another person:
She advised him to take a glass of port before bed.
*She advised him to bring her a glass of port before bed.

She advised him to take a month's holiday.
*She advised him to give her a month's holiday so she could recuperate.

*A advised B to do something which would cause good things to happen, but not for B.

4. A to-infinitive occurring in an advise reporting sentence may not refer to a state or activity which the addressee cannot control. Reporting sentences like the following are incoherent because they are incompatible with the component of the meaning of advise:

wanting to cause B to be able to do......

He advised her to act surprised when she heard of Tom's resignation.
*He advised her to be surprised when she heard of Tom's resignation.

She advised him to shoot first, ask questions later.
*She advised him to die.

*A advised B to non-volitional verb.

5. In an against X phrase occurring in an advise reporting sentence, X must not refer to an action which is beneficial to the addressee:
He advised against talking to anyone.

*He advised against being careful about talking to people.

She advised against coming to too hasty a conclusion.

*She advised against making a well-thought out decision.

*A advised against doing something that would cause
good things to happen to B.

6. In a that-clause occurring in an advise reporting sentence, what is referred to may not be something with bad consequences for the addressee:

They advised that she should consider having exploratory surgery.

He advised Ike that he should refuse to answer any questions about the Formosa Straits.

He advised that she make out a new will.

He advised her that she should boil all water before drinking.

*He advised that she should drink the contaminated water.

*He advised that she should have the dangerous operation.

*A advised that B should do something that would cause bad things to happen to her.
SUMMARY - ADVISE

a. Constraints

I. 1. "......?" A advised.
4. "X is good for her/him," A advised.
5. "You will/are going to do X," A advised.
6. "Do X something that is not good for you," A advised.
8. "Do X, because I will feel bad if you don't!" A advised.

II. 1. *A advised B to do something that would cause bad things to happen to B.
2. *A advised B to do something which would cause good things to happen, but not for B.
3. *A advised B to non-volitional verb.
4. *A advised against doing something that would cause good things to happen to B.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences with advise:

**"Have you thought of getting a second opinion?" he advised.
**"You should see a doctor?" he advised.
**"You might try another solicitor," she advised.
**"I should see a doctor," he advised.
**"I wouldn't say anything," he advised.
**"You will plead guilty," he advised.
"Let him testify and you'll blow the case," he advised.

"Close the door, for Chrissakes!" he advised.

"I advise you to keep quiet about it," he advised.

She advised him to take dangerous drugs.

He advised him to bring her a glass of port.

He advised her to be astounded at the news.

She advised against making a carefully considered decision.
DISCUSSION: ADVISE AND WARN

There are similarities and differences in both the quote meanings which may occur in advise and warn reporting sentences containing the direct quote, and in possible syntactic frames for the use of both verbs in reporting sentences without the direct quote.

"Be careful", \{ he warned her \}
\{ he advised her. \}

"Don't trust him," \{ he warned. \}
\{ he advised. \}

"Get a second opinion," \{ he advised. \}
\{ *he warned. \}

"Just be objective and dispassionate," \{ he advised. \}
\{ *he warned. \}

The similarity between the two verbs lies in the similarity between their two illocutionary points:

warn: wanting to cause B to know this so that B is able to do something to prevent this bad thing happening.

advise: wanting to cause B to know the best thing B could do in this situation.

If a warn report expression is to occur with a to+infinitive, the component of warn: '...to prevent this bad thing happening' must be realised at the surface with a negative: either, not to do X, or a verb with not do X as part of its meaning. However, the action posited in the to+infinitive occurring with an advise report expression will often posit a positive, beneficial addressee action. One may
advise or warn someone not to do something:

- (She warned him) not to talk to strangers.
- (She advised him) to be wary/beware of strangers.

but:

- "Seek another opinion," she advised.
- She advised him to seek another opinion.

* "Seek another opinion," she warned.  
  * She warned him to seek another opinion.

- "Take a three-month holiday," she advised.  
- She advised him to take a three-month holiday.

* "Take a three-month holiday," she warned.  
  * She warned him to take a three-month holiday.

When one advises, one may stipulate a certain course of action for the addressee to carry out so that something good can happen to him. Warning has a different focus. When one warns, one may stipulate an action for the addressee to carry out so that something bad will not happen to him.

Both warn and advise report expressions may occur with an against X phrase.

- His solicitor warned against making any public statements until after the trial.

advise report expressions may take a nominal object referring to a state considered to be beneficial to the addressee:
She \{ \text{*warned} \} silence.

The doctor \{ \text{*warned.} \} a long holiday.

He \{ \text{*warned.} \} caution.

These NPs refer to the result of actions, which result is seen to be beneficial to the original addressee, and are related to advise reporting sentences like:

He advised her to \{ \text{keep silent.} \}

The doctor advised her to take a long holiday.

He advised her to be cautious.

An advise report expression may occur with an about X phrase, with X referring to something good or bad:

He advised her about the dangers of drug therapy.

He advised her about the beneficial effects of drug therapy.

A warn report expression may not occur with an about X phrase positing something good.

He warned her about the dangers of drug therapy.

*He warned her about the beneficial effects of drug therapy.

This again ties in with the fact that the point of warning entails causing the addressee to be able to prevent something bad happening. Both warn and advise report expressions may occur with an about X phrase in which X refers to a neutral 'something':
He advised her about drug therapy.
He warned her about drug therapy.

warn may take off (X) whereas advise may not; advising needing to stipulate a future good action; In A warned B off X constructions, X is seen to be something that the original addressee should keep away from, or not do anything with:

The doctor warned me off smoking.

"Optimistic society ladies of Sydney should be warned off while there's still time.' ("The Bulletin": 28/4/81: 44)

(Off Prince Charles now that he is engaged)
My mother warned me off you.

This construction is related to that component of warn:
thinking something bad (y) will happen because of something I know about Z.

In these cases what follows the about parallels Z in the definition: the original speaker would have warned B off X by saying something about X that can be associated with something bad happening.

* * *
SUGGEST

I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb suggest has two senses, both of which relate to something being possible: Examples:

suggest 1:

"Why don't you go the Columbia and back for the trip?" he suggested. "The sea air will do you good."

("Lucinda Brayford": 31)

"Let's walk outside," Bernstein suggested.

("All the President's Men": 319)

"Shall I go in and break it up?" he suggested.

"Take another sip," he suggested. "You'll like it."

"Burn the lot," Ann had suggested helpfully, referring to his books. ('"Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy": 75)

suggest 2:

'Coward watched the Coronation on TV in New York. When the carriage bearing Queen Salote of Tonga came into view a friend asked, "Who's the fellow sitting with her?" In fact it was the Sultan of Kelantan but Coward suggested: "Her lunch."

(""Quote..." Unquote"": 51)

"I never knew Percy as a force, you see. Only as a ____." He lost the word.

"A striver," Mortindale suggested,

("Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy": 23)
"You must be pretty isolated," she suggested..."
("Hunting the Wild Pineapple": 121)

'Dorothy suggested a magazine story about the disparate backgrounds of Joan and Franchot; she a former chorus girl, he a scion of wealth. Joan was silent for a few moments. "I've got a better story for you," Joan suggested.' ("Joan Crawford": 118)

"...He was never heard from again."

"Perhaps there was a hole in the earth and he fell in?" Levi Yitzchuck suggested."
("A Friend of Kafka": 61)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITION:</th>
<th>A suggested B do X</th>
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<tr>
<td>suggest 1:</td>
<td>assuming B wanted to know what to do assuming B had not thought of doing X wanting to cause B to know that X is a possible good thing for B to do A said: you could do X not assuming B had to do it</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITION:</th>
<th>A suggested X (to B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suggest 2:</td>
<td>assuming B wanted to know something about X assuming B had not thought of this being a possibility wanting to cause B to know that it is possible that X is the case A said: X could be the case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quotes with declarative, interrogative and imperative frames may occur in a suggest report sentence:

"You could take her with you," she suggested.

"Why don't you take her with you?" she suggested.

"Take her with you," she suggested.

"You'd better stay with us for a few days," she suggested.

"Why not stay with us for a few days," she suggested.

"Stay with us for a few days," he suggested.

Declarative frame quotes will not occur with a suggest report expression if their content predicates that the original speaker assumes the original addressee has to do what that speaker says:

*"You will see a doctor!" he suggested.

*"I want you to see a doctor!" he suggested.

*"You must see a doctor!" she suggested.

These sentences are implausible because the meaning of the quote is not compatible with the component of the meaning of suggest: not assuming B has to do X.

Declarative frame quotes which state that a future addressee action is a possible beneficial course of action will not occur with a suggest report expression if the quote has an exclamation mark.

In these cases, the exclamation mark indicates that the original speaker considers the original addressee has to do what he says or that the speaker will feel bad if the addressee does not do X. For the same reason as the above, the following are unacceptable:

*"You could see a doctor!" she suggested.

*"You might try to be a little more patient!" he suggested.

*"Perhaps you could move out!" he suggested.
"You could do X!" he suggested.

"You have to do X!" she suggested.
"You will do X!" she suggested.
"I want you to do X,(!)" she suggested.

3. Imperative frame quotes with an exclamation mark will not occur with a suggest report expression:

("I don't know what to do. I can't go back and live with her any more.")

a) "Stay with us?" he suggested.
b) "Stay with us," he suggested.
c) "Stay with us!" he suggested.

The use of the exclamation mark indicates that the original speaker considers that the decision has been made, he is not leaving it up to the addressee to decide what to do.

"Do X!" he suggested.

This co-occurrence is implausible because it conveys the meaning:

assuming X is the best possible thing for B to do or wanting B to do X

which is not compatible with the component of suggest:

assuming X might be a good thing for B to do.
4. *try* is often used as the main verb in a quote occurring with a *suggest* report phrase:

"Try the fish," he suggested.  
"Try sleeping on a harder mattress," he suggested.

Another common imperative form is:

"Let's do X.(!)"

"Let's go to a movie!" he suggested.  
"Let's have Sally and Jan over for dinner!" she suggested.  
"Let's have a break," he suggested.

The contracted *us* must occur. The other sense of *let* (permit) is evoked if the pronoun is not contracted:

*"Let us outa here!"* he suggested.  
*"Let us go to the dance, Mum,"* she suggested.  
*"Let us in on the secret,"* he suggested.

*"Let us X,"* he suggested.

This frame is incompatible with a number of the parts of the meaning of *suggest*: the most obvious perhaps being that such quotes refer to actions or states which are seen to be beneficial to the original speaker and not the original addressee.

5. It is natural that quotes occurring with *suggest* can take the interrogative, given the notion of original addressee choice involved in the meaning of *suggest*, as well as the necessary notion of possibility.

The question mark often occurring with declarative or imperative frame quotes in *suggest* reporting sentences also expresses the notion of possibility; saying "This could be true" rather than "This is true".  


One interrogative frame which seems characteristic of the act of *suggesting* is: "How about X." (?)

"How about steak for dinner?" he suggested.

"How about we take in a movie," she suggested.

"How about this one?" she suggested.

6. Although a quote occurring in a *suggest* reporting sentence may contain *wh*-questions, such a co-occurrence is restricted:

*"What do I do after this?" he suggested.

*"Why did you walk out?" he suggested.

*"Where did you go?" he suggested.

*"Why see that movie?" he suggested.

*"How do you spell "sneeze"?" he suggested.

*"When did he leave?" she suggested.

These quotes are barred from occurring with *suggest* because they contain the meaning:

wanting to know X

which is incompatible with the component of the meaning of *suggest*:

wanting to cause B to know that X is a possibility

\[
*"\{\text{Why, What, How, When, Where}\} \{\text{did/does someone do X?}, \text{is X?}\} \text{ he suggested.}
\]

7. what may occur in the same way as how:

"What about John for 'Othello'?" he suggested.

"What about a nice drink," he suggested.

"What about seeing a movie tonight?" she suggested.
8. 'why don't you' and 'why not do X' may also occur with a suggest report expression:

"Why don't you have a sleep," she suggested.

"Why don't you take a walk round the block," he suggested.

"Why don't you try the red one," he suggested.

"Why not take a break now," he suggested.

"Why not ask Sally for dinner," he suggested.

These quotes may have a question mark and still occur with suggest. Although the use of a question mark might suggest that the original speaker was asking a genuine question, its use with such quotes is not incompatible with the meaning of suggest: When the question mark is used, what is being indicated is that the original speaker expects an answer from the original addressee. These quotes may not occur with an exclamation mark. A quote like:

"Why don't you try the red one!"

is similar in illocutionary force to:

"Why won't you try the red one!"

in which the speaker is actively seeking an answer, rather than suggesting a possible course of action.

A "why don't you!" tag is also excluded from occurring with a suggest report expression:

*"Go for a walk, why don't you!" she suggested.

*"Try the red one, why don't you!" he suggested.

*"Why don't you do X!" he suggested.

*"Why not do X!" he suggested.

*"Do X, why don't you!" he suggested.
9. Whether a "why don't you......" quote may occur with a suggest report expression also depends on the nature of the verb phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{like me any more,} \\
\text{want steak for dinner,} \\
\text{ever win,} \\
\text{"Why don't you} \\
\text{have Harry's luck with girls,} \\
\text{look like the rest of your family,} \\
\text{believe me,} \\
\text{ever listen to me,} \\
\end{array}
\]

(?)(!) she suggested.

These are implausible because the verb contained in the quote is not an action verb; for a quote to occur with a suggest report expression its verb must be an action verb:

\[
\text{"Why don't you NON-ACTION VERB,(!)" he suggested.}
\]

10. yes-no questions with a you subject do not occur with a suggest report expression:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{"Are you going to see a doctor?" she suggested.} \\
\text{"Will you see a doctor?" he suggested.} \\
\text{"Are/Will you do X?" she suggested.}
\end{array}
\]

11. suggest 2 differs from suggest 1 in that suggest 1 states that a course of action is a possible good choice, whereas suggest 2 states that it is possible that X is true. Both involve the assumption that the addressee has not considered what is stated, and both assume that the addressee wants to know something.
The second sense of *suggest* occurs in quotes whose corresponding utterances are responses to information-seeking utterances. Quotes occurring with *suggest 2* are either in the indicative frame, or consist of noun phrases or prepositional phrases:

In response to:

("Where's John?")

the following *suggest 2* reporting sentences could occur:

"At work?" he suggested.
"He has to work overtime?" she suggested.
"Maybe he's working overtime," she suggested.
"Perhaps he's been held up in the traffic," she suggested.
"He could be working back again," she suggested.

All of these quotes may occur with *suggest* report expressions because their meaning is consistent with the essential meaning of *suggest*:

"X could be the case".

The following, (because they state, without any indication of "possibility", that X is the case), may not occur in *suggest* reporting sentences:

*"He has to work overtime," she suggested.
*"He's in the garden," he suggested.
*"Still at work," he suggested.

*"X is the case," she suggested.

A quote which states that X is the case, but which has a final question mark may occur with *suggest* because the speaker is presenting a possibility, not stating a fact.
12. Elliptical quotes with an exclamation mark will not occur in suggest reporting sentences. Such quotes express that the speaker feels something about what he is saying. The information that he gives in these utterances implies that he believes that X is the case, which is inconsistent with the meaning of suggest.

("Where's John?")
"Outside?" she suggested.
*"Outside!" he suggested.
"In the bedroom?" he suggested.
*"In the bedroom!" he suggested.

*"PP/NP/Doing X!" he suggested.
(assuming you understand
I know X is the case,
and feel something
because of it.)

13. suggest may be used performatively. A quote with a suggest performative phrase will not occur in conjunction with a suggest report expression:

*"I suggest you see another solicitor," he suggested.
*"I suggest that the defendant could have been responsible for both crimes," he suggested.

*"I suggest X," he suggested.
*"I suggest you do X," she suggested.
II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. A suggest report expression may occur with:
   a. a sentential object (with or without that):
      suggest 1:
      '...Choreographer Paul Taylor suggested that they pair up at the opening night gala....'  
       ('Time': 27/4/81: 62)
      'He proceeded to suggest that to seal our common bond we should draw a combined cartoon.'
       ('Tanner With Words': 32)
      '...Barth suggested they discuss "my own difficulty in reading your books".'  
       ('Time': 3/8/81: 64)
      'The priest had just suggested they climb a willow...'
       ('The Thorn Birds': 82)
      suggest 2:
      'I suggested that this could inhibit the capacity of politicians in communicating with the public.'
       ('Hansard: Senate': 20/5/80: 2475)

b. A suggest 1 report expression may occur with a gerundive object:
   'He suggested using the Post's West Coast correspondent.'
       ('All the President's Men': 120)
   'On his own initiative he suggested adding a note to the effect that I was to be given help in my investigations.'  
       ('Ice': 35)
or

c. with a nominal object:

'He suggested a French restaurant in Soho, saying that
the food was very good there...'
("Lucinda Brayford": 192)

'He suggested government regulation to control seemingly
rapacious mark-ups.' ("The Bulletin": 18/8/81: 90)

2. should most often occurs in sentential objects of suggest 1
report phrases, indicating that the original speaker assumed that
X might be a good thing for B to do.

For example:

Gilbert suggested she should try to get onto the Board of Directors.

In a parallel suggest 2 reporting sentence, would, might, may or could will occur:

{would, may, could, might}

Gilbert suggested she {would, may, could, might} try to get onto the Board.

3. The verb used in the object sentence must be an action verb:

He suggested I follow Harry's example.

*He suggested I have Harry's luck with girls.

She suggested that I / (should) look at the rest of the family first.

*She suggested that I / (should) look like the rest of the family.

(note: suggest 2)

He suggested that I had the same luck with girls that
Harry had.

She suggested that I looked like the rest of the family.)
A suggested 1 that B non-action verb.

4. The posited action must not be seen as bad for the addressee:

*He suggested that I should fall and break my neck.
He suggested that I should only climb halfway up the tree.

*He suggested that I should see an incompetent doctor.
He suggested that I should see a good doctor.

A suggested that B should do something assumed to be bad for B.

SUMMARY - SUGGEST

a. Constraints

I. suggest 1:

1. "You could do X!" he suggested.
   "You have to do X," she suggested.
   "You will do X," he suggested.
   "I want you to do X," she suggested.
2. "Do X!" he suggested.
4. "Wh- do (NP) X?" he suggested.
5. "Why don't you do X!" he suggested.
   "Why not do X!" he suggested.
   "Do X, why don't you," he suggested.
6. "Why don't you NON-ACTION VERB?" he suggested.
7. "Are/WILL you do X?" she suggested.

suggest 2:
1. "X is the case," she suggested.
2. PP/NP/Doing X!" he suggested.
3. "I suggest \{ you do X, \} " he suggested.

II.
1. * A suggested that B non-action verb.
2. * A suggested that B do something bad for B.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences with suggest:
   *"You will see a doctor!" he suggested.
   *"You might try to be a little more patient!" she suggested.
   *"Let us go to the dance, Mum," she suggested.
   *"See a doctor!" she suggested.
   *"Why did you walk out?" she suggested.
   *"Why DON'T you come with me!" he suggested.
   *"Go for a walk, why don't you!" she suggested.
   *"Why don't you want any steak?" he suggested.
   *"Are you going to see a doctor?" she suggested.
   *"John is working overtime," he suggested.
   *"Working overtime!" he suggested.
   *"I suggest you seek another opinion," he suggested.
*She suggested I look like the rest of my family.
*She suggested I should look like the rest of my family.
*He suggested I see an incompetent doctor.
DISCUSSION: SUGGEST 1 AND ADVISE

Both advise and suggest 1 entail as part of their meaning, the notion of a future event. In the case of advising, the addressee is the one to carry out the future action; in suggesting 1, it may be the addressee or the addressee and the speaker. This explains why quotes occurring in a suggest report sentence may have we in the subject slot as the agent of the posited future action, whereas an advise report phrase may not:

"Let's take a walk," he suggested.
*"Let's take a walk," he advised.

"You could see another doctor," she suggested.
*"You should see another doctor," she advised.

"We should take a long holiday together," he suggested.
*"We should take a long holiday together," he advised.

"Take a break," he suggested.
*"Take a break," he advised.

"I could come with you," he suggested.
*"I should come with you," he advised.

Both advising and suggesting 1 involve positing a future good action. The main difference between the two acts is that a speaker who advises is letting the addressee know the best thing for the addressee to do, he is prescribing an action; whereas a speaker who suggests 1, is letting the addressee know a good possibility, not stating that it is the best thing for that person to do. Advise also
has a component related to 'badness', which suggest does not. A speaker who advises assumes that if the addressee ignores his advice, something bad may happen to him. The use of should and ought to in quotes occurring in advise reporting sentences points up this fact. Should and ought to may be used in quotes occurring with suggest report expressions but only if modified by a conditional sentence adverbial:

'You should/ought to keep quiet about it," he advised./
*he suggested.

\{Perhaps\}
\{Maybe\} you should/ought to keep quiet about it,'
he suggested./*advised.

Both suggest and advise report expressions may occur with gerundive objects, but only advise may take a to-infinitive.

He advised her to see another solicitor.
*He suggested to her to see another solicitor.

He advised seeing another solicitor.
He suggested seeing another solicitor.

That an advise report expression may take a to-infinitive is consistent with that part of the meaning of advise:
wanting to cause B to be able to do the best thing...
The illocutionary point of suggesting is not related to action but to 'knowing' or 'considering':
wanting to cause B to know that X is a possible good thing to do.

A suggest report expression may occur with an interrogative frame quote, or with a quote with interrogative punctuation, but an advise report expression may not:
"Why don't you give it one last chance?" she suggested./*she advised.

"Could you try it once more?" she suggested./*advised.

"See another doctor?" he suggested./*advised.

This illustrates, again, the difference between the assumptions of both verbs:

advise:
assuming A would know what someone in B's position should do

suggest:
assuming X might be a good thing for B to do

** **

"She asked in mock seriousness: "You need this flight now!" (["Time", 24/7/81: 13])

"Finally, do you think we could run Pepsi?" Stanis asked.
(["Joan Crawford": 102])

"How would you rate the story?" Woodward asked.
(["All the President's Men": 222])
In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

"Let's ask Les." My heart sank. "Yes, Les ought to know." I picked up a little; at least I wasn't going to be asked to do anything.

("Tanner With Words": 148)

1. The above illustrates the two senses of ask.

ask 1 report expressions occur with quotes in either the interrogative or declarative frame. ask 2 report expressions occur with quotes in interrogative, imperative, or declarative frame.

The report verb ask 1 occurs in reporting sentences with quotes with interrogative punctuation, with interrogative or declarative frame quotes. Examples:

"...he asked in mock seriousness: "You mean that right now?"" ("Time": 24/7/81: 13)

"Pally, do you think we could run Pepsi?" Steele asked.

("Joan Crawford": 192)

"How would you rate the story?" Woodward asked.

("All the President's Men": 332)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITION:</th>
<th>A asked B X</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not knowing X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>assuming B knows X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanting to cause B to cause A to know it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not assuming B has to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A said: I want to know X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assuming B would tell A if B knew it and</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>expecting B would say something else if B didn't know it</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
ask 2. Examples:

"Can I rip you off for a fag, man?" he asks, the hand already half-way to my pack.'
("Hunting the Wild Pineapple": 20)

"...after several takes she asked Aldrich, "Could we have a break for a few minutes, please...?"
("Joan Crawford": 225)

DEFINITION: A asked B to do X

wanting to cause B to do X
assuming B can do it
not knowing if B would do it
A said: I want you to do X
expecting B would tell A whether B will do it

2. Not any quote which has an interrogative frame may occur with a report expression containing ask 1:

*"Isn't it a beautiful day!" she asked.
*"Wasn't it a great night!" he asked.
*"Didn't he play beautifully," she asked.
*"Aren't you glad you didn't take the part!" she asked.
*"Won't Dave be pleased to hear this!" he asked.

Such quotes are used to prompt responses, but not answers. In these cases the speaker is not wanting to know X; he assumes he and the addressee have the same knowledge about X. What he wants to do is express what he feels about X, as well as elicit some response from the addressee. The following reporting sentences are acceptable because they expect a yes or no answer:
"Is it a beautiful day outside?" he asked.
"Was it a wonderful show?" she asked.
"Did he play beautifully?" he asked.
"Are you glad you didn't take the part?" she asked.
"Will Dave be pleased to hear this?" she asked.

(The last example is also barred from occurring with an ask report expression if no question mark occurs with the quote:

*"Will Dave be pleased to hear this," he asked.
*"Will Dave be pleased to hear this!" he asked.)

Both of these quotes represent echo questions, expressing different original speaker feelings. The first indicates the original speaker's annoyance and frustration at being asked such a stupid question. The second indicates the original speaker's amazement at having been asked such a question; the intonation carries the additional information "Of course he will!"

3. Any quote containing an ask performative phrase may not occur with an ask report expression:

*"I ask you to tell me where you were on the night of the 15th," he asked.
"I ask Mr Fraser whether his government will do anything to help the many Australians retrenched as a result of his latest budget cuts," he asked.

*I ask...........," he asked.

4. Declarative frame quotes with a final question mark may occur in an ask 1 reporting sentence:

"You got the scholarship?" she asked.
"Reagan was elected?" she asked.
"The square of three is nine?" she asked.

Even declarative frame quotes which clearly state that the speaker is seeking information do not occur with an ask 1 report expression:

*I'd like to know if Reagan got in," he asked.
*IIf you could tell me how this mouse got into my drawer, I'd be eternally grateful" she asked.
*ISomeone must be able to tell me who discovered America," she asked.

*"NP VP," she asked.

Although the above quotes are compatible with some of the components of ask 1 (not knowing X / assuming B knows X / wanting to cause B to cause A to know it) they do not carry the assumption necessary to the meaning of ask 1 that the addressee is expected to say something one way or another; in these quotes the addressee is
not being given a choice in the way he is given a choice in quotes such as:

"Did Reagan get in?"
"Who put the mouse in my drawer?"
"Who discovered America?"

5. Imperative frame quotes are excluded from occurring with an ask 1 report expression. Although an imperative frame quote may be used in order to cause the original addressee to tell the original speaker something, it cannot be used to express the other essential components of the meaning of ask 1:

"What is 7 plus 2?" she asked.
*"Tell me what 7 plus 2 is," she asked.

"What's your name?" she asked.
*"Say your name out loud," she asked.

"Will you recite the 'Fairie Queen'?" she asked.
*"Recite the 'Fairie Queen'," she asked.

Although these examples verge on ask 2's territory, they are included here to show that information seeking quotes in the imperative may not occur with an ask 1 report expression:

*"Cause me to know X," she asked.

ask 2:

6. The report verb ask 2 may occur with quotes which are in the interrogative:

"Can you do X for me?" she asked.
"Can I do X?" he asked.
"May I do X?" he asked.
"Could/Would you do X for me?" she asked.
"Can/May I have X?" he asked.

The co-occurrence of ask 2 report expressions and declarative frame quote is limited to the frame:
"I'd like (you to do) X,".

"I'd like" parallels the interrogative in that both allow the addressee the opportunity to choose whether he does what the speaker wants. By stating what he would 'like' to be done a speaker exerts no pressure on the addressee to do it, so there is no incompatibility between the meaning of such quotes and the meaning of ask 2.

Declarative frame quotes of the frame:
"I want (you to do) X."

are incompatible with the meaning of asking 2. The meaning of:
"(I say) I want (you to do) X."
implies an assumption that what the speaker wants will be fulfilled.

For this reason reporting sentences of the following type are unacceptable:

**"I want this mess cleaned up," she asked.**
**"I want a raise," he asked.**
**"I want some time on my own," she asked.**

whereas the following are acceptable:

"I'd like a raise, please," she asked.
"I'd like some time on my own," she asked. "If that's all right with you."

**"NP VP," she asked.**
(except: "I'd like (you to do) X," she asked.)
7. Quotes with an imperative clause may not occur with an ask 1 report expression, but may occur with ask 2. A quote that has a tag which is an exclamatory expression of the speaker's bad feelings will not occur with an ask 2 report expression:

"Get me the book, \{ you idiot!\} he asked.\{ for Chrissakes!\}  
fool!\{ for crying out loud!\}"

"Get me the book," he asked her.\n"Get me the book, will you?" she asked.\n"Give me the book, please," she asked.\n"Put it over there, do you mind?" she asked.\n"Please get me the book," she asked.\n"Please put it on the table," she asked.

Polite interrogative tags often occur in imperative frame quotes, so allowing such quotes to occur with ask 2 report expressions:

"Do X, exclamation!" he asked.

8. A quote with a performative ask 2 phrase may not occur with ask 2 report expressions:

"I'm asking you for an apology," she asked.\n"Might I ask you for your autograph?" he asked.\n"Let me ask you a question," she asked.

"Performative ask phrase,...........," she asked.
II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

a. ask 1

1. ask 1 may not occur with a that-clause. The content of an asking utterance is embedded in an ask 1 reporting sentence without the direct quote, with Wh- and if:

'I asked him whether the ALP could assume a positive policy on the law-and-order issue if only by upgrading police incomes and work-evaluation to at least the level of school teachers.'

("The Bulletin": 28/7/81)

'Woodward then asked if it was John Ehrlichman'.

("All the President's Men": 173)

'...the two biggest boys bursting into my room, asking me how much money I'll give them to spend at the airport.'

("Coins for the Ferryman": 11)

2. An ask 1 report expression may occur with about X:

'Planning my questions deliberately, I asked about refugees.'

("Ice": 89)

'Senator Eilstob has asked about other incentives.'

("Hansard: Senate": 21/5/80: 2562)

'Crawford drank her vodka and kept the conversation going, asking about her young director's background and experience.'

("Joan Crawford")

3. An ask 1 report expression may also occur with after NP:

Celeste asked after you today.

John asked after Sally today.
4. **wh-** clauses are used to express the content of **wh-** questions; any acceptable **wh-** clause may occur in an **ask** reporting sentences without semantic constraint.

5. Single proposition yes-no questions may be represented in an **ask** reporting sentence using **if**:

   She asked me if I was going to the party.
   He asked if Harry had seen the agenda yet.
   She asked me if I'd eaten all the chicken.

The presence of the negative in the original quote will predict the use of **whether**:

   "Aren't you going to the party?"
   "Are you going to the party, or not?"
   She asked whether I was going to the party.

Double proposition questions ('X or Y') will also predict the use of **whether**:

   He asked whether John had been to China or Japan.
   ("Has John been/to China or Japan")
   ("Has John been to China/ or Japan")

In such reporting sentences it is presupposed that John went somewhere: **where he went** is in question.

   He asked if John had been to China or Japan.
   ("Has John / been to China or Japan?

Intonation will obviously be an important indicator as to whether **X or Y** is a single or double proposition, and therefore whether it requires **if....or whether.....** embedding.

Jespersen (1965) V.5: 501) noted that the sentence:

   Did John drink sherry or port?

may be interpreted in two ways, according to intonation.
i) Did John drink sherry or port?

ii) Did John drink sherry or port?

In (i), it is assumed that John drank. Was it sherry he drank, or was it port?

In (ii), the question is whether John drank at all (and all he could have had to drink was sherry or port). (i) expresses a double proposition, and could be included in a reporting sentence with ask using whether. As (ii) expresses merely one proposition 'Did John drink?', whether would not be used.

Questions reported with whether are best answered with one of the two propositions. Questions reported with if are best answered with a yes or a no.

Similar to wh-clauses with an ask 1 report phrase, if and whether clauses are not semantically constrained in ask reporting sentences.

6. An ask report phrase may occur with about X if X is purely nominal:

He asked about John.

He asked about John's new job.

*He asked about John's leaving.

*She asked about John's managing to get a new job.

*A asked (B) about someone's doing (of X).
7. Questions which express the speaker's desire to know how someone is, will be reported with A asked after C. Proper nouns referring to people or groups of people may occur in the X slot after after. (Much loved pets may also fit the 'human' role for some people.)

- John came by and asked after you today.
- Grandma asked after the family in her last letter.
- I say Peter yesterday and he asked after Sally and the rest of the girls.

*John asked after the new toaster.
*He asked after the roses.
*He asked after his books.
*John asked after himself.

*A asked after non-human nounphrase.
*A asked after himself.

b. ask 2

1. An ask 2 report expression may occur with if A could do /have X:

- The doorman asked if he could have the gardenia Joan held in her hand.
- She asked me if I could come into her room for a talk.

with to+infinitive:

- 'When I was with the president a while ago he asked me to tell you he's made a decision on de-classification.' ("The Company": 191)
- 'I asked to see a collective farm on the Mekong Delta.' ("The Bulletin": 18/8/81: 103)
- '...he rang up the Dean, asked him to reserve two choir stalls and took Lucinda to hear it.' ("Lucinda Brayford": 17)
ask 2 report expressions may also take that- clauses:

'Republican Senator Pressler... asked that Israel be offered additional radar and communications jamming equipment to protect it against the radar aircraft.' ("The Canberra Times": 16/10/81: 5)

He asked that the matter be set aside for debate.
He asked that Senator Child be sent from the House.

that- clauses are used to report performative ask utterances of the frame:

'I ask that...........

or other declarative frame acts of asking for something.

("At least give me some time on my own," she asked.)

She asked that she be given some time on her own.

An ask 2 report expression may occur with for X:

'Huang is forthright about Mao's mistakes, but he also asks for understanding.' ("Time": 12/4/81: 36)

'Asked for his views on the Brixton riots, he said:

"I am the one person who does not need to be asked for a comment."' ("The Bulletin": 28/4/81: 94)

'And he asked for frequent reports on the surveillance.'

("The Company": 209)

'He asked the stationmaster for the name of a workingman's hotel...' ("The Thorn Birds": 244)

2. The occurrence with ask 2 report expressions and if clauses and to+infinitive is similarly constrained in both cases. What is required in the verb slot, in both cases, is an action verb:
*He asked me if I could feel happy.
*He asked me to feel happy.

*He asked if I could expect an answer in a few days.
*He asked me to expect an answer in two days.
He asked if I could send him an answer in two days.
He asked me to send him my answer in two days.

*He asked if I could catch a cold.
*He asked me to catch a cold.

He asked if I could catch the emu for him.
He asked me if he could catch the emu for me.
He asked me to catch the emu.

*A asked (B) if B could non-action verb.
*A asked (B) if A could non-action verb.
*A asked B to non-action verb.

3. The constraints on the A asked (B) to X frame are related to the preceding constraint. What fills the X slot must be something that can be given from one person to another.

He asked for more time for policy discussion.
She asked her mother for a bike for Christmas.
He asked for a vote on the point of order.

*He asked for relativity.
*She asked for conceptualization.
*She asked him for intuition.
*A asked (B) for something B couldn't cause anyone to have.

SUMMARY - ASK

a. Constraints

I.

ask 1:

1. "Isn't/Wasn't NP NP!" he asked.

   *"Didn't"
   *"Doesn't"
   *"Aren't"
   *"Weren't"
   *"Hasn't"
   *"Hadn't"

   *"Will/Won't NP VP!" he asked.

2. "I ask......," she asked.


4. "Cause me to know X," she asked.

ask 2:

1. "NP VP," he asked. (except: "I'd like (you to do) X")

2. "Do X, exclamation!" she asked.

3. "I ask ......," she asked.

II.

*A asked (B) about someone's doing X

*A asked after non-human NP/himself.

*A asked (B) \{ if \{ B could non-action verb. \} \}

   \{ A could non-action verb. \}

   to non-action verb.
b. **Unacceptable reporting sentences containing ask:**

*"Didn't he perform well!" she asked.

*"Will Dave be pleased to hear this!" he asked.

*"I'm asking you where you were that night," he asked.

*"You got the prize," he asked.

*"Tell me your name," he asked.

*"I want a raise," he asked.

*"Get me the cigar, idiot!" she asked.

*"I'm asking you for an apology," she asked.
I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb demand occurs with quotes explicitly expressing, or alluding to the fact, that the speaker wants the addressee to give him something. Examples:

   'Jack Benny, to the robber who demanded, "Your money or your life."

   "I'm thinking it over." ("Quote... "Unquote": 48)

   '"What documents have you seen?" Mollenhoff demanded. 

   ("All the President's Men": 163)

   '"Are you some kind of imbecile or something?" she demanded furiously. ' ("The Winter Sparrows": 57)

   'Good God! thought Mike. "Cut it out!" he demanded sharply.' ("Return to Peyton Place": 239)

DEFINITION: A demanded X (from B)

wanting to cause B to give A X
assuming B can do it
assuming B doesn't want to
A said: I want (you to cause me to have) X
expecting that B would do what A wanted
assuming B has no good reason for not doing it.

2. A demand report expression may occur with quotes which have a declarative interrogative or imperative frame. The use of the declarative is restricted to one frame:
"I want X."
"I want a cookie," she demanded.
"I want a three-month contract," he demanded.
"I want my dinner now," she demanded.

Declarative quotes with different configurations will not occur with demand:

*"John wants a cookie," she demanded.
*"I need a break," she demanded.
*"M'lord desires your presence in the library," he demanded.

*"NP VP," he demanded.
if NP does not = I/We
and V does not = want

3. The act of demanding may employ a declarative utterance with a performative demand phrase. Any quote with a demand performative phrase will not occur with a demand report expression:

*"I demand an answer to my question," he demanded.
*"I demand an audience with the King," he demanded.

*"I demand X," he demanded.

4. Interrogative frame quotes may occur with a demand report expression with either interrogative or exclamatory punctuation:

"Who told you that?" he demanded.
"Who told you that!" he demanded.
Not any interrogative frame quote with interrogative punctuation may occur with a demand report expression.

"Would you mind telling me your name?" he demanded.
"Could you tell me your name, please?" she demanded.
"May I have that book, please?" she demanded.

With exclamatory punctuation these quotes may occur with demand:
"Would you mind telling me your name!" he demanded.
"Could you tell me your name, please!" she demanded.
"May I have that book, please!" she demanded.

The use of the question mark indicates the component of ask:
not knowing if B will do X

When a speaker demands, he considers that the addressee will do what the speaker wants, because the speaker considers there can be no good reason for him not doing it.

"Can/Could/Would you do X for me?" he demanded.
"Can/May I have X?" he demanded.

5. Any wh- question may comprise the quote occurring with a demand report expression, with either interrogative or exclamatory punctuation. In these cases, the X the speaker wants the addressee to give is an answer:
"Wh- VP ..........?/!" he demanded.

may be explicated:
wanting to cause B to give A an answer
assuming B could give it to A
assuming B didn’t want to
A said: I want you to tell me the answer
assuming B would do it because B couldn’t give A
a good reason for not doing it.

"Where have you been?!” she demanded.
"Who discovered the United States of America?!” he demanded.
"What are you doing?!” she demanded.
"Why didn’t you tell me before?!” he demanded.

Quotes which are primarily exclamative, containing interrogative
pronouns will not occur with demand report expressions:

*"What, another biscuit!” he demanded.
*"What a pretty dress!” she demanded.
*"Who, John?!” he demanded.

"What biscuit?!” she demanded.
"What dress?!” he demanded.
"Who is John?!” she demanded.

In the starred examples, the original speaker was wanting to
express feelings, and not to get the original addressee to do something,
although the speaker may have expected some response from the addressee,
he is not primarily seeking an answer:

*"I feel something about X,” he demanded.
6. A quote comprised of a tagged declarative sentence with interrogative or exclamative punctuation may occur with a demand report expression:

"You took it, didn't you?/!" she demanded.
"Canberra is the capital of Australia, isn't it?/!" he demanded.
"You were with that Brogan boy, weren't you?/!" she demanded.

7. Yes/no questions may not occur as the quote with a demand report expression if the proposition of such quotes relates to something of benefit to the addressee:

*"Can I give you a massage?" he demanded.
*"How about I get you a nice cuppatea?" she demanded.
*"Would you like a lift?" she demanded.
*"May I help you with your bags?" she demanded.

The propositions of such quotes have as part of their meaning:

assuming B would want me to do this

which is incompatible with the meaning of demand:

*"Can/May/How about I do something you want," he demanded.
*"Would you like X?" he demanded.

8. Any imperative frame quote which does not have interrogative punctuation may occur with a demand report expression (with certain semantic restrictions which will be dealt with shortly):
"Cut it out!" he demanded.
*"Cut it out?" he demanded.

"Hand over my money!" he demanded.
*"Hand over my money?" he demanded.

"Take me home!" she demanded.
*"Take me home?" she demanded.

*"Do X?" she demanded.

Such quotes do not express the necessary component of demand:
wanting to cause B to give A X

9. Similarly with declarative frame "I want X" quotes:
   *"I want a cookie?" she demanded.
   *"I want a raise?" he demanded.

   *"I want X?" he demanded.

10. please may occur in a quote with an imperative frame:
    "Take me home please!" she demanded.
    "Give me the money please!" he demanded.

The following are unacceptable:
   *"Please, take me home." she demanded.
   *"Please, give me the money," he demanded.
   *"Please...give me the money," he demanded.
as are:

"Take me home, please," she demanded.
"Give me the money, please," he demanded.

or:
"Take me home...please?" she demanded.
"Give me the money...please?" he demanded.

"Please, do X," he demanded.
"Do X, please," he demanded.
"Do X...please," he demanded.

*"Take me home, please," she demanded.
*"Give me the money, please," he demanded.

11. *let may occur as the verb in an imperative quote occurring with a demand report expression, but only if the following pronoun is uncontracted:

"Let us go," he demanded.
"Let's go," he demanded.

"Let us go to the dance!" she demanded.
"Let's go to the dance!" she demanded.

"Let us walk out of here," he demanded.
"Let's walk out of here," he demanded.

The contracted pronoun indicates joint action by the original speaker and addressee: and it is assumed by that speaker that the addressee would want to do X. *Let's is therefore excluded from occurring in a quote with a demand report expression because its meaning is incompatible with the essential meaning of demand:

assuming B doesn't want to do X

*"Let's do X," he demanded.
12. For the same reason, *yourself* is excluded from occurring as the person benefitting by the action:

"Let me out!" he demanded.
"Let her out!" he demanded.
*"Let yourself out!" he demanded.

"Give me a raise!" he demanded.
"Give her a raise!" he demanded.
*"Give yourself a raise!" he demanded.

*"Do X for yourself!" he demanded.

13. The quote occurring with a demand report expression may be comprised of a noun phrase:

"Your wallet!/" he demanded.
"The truth!/" he demanded.
"The book!/" he demanded.

Given certain contextual provisos, any NP may occur in this slot and occur with a demand report expression. What must be understood from the context is that the original speaker assumes the original addressee is reluctant to do what the speaker wants; that the addressee is thought of as capable of giving it; that the original speaker considered the addressee would give it to him because he cannot give the speaker a sufficiently good reason for not giving it to him. Whether such a reporting sentence is acceptable, depends not so much on the relationship between the quote and the report phrase, but on the context. There would be overall dialogue constraints on the acceptability of such a sentence within a dialogue but no semantic co-occurrence constraints within the sentence itself.
14. Imperative frame quotes which appear with demand reporting expressions may also occur with order and command report expressions:

"Get me my car!" he ordered/commanded/demanded.

"Set her free," he ordered/commanded/demanded.

"Hand me your wallet," he ordered/commanded/demanded.

Although there are differences in frame (apart from the imperative) between quotes which can occur with these verbs, such an observation explains, to some extent, the reason for some commentators to conclude that there is little difference in meaning between commands, demands, and orders.

Lyons (1979: 751-752) makes the claim that there is no illocutionary difference between such speech acts; there is merely a difference in 'social interactions and communication'.

One might suggest, in defence of ordering, commanding, and demanding having different illocutionary forces, that quotes such as the above, which allow co-occurrence with report phrases with various report verbs, illustrate a sharing of one component between the possible report verbs, not that those report verbs have identical illocutionary meaning.

commanding and ordering have a component not shared by demanding; that is, the speaker assumes the addressee has to do what the speaker wants; the speaker has a right to cause the addressee to do things.

The speaker who demands assumes the addressee will do what he wants; not because he has to, but because he cannot give sufficient justification for not doing it.

This explains why demand report expressions may occur with quotes with interrogative markers, but order and command report expressions may not.
What Lyons classes as 'social interactions and communications', that is, secondary extrinsic features of a speech act, I would consider to be essential parts of the meaning of that speech act.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. A demand report expression may occur with a that-clause; a nominal object, a to know X; or with a sentential object without that.

   'Khomeini demanded that Bani Sadr abolish all opposition parties.' ("The Bulletin": 18/8/81: 127)

   Khomeini demanded Bani Sadr abolish all opposition parties.

   'Owner truck drivers surrounded Parliament House... demanding improvements in their industry.' ("Weekend Australian": 12-13/7/81: 4)

   "...Mr Alias attacked the Committee, demanding to know how they'd got his name." ("National Times": 27/9-3/10/81: 47)

2. The component of demand:

   wanting (to cause B to give A) X

predicts that the subject of the embedded sentence must not agree with the main sentence subject:

   *{He demanded that he himself abolish all opposition parties.

unless the passive occurs:

   He demanded that he be allowed to abolish all opposition parties.
*He demanded that he go to the party.
*She demanded that she wanted another biscuit.

*A demanded that A do X.

3. A demand report expression most often occurs with a nominal object, representing the object wanted by the speaker:

She demanded a divorce/an increase in pay/reforms/
an apology/a ransom of $1 million/money.

For this nominal object to occur with a demand report expression, the object referred to must be something which can be given from one person to another. Any noun which refers to something which in real world terms is not seen as the product of a human action will not occur with a demand report phrase:

*He demanded hope/rain/good luck.

These are things which can be wanted, but which cannot be given from one person to another.

*A demanded something that no-one could give him.

4. Any NP which refers to something that could not be wanted will not occur with a demand report expression:

He demanded obedience from his men.
*He demanded insubordination from his men.

She demanded an apology.
*She demanded an insult.
The prisoners demanded humane treatment from prison officers.
*The prisoners demanded inhumane treatment from prison officers.

*A demanded something unwanted.

5. A demand report expression may not occur with an active to+infinitive, except to know:

She demanded to know where I'd been.
*She demanded to go to the dance.
*She demanded to get his money.
*She demanded to have an interview.
She demanded to be given an interview.
She demanded to be set free.
She demanded to be allowed to go to the dance.

Although the frame A demanded X would be preferred to the above acceptable instances, as in:

She demanded \{ freedom.

[ an interview. permission to go to the dance.]

the to+passive is still acceptable.

*A demanded to do X.
*A demanded to get/have X.
SUMMARY - DEMAND

a. Constraints

I.

1. "NP VP," he demanded (if NP does not = I/We and and V does not = want)

2. "I demand X," he demanded.

   "Can/May I have X?" he demanded.

4. "I feel something about X," he demanded.

5. "Can/May/How about I do something you want?" he demanded.

6. "Do X?" he demanded.

7. "I want X?" he demanded.

   "Do X, please," she demanded.
   "Do X...please," he demanded.


II.

*A demanded that A do X.
*A demanded something no-one could give him.
*A demanded something unwanted.
*A demanded to do X.
*A demanded to get/have X.
b. Unacceptable reporting sentences with demand:

*"John wants a cookie," he demanded.
*"I demand an apology," she demanded.
*"Would you mind telling me your name?" she demanded.
*"What! Another biscuit!" he demanded.
*"Can I give you a massage?" she demanded.
*"Cut it out?" she demanded.
*"I want a cookie?" she demanded.
*"Take me home...please?" she demanded.
*"Let's go." he demanded.
*"Let yourself out!" he demanded.

*She demanded that she wanted to go out.
*He demanded hope.
*She demanded an insult.
*She demanded to have an interview.
DISCUSSION: ASK AND DEMAND

Ask and demand report expressions may both occur with interrogative frame quotes; and both report expressions may occur with if/whether clauses, or wh-clauses in reporting sentences that do not contain the direct quote, if the reporter wishes to convey the content of the original quote. Demand report expressions must take the addition of 'to know' if this is the case:

He asked (him) \[
\begin{align*}
&\{ why \text{ he was late. } \\
&\{ if/whether \text{ he had seen John lately. } \\
&\{ where \text{ he'd been. } \\
&\{ whether \text{ he had seen John lately. } \\
&\{ \text{why he was late. } \\
\end{align*}
\]

*He demanded \[
\begin{align*}
&\{ \text{where he'd been. } \\
&\{ if/whether \text{ he had seen John lately. } \\
&\{ \text{why he was late } \\
\end{align*}
\]

He demanded to know \[
\begin{align*}
&\{ \text{where he'd been. } \\
&\{ \text{why he was late } \\
&\{ if/whether \text{ he had seen John lately. } \\
\end{align*}
\]

The report verb ask entails the speaker wanting to know something, whereas information is only one of the things a speaker may want when he demands. "to know" is necessary additional information in appropriate demand reporting sentences, and would be tautological in ask reporting sentences.

An ask report expression may occur with for X, indicating that the original speaker wanted the addressee to give him something. A demand report expression may not so occur:

She asked for a cigarette.

*She demanded for a cigarette.

She demanded a cigarette.
demand has as part of its meaning that the speaker wants to be given something so that for X in the reporting sentence is tautological, whereas it is necessary in such ask 2 report sentences.

If the reporter does not want to specify the content of the original quote, he may say:

She demanded an answer.
She asked (him) a question.

Note the difference in focus here. The noun phrase occurring with the demand report expression refers to the product of the original addressee's action. The NP occurring with an ask report expression refers to the product of the original speaker's action. The same applies when what is being demanded/asked for refers to a non-verbal act. ask obligatorily takes for; making it explicit that what follows is the hoped for result of the addressee's action. This notion is implicit in the meaning of demand so needs not be stated:

She asked for a raise.
She demanded a raise.

She asked for some time off.
She demanded some time off.

He asked for more money.
He demanded more money.

An ask 2 utterance may be reported in a reporting sentence without the direct quote with if A (or B) could/would do X:

She asked if he could give her a lift.

reflecting the content of the original quote:

"Can/Could you give me a lift?" she asked.
A demand report expression may not so occur; in either type of reporting sentence:

* He demanded if I could give him a lift.

'*"Can/Could you give me a lift?" he demanded.

Such possible co-occurrences with ask report expressions are consistent with that part of the meaning of ask 2:

not knowing if B will do X

whereas the part of the meaning of demand:

expecting B will cause A to have X

is incompatible with "Can/Would/Could you do X?" frames, and with if I could do X.

Gloria Green (1975: 121) notes that:

'Grammatically, demands have the same intonation as orders, ... but they cannot be reported with tell or ask, but only with demand.'

Earlier, Green says:

'in social terms, orders are distinct from demands, requests, and pleas in that the giver of the order believes that he has the authority to control the intentional behaviour of the recipient, and expects to be obeyed. (...) Grammatically they have the falling intonation typical of statements..." (120)

The question Green has not answered is: Why is it that demands and orders have the same falling intonation? The declarative, (frame or intonation) is used to express the meaning: knowing X. It seems plausible that the reason that both orders and demands have such intonation reflects that, contrary to Green's claim, both expect that X will be done. Requests have rising intonation consistent with the
meaning: not knowing if B will do X.

Were demands able to occur with such rising intonation, Green's point would be proved.

Despite Green's claim that demands cannot be reported with ask, evidence seemingly to the contrary can be found. Rather than saying demands can be reported with ask (such a statement presupposing that someone determines something is firstly a demand, and then checks to see whether ask could be used), one can say that a quote which may prompt a demand report expression in a sentence without the direct quote, may also prompt an ask report expression in such a reporting sentence:

("Sydney Telegraph": 9/7: 9)

'Dead boy asked for money, court told
A teenage boy found dead at Engadine last October had demanded $20 after having sex with a man...'

A quote that is clearly a demand does not easily occur with an ask report expression in reporting sentences containing the direct quote:

"Give me the money," he demanded.

?"Give me the money," he asked.

but this may be reported later as follows:
The mugger asked for my money.

or: The mugger demanded money.

In the same way a reporter may chose to use ask to report utterances which may be earlier reported with the quote using beg, implore, enquire:

"Oh, please, can you give me another chance?" she implored. may later be reported:

She asked him to give her another chance.

or: She implored him to give her another chance.

"Could I trouble you to tell me where Gimble's is?" he enquired. may be later reported:

He asked the bellhop where Gimble's was.

or: He enquired of the bellhop where Gimble's was.

If ask is chosen in later reports of demanding, begging, imploring and enquiring utterances, the reporter is choosing to represent the minimal features of the original illocutionary meaning: that is, in demanding, imploring, begging utterances that the speaker wanted to get something, and in enquiring, quizzing, cross-examining and questioning utterances, that the speaker wanted to know something.

* * *
ORDER

I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. An order report expression may occur with quotes stating that the speaker wants the addressee to do something, expecting that the addressee has to do what the speaker says. Examples:

   'The next day I wouldn't go to school...then my mother pushed me out of the door.
   "Do the right thing," she ordered me.'
   ("The Winter Sparrows": 162)

   '"Billie, I want you to play with the girls," my mother ordered, and she applied the switch when Billie disobeyed.' ("Joan Crawford": 13)

   'Guillam had already cut him off.
   'You just keep your head down, right?' he ordered, and Tarr sulked for a space.'
   ("Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy": 49)

   DEFINITION:  
   A ordered B  
   wanting to cause B to do X  
   assuming B can do X  
   assuming B has to do what A says  
   because A has the right to cause B to do things  
   A said:  I want you to do X  
   assuming saying this will cause B to do it.
2. Interrogative frame quotes will not occur with *order* report expressions:

"Can you shut the door for me?" he ordered.
"Will you see me in my office?" he ordered.
"Could you walk a little faster?" he ordered.

These quotes carry the component:
assuming B doesn't have to do what A says
which is not compatible with the essential component of order:
assuming B has to do what A says.

If such quotes have an exclamation mark, they are still barred from occurring with an *order* report expression.

"Can you shut the door for me!" he ordered.
"Will you see me in my office!" he ordered.
"Could you walk a little faster!" he ordered.

Although these quotes carry the idea that the speaker expects the addressee has to do what he wants (or, at the very least, that he expects the force of his statement to ensure that the addressee will do it) such quotes are incompatible with the component of *order*:

A has a right to cause B to do things

Clearly interrogative frame quotes can be directive, particularly when they contain *why don't you or will you*, tagged or otherwise:

"Why don't you be quiet!" he ordered.
"Be quiet, why don't you!" he ordered.
"Will you shut the door!" he ordered.
"Shut the door, will you!" he ordered.

One type of tag is possible in a quote occurring with an *order* report expression:
"Get out, you hear me?" he ordered.
"Be quiet, understand?" he ordered.
"Not another word out of you, right?" he ordered.

".................?" he ordered.
(except: "Do X, right?/is that clear?/ understood?"
   he ordered.

3. The only possible indicative frame quotes occurring with order
   report expressions are:
   "I want (you to do) X."
   and
   "You will do X."
   "I want an apology!" he ordered.
   "I want you to apologize!" he ordered.
   "You will be back at 8," he ordered.
   "You will keep quiet about this," he ordered.

   *"I'd like you to apologize," he ordered.
   *"You should apologize," he ordered.
   *"You must apologize," he ordered.

   *" NP VP," he ordered.
   (except: I want you to do X.
   You will do X.
The meaning of *I want* is compatible with the component of *order*: assuming *B* has to do what *A* says.

Wanting presupposes fulfillment in a way that *liking* does not.

You will do *X* is also compatible with the meaning of *order*; the uncontracted *will* indicating that the speaker presupposes that *X* is a definite future event.

Not all "I want you to do *X*" or "You will do *X*" quotes will automatically occur with *order* report expressions: the meanings of the VP will decide the possibility of co-occurrence. However, these two frames are the only indicative frames which may occur in an *order* reporting sentence.

4. Imperative frame quotes commonly occur with *order* report expressions, but it does not necessarily follow that all imperative frame quotes may so occur:

> *"Try the red one, please,"* he ordered.
> *"Shut the door, if you don't mind,"* he ordered.
> *"Get my spanner for me, there's a good boy!"* he ordered.
> *"Now, beat the eggs and the sugar together!"* she ordered.
> *"See it from my point of view!"* he ordered.
> *"Don't worry!"* she ordered.
> *"Remember it's garbage night!"* he ordered.
> *"Pipe down!"* he ordered.
> *"Shut up!"* he ordered.
> *"Don't pretend you don't know what I'm talking about!"* she ordered.
> *"Stop feeling so insecure!"* she ordered.
> *"Give him an inch and he'll take a mile,"* he ordered.
If the verb phrase in the imperative frame quote does not posit an action, then the quote may not occur with an order report expression:

"Wipe that grin off your face," he ordered.
"Pull yourself together!" he ordered.
"Act like a man, soldier!" he ordered.
"Kill!" he ordered.

*"Stop feeling happy!" he ordered.
*"Be fearless!" he ordered.
*"Stop feeling so insecure!" he ordered.
*"Don't be upset!" she ordered.
*"Die!" he ordered.

Such starred examples contain quotes which in themselves are grammatical but whose co-occurrence with order is implausible because volitional actions are not stated.

*"Do X!" he ordered.
if Do X refers to something the original speaker cannot cause.

5. If a quote contains any lexical item conveying the meaning:
   A assumes B doesn't have to do this
that quote will not occur with an order report expression:

*"Close the door, please," she ordered.
if you don't mind,"

*"Close the door, if it's no trouble," he ordered.
if you would,"

*"Do X, I assume you don't have to do it," she ordered.
6. Declarative frame quotes containing a verb phrase referring to non-action verbs are also barred from occurring with order report expressions:

*"You will feel better in the morning," he ordered.  
*"I want you to love me like you did when we first met," he ordered.

7. Imperative frame quotes containing action verbs may not always occur with an order report expression:

*"Laugh it off!" he ordered.  
*"Look on the bright side!" she ordered.  
*"Give it a miss!" he ordered.  
*"Don't burn all your bridges!" he ordered.

One could imagine rare circumstances in which these quotes could occur with order; that is the quotes could be made to be compatible with order by giving the quotes their literal meaning.

However, such quotes are normally taken figuratively, as wise sayings, or bits of advice.

Given that they may be worked into an acceptable context, the possibility is there for these quotes to occur with order. However, imperative quotes such as the following would be hard to rationalize with order reporting:

*"Step on a crack, break you mother's back!" she ordered.  
*"Give him an inch and he'll take a mile," she ordered.  
*"Laugh and the world laughs with you," he ordered.
"Ship up and shape out!" he ordered.

"Leave the room and close the door after you!" she ordered.

"Peel the potatoes and wash the dishes!" she ordered.

Rather than meaning: "Do X and Do Y", the above starred sentences mean: "If you do X, Y will happen.

This constraint also excludes sentences like the following:

*"Peel the potatoes and then we can make the chips," she ordered.

*"Leave the room and I'll get some work done," she ordered.

8. A quote comprised only of a NP may occur with an order report expression:

"Silence!" he ordered.

"Quiet!" he ordered.

"Tanks!" he ordered.

"My car!" he ordered.

"The file!" he ordered.

In all of these contexts associated with the utterance represented by the quote it is understood by the original addressee that he must do something in order to produce what is stated in the quote:

"(Be quiet/Stop talking so that I have) Silence!" he ordered.

Quiet!" he ordered.
"(Bring in the) Tanks!" he ordered.

"(Give me) The file!" he ordered.

Any concrete NP may occur in the quote occurring with an order report expression, because it is possible to imagine that an addressee can do something with concrete objects. Any abstract NP which does not refer to something which can be caused will not occur in the quote:

*'Goodness!' he ordered.

*'Evil!' he ordered.

*'Creativity!' she ordered.

*'NP!' he ordered.

NP refers to an idea.

9. If the quote contains a performative order phrase, the quote will not occur with an order report expression.

*'I'm order(ing) you to meet our operative under the town hall clock,' he ordered.

*'I'm order(ing) you to do X,' he ordered.
II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. An order report expression may occur with a to-infinitive; a nominal object; a that-clause; and a prepositional phrase:

   'His superiors ordered the agent to leave.'
   ("All the President's Men": 191)

   'President Reagan ordered the production of the neutron bomb.' ("The Bulletin": 18/8/81: 21)

   'The Chief of Police ordered that the floor of the shed be torn up.' ("A Friend of Kafka": 65)

   'He swore at his wife, ordering her back to the hut...' ("The Winter Sparrows": 257)

2. For an order report expression to occur with a to-infinitive or a (that)-clause object, the verb must be compatible with the part of the meaning of order assuming B can do X

   Any verb phrase whose verb is not an action verb will not occur in an order reporting sentence:

   *He ordered her to grow.
   *He ordered her not to be anxious.
   *He ordered her to feel secure.

   *He ordered that she feel better.
   *He ordered that she be happy.

   He ordered her to grow roses in the HQ garden.
   He ordered her not to tell anyone she was anxious.
   He ordered her to secure the main sheet.
He ordered that she be given two happiness pills a day.
He ordered that she be made to feel more comfortable.

*He ordered her to NON-ACTION VP.
*He ordered that she NON-ACTION VP.

3. If an order report expression occurs with a nominal object, that nominal object must not be a noun referring to something which cannot be the instrument or result of an action:

- He ordered a new investigation.
- He ordered the forfeiture of bail.

*He ordered sincerity.
*She ordered dizziness.

These starred examples are incoherent because the notion of abstract ideas is incompatible with the component of order:
wanting to cause B to do X

*He ordered something which cannot be caused.

**SUMMARY - ORDER**

a. Constraints

I. *"............?" he ordered (except: "Do X....?" he ordered.)

2. *"NP VP," he ordered. (except: ("I want you to do X," he ordered. "You will do X," he ordered.))

3. *"Do X," he ordered. (if Do X refers to something the speaker cannot cause.)
4. "Do X, I assume you don't have to do it," he ordered.
5. "You will non-action verb," he ordered.
   "I want you to"
6. "Do X and Y will happen," he ordered.
7. "NP," he ordered. (NP refers to an idea.)
8. "I('m) order(ing) you to do X," he ordered.

II. 1. A ordered B to non-action verb.
    A ordered that B non-action verb.
2. A ordered something which cannot be caused.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing order:
   "Will you pass me that rock?" he ordered.
   "Can you give me my book!" he ordered.
   "I'd like you to close the door," he ordered.
   "Stop worrying!" he ordered.
   "Close the door, if you would," he ordered.
   "You will feel better in the morning," he ordered.
   "Step on a crack, break your mother's back," he ordered.
   "Goodness!" he ordered.
   "I'm ordering you to apologize!" he ordered.

   *He ordered that she be happy.
   *She ordered sincerity.

   ***
DISCUSSION: ORDER AND DEMAND

Some quotes may occur with either an order or a demand report expression:

"Give it to me!" he ordered.
"Give it to me!" he demanded.

"Tell me your name, Soldier!" he ordered.
"Tell me your name, Soldier!" he demanded.

There are, however a number of differences, in reporting orders and demands both in constraints of co-occurrence of quote and report expressions, and on the content of the object of both verbs in reporting sentences without the direct quote; both sets of differences reflecting the differences in meaning between the two verbs.

A demand report expression may occur with an interrogative frame quote; or may occur with a sentential object embedded with if/whether/wh-; whereas an order report expression may not:

"What are you doing here?" he demanded/*ordered.
"Hand over the money, will you!" he demanded/*ordered.

He demanded to know what I was doing there.
*He ordered to know what I was doing there.

order contains as part of its meaning:
assuming B has to do what A says he wants B to do because A has the right to cause B to do things.

which meaning is incompatible with the use of the interrogative.

The one exception is exhibited in quotes like the following:
"Get out, you hear me?" he ordered.
"Take it to the commander, is that clear?" he ordered.

"Put it on the table, right?" he ordered.

The imperative part of these quotes is not incompatible with the meaning of order; the interrogative tag merely adds extra information. The original speaker is not asking if the original addressee will do X, (which would be incompatible with the meaning of order), but he is asking for a response from the addressee, in which he indicates verbally, prior to the actual doing of the action, that he will do it.

In a real world situation,

"Get out," he ordered.

would be followed by the addressee leaving (he may stay to argue, and so disobey, but if he is going to obey, he will do so silently).

However,

"Get out, is that clear?" he ordered.

would be followed by two responses, consistent with the two parts of the utterance:

1. "(Yes) Sir!"
then:

2. addresssee leaves.

order takes an obligatory NP+sentence, whilst demand takes sentence (as observed by Boyd and Thorne: (1969: 60)).

Boyd and Thorne also note that order and demand have differences in passivisation:

I ordered the doctor to examine him.
I ordered him to be examined by the doctor.

I demanded that the doctor examine him.
I demanded he be examined by the doctor.
They note that there are differences in meaning between the two order sentences, which are not paralleled in the two demand sentences.

Their conclusion that order requires NP+sentence is not quite sufficient explanation of the difference, and accounts for only some of the facts about order. Not all order report sentences without the direct quote require NP+sentence; one can order an investigation with no reference needing to be made concerning the addressee (the person responsible for doing what the speaker wants), in the way that one can demand an investigation.

The difference in meaning Boyd and Thorne note has to do with differences in the original addressee. In the active sentence it is the doctor who is the addressee, and the one to do what is posited in the to+infinitive. In the passive sentence, the doctor is not the addressee; the prospective patient, or some third person who will ensure that the patient is examined, may be the addressee. This can be seen by looking at possible related order reporting sentences with the direct quote:

"Examine him," he ordered.

which could be later reported:

He ordered the doctor to examine him.

"Get an examination from the doctor," he ordered.

"Get him examined by the doctor," he ordered.

both of which could be later reported:

He ordered him to be examined by the doctor.

In the demand report sentences, the original addressee is not stipulated, but it is assumed that it must be someone who can cause the examination to occur.
ordering is dispassionate, what the speaker wants when he orders someone to do something is to cause that person to do that thing; he need not want the action personally. However, when one demands $X$, one does so because one wants $X$ for its own sake.

He ordered the guards to let him through the gates.
*He ordered her to let him go to the party.

She demanded he let her through the gates.
She demanded he let her go to the party.

The acceptable order sentence above illustrates that a speaker who orders, wants an action, wants to cause the addressee to do something. One imagines a different sense of let in this sentence than in the demand sentences. I would suggest that this order sentence is acceptable if the gates are closed, and the speaker wants the guards to open them and thus make it possible for him to go in.

The demand report sentence concerning the gates can be interpreted as referring to the action of opening the gates or allowing her to enter. If let is substituted by allow in the above order sentence, that sentence becomes unacceptable. Ordering must posit a future non-speaker action; demanding may involve an addressee or a speaker action in the latter, the addressee is able to cause the speaker to do it).
TELL

I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb *tell* has two senses. *tell 1*, which is used in report expressions occurring with declarative frame quotes, which has the aim of wanting to cause the addressee to know something; and *tell 2*, which is characteristically used in report expressions occurring with imperative frame quotes (which also involves the imparting of knowledge, but for the purpose of causing the addressee to do something).

Examples:

**tell 1:**

"He told Muhammad Ali on television," When I was champion, I went on what they called the bum-of-the-month tour."' ("Time": 27/4/81: 74)

"'There were days during the creation of the full figure statue when I stood in one position for eight hours," she told POST.' ("Australasian Post": 29/1/81: 12)

"'I'll call you," she told him.' ("Cosmopolotan": Oct.1981: 104)

"'No I shan't, " I told myself.' ("The Winter Sparrows": 233)

"'It must be nearly twelve o'clock," Mr Hussey told his passengers,'

("Picnic at Hanging Rock": 18)
DEFINITION: \( A \text{ told}_1 B \ X \)

- knowing \( X \) is the case
- assuming \( B \) doesn't know \( X \) is the case
- assuming \( B \) wants to know it
- wanting to cause \( B \) to know it
- A said: \( X \) is the case

\textbf{tell} 2:

""You get out," he told the girl.' ("Shapes of Sleep": 31)

""Wait a bit," I told Giles.'

("The Bulletin" 27/10/81: 55)

""Here, you stop making a mess," I told him.'

("The Winter Sparrows": 50)

'I told the guards, "Let him light a cigarette, please,"'

("Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy": 209)

""Don't you ever mention this to anyone ever!" she told Billie,' ("Joan Crawford": 15)

DEFINITION: \( A \text{ told}_2 B \ (to \ do \ X) \)

- wanting to cause \( B \) to do \( X \)
- assuming \( B \) doesn't know \( A \) wants \( B \) to do it
- assuming \( B \) could do it
- expecting that if \( B \) knew \( A \) wanted you to do \( X \),
- \( B \) would do it
- A said: I want you to do \( X \)
2. **tell 1**

tell 1 may not be used in a report expression occurring with a quote with an interrogative frame. The characteristic meaning expressed by the interrogative frame is:

- not knowing X / wanting to know it

which component is not compatible with the essential components of **tell 1**:

- knowing X
- wanting to cause B to know it

*"Did John get the scholarship to Cambridge?" she told him.  
*"Is my part straight?" he told her.  
*"What is the capital of Japan?" he told her.  
*"What are you doing!" he told her.

**"Int.VP?" he told her.**  
**"VP NP?" he told her.**

3. Declarative frame quotes with interrogative punctuation are excluded from co-occurrence with a tell 1 report expression for the same reason interrogative frame quotes are excluded.

"Reagan was elected," she told him.  
*"Reagan was elected?" she told him.  
"John won the scholarship," he told her.  
*"John won the scholarship?" he told her.

**"NP VP?" he told her.**
4. Although the declarative is characteristically used in quotes occurring with a \textit{tell} I report expression, some declarative frame quotes have less universal acceptance than others.

The content of the quote needs to refer to something "knowable" by the speaker.

A speaker is capable of knowing his own thoughts, feelings and opinions; as well as being able to have information about the world external to himself.

Logically, a speaker cannot \textit{know} the feelings of other people.\textsuperscript{15} He can express an opinion about what someone else is feeling, as in:

"I think you're pretty angry right now."

and be intending to \textit{tell} I the addressee what he (the speaker) thinks. Quotes like:

"You're pretty angry right now."

"You're feeling depressed/exploited/frustrated."

may be reported with \textit{tell} I, if the original speaker is presumed to have considered that he \textit{know} how the original addressee was feeling, because of some observable features of the addressee's behaviour. This occurs particularly in counselling sessions, in which the psychiatrist/counsellor considers his knowledge of human nature to be astute.

To some speakers, stating what another feels, is presumptuous. To such speakers these "You feel X" utterances would be incompatible with the meaning of \textit{telling} I, so could not be reported with \textit{tell} I. Other speakers find the co-occurrence of such quotes with \textit{tell} I report expressions quite acceptable.
5. Quotes consisting of a NP with exclamative punctuation, whose aim is, within context, plainly to express the original speaker's feelings about something, and not to cause the speaker to know what is expressed in the content of the quote, will not be reported with tell 1.

Similarly, quotes consisting of exclamations, again which are primarily expressive, will not occur with tell 1 report expressions.

i. (as speaker and addressee are walking out of the theatre):
   a. "It's a really great play," she told him.
   b.*"Great!" she told him.

ii. (as speaker and addressee are walking out of the theatre):
    she says: "What did you think of it?"
    a. "It's a really great play," he told her.
    b. "Great!" he told her.

In (i), the starred example is incoherent because the quote, as a first utterance in a dialogue, is expressive, not aiming at causing the addressee to know that $X$ is the case.

However, in (ii b), the co-occurrence of an exclamation with a tell 1 report expression is acceptable because the preceding dialogue makes it clear that the addressee wants to know what the (her) friend thinks, so she asks him. He in turn, wants her to know that he thought it was great, and also wanted to express his feelings about it at the same time.

In (i), the original speaker assumes that he and the addressee would both think the same about the play, and wants to express what he feels, not say what he thinks.

This does not mean that tell 1 report expressions may not occur with quotes with exclamative punctuation, what it does mean is that purely or primarily expressive utterances may not occur with
tell 1 report expressions. Reporting sentences containing quotes comprised solely of exclamations will not contain tell 1 report expressions.

{Dearie me
Ouch
Ah-ha
By george
Yikes
My oh my
Gracious

"I feel something," he told her.
(He wanted to say what he felt and did not want to cause her to know that anything was the case)

6. tell 2

An imperative frame quote may occur with a report expression containing tell 2.

Telling 2, as distinct from ordering, commanding, summon(s)ing, directing, and instructing, does not presuppose any socially determined power relationship between the participants.

The original speaker expects that the addressee will do what he wants simply by the addressee knowing what the speaker wants.

Like all directive acts, telling 2 involves the assumption that the addressee is capable of doing X:

"Don't kill yourself," he told her.
*Don't die," he told her.
"Look at it more closely," he told her.
*"See better," he told her.
(Mother to a child with spots painted over his face):
"Get rid of those spots," she told him.
(Mother to child with the measles):
*"Get rid of those spots." she told him.

"VP X," she told $2$ him.
assuming you cannot cause it to happen.

8. tell $2$, unlike ordering, may only be used with a quote containing a verb phrase.

"Silence!" he ordered.
*he told them.

"My hat," he ordered (get me....)
*he told him.

"The door," he ordered.
*he told them.

tell obligatorily takes an object referring to the addressee. order may take such an object optionally. An order report expression containing an object referring to the addressee may not occur with quotes of the kind just mentioned:

*"Silence!" he ordered her.
*"My hat!" he ordered her.
*"My car!" she ordered him.

In reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote, order may occur in the following configuration:

He ordered his car to be brought round.
tell $2$ cannot occur in the same way.
9. **tell** may be used in a report expression occurring with declarative frame utterance:

'"You'll go to the clinic with Mary Rose," she told him...'  
("Winter Sparrows": 105)

The addressee would assume from this utterance that the speaker is not merely stating a fact (that is, is not **telling** him something) but that the speaker is aiming at causing the addressee to do something, namely, go to the clinic.

10. With both senses of **tell**, a quote containing a performative **tell** phrase may not occur with a **tell** report expression:

"I'm telling you, Reagan was elected," he told her.  
"Get out, I tell you!" he told her.

"I('m) telling you, X is the case," he told her.  
"Do X, I tell you!" he told her.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1.a. A **tell** report expression may occur with a that- clause:

'...someone in the office told me that Howard was doing investigative work.'  
("All the President's Men": 31)

"Last night, Madam, I told him that you were at Oxford..."  
("Lucinda Brayford": 196)
b. with a sentential object and no complementizer:
   
   '...I was told you could not build on it...
   
   ("Cosmopolitan": May 1981: 110)
   
   'A few hours earlier Paisley had told a rally in county
   Tyrone he would soon start recruiting a private
   Protestant army.' ("The Bulletin": 14/7/81: 20)

c. with of X:

   'When he was told of Fred's encounter with the burglar
   he was secretly terrified...
   
   ("Lucinda Brayford": 103)
   
   'That night he visited one of the men and was told of
   the defense with which they hoped to support
   their not-guilty pleas.'
   
   ("All the President's Men": 229)

   "I told him frankly of my quandry..."
   
   ("Dear Me": 157)

d. 'The reporters told him about Bernstein's telephone
   conversation with the agent concerning Haldeman.'
   
   ("All the President's Men": 190)

   "I told her about you. I'd like to introduce you to her."
   
   ("A Friend of Kafka": 20)

e. with NP

   'John Dean told them everything that day...
   
   ("All the President's Men": 299)

   He told lies in court.
f. with wh-clause:

'People mislaid things - money, jewelry - and Yash always told them where they were.'

("A Friend of Kafka": 121)

'I sat next to an officer at lunch, who told me how much he enjoyed my play at the Arts.'

("Dear Me": 157)

2. Any acceptable English NP VP sentence may occur as the object of a tell report expression.

There are rules governing the expression of temporal notions according to the tense expressed in the original utterance, but any tense may occur in embedded sentence in conjunction with a tell report expression:

He told me John \{ went \has gone \is going \has been \will go \has been going \} to Oxford.

3. In the frame: A told (B) NP, not any noun phrase may occur:

*He told them saucer.
*She told them the cat.
*She told them a fence.
*He told her Mary.

What must occur in the noun phrase slot is a speech act noun.

He told the class a story/stories.
She told (her) his side of the story.
She told (him) the truth.

or a quantifying noun:

He told them everything.
He told them something.
She told them all she knew.

He told her little of his activities.

* A told (B) X

if X = concrete

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{human} & \quad \text{non-human} \\
\text{inanimate} &
\end{align*}
\]

SUMMARY - TELL

a. Constraints

I. tell 1:

1. "Interrogative VP?" he told\textsubscript{1} her.
   "Interrogative NP?"

2. "NP VP?" he told\textsubscript{1} her.

3. "I feel something," he told\textsubscript{1} her.
   (he wanted to say what he felt and did not want to cause her to know that anything was the case.)

II. tell 2:

4. "VP X," he told\textsubscript{2} her.
   assuming you cannot do anything about X.

5. "NP," he told\textsubscript{2} her.

tell 1 and tell 2:

6. "I('m) tell(ing) you, X is the case," he told her.

7. "Do X, I tell you!" he told her.

* A told (B) X. (if X = concrete

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{human} & \quad \text{non-human} \\
\text{inanimate} &
\end{align*}
\]
b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing tell:

*"Is my part straight?" she told him.
*"Reagan was elected?" he told her.
*"You feel depressed," she told him.
*"Great day!" he told her.
*"Ah-ha!" she told him.
*"Don't die," he told her.
*"Silence!" he told them.
*"I tell you, he's the man for the job," she told him.
*"Go away, I tell you!" she told him.

The objects that unacceptably report expressions may occur with in a reporting sentence without the direct quote paradigm, the type of quote which may occur with an action-report expression in a reporting sentence containing the direct quote:

*tell... only like a infinitive in reporting sentences without the direct quote, and may only occur with separate frame quotes containing an actionverb in reporting sentences containing the direct quote:

*"Get out," he ordered.
*"Get out," he ordered her.
*"Get out," he told her.
In reporting sentences without the direct quote, an order report expression may co-occur with a range of complements. On the other hand, the directive sense of tell is restricted to occurrence with to+infinitive:

He told me to get out the file on Honeywell's.
He told me to sit tight and wait for the press release.

Given this highly restricted co-occurrence, it could be suggested that it is the to+infinitive, rather than the verb tell which conveys the directive meaning. However, substituting the definition of tell 1 for tell in such reporting sentences does not capture or express the distinct nature of the act of telling someone to do something.

The objects that an order report expression may occur with in a reporting sentence without the direct quote parallels the types of quote which may occur with an order report expression in a reporting sentence containing the direct quote:

tell 2 may only take a to+infinitive in reporting sentences without the direct quote, and may only occur with imperative frame quotes containing an action verb in reporting sentences containing the direct quote:

"Get out," he ordered.
He ordered her to get out.
"Get out," he told her.
He told her to get out.
"My hat!" he ordered.
He ordered her to give him his hat.

"Back to the base!" he ordered.
He ordered them back to the base.
He ordered them to go back to the base.

"Outside!" he ordered.
He ordered her outside.
He ordered her to go outside.

If tell occurs in the report expression co-occurring with a PP, or NP, the informative, rather than the directive sense of tell is evoked. The sentence:

"My hat," he told her.
could not be used to express that the original speaker wants the addressee to do something with his hat, rather, it would be used to express that the original speaker wanted to cause the addressee to know something. An utterance represented by the quote:

"My hat."
would be more likely to be reported:

He told me it was his hat.
The same applies to prepositional phrases. The sentence:

"In the garden," he told her.
could not be interpreted that the original speaker directed the addressee to go into the garden, but rather that he was telling her something.

tell 2 is also different from order in terms of the verbs it allows in both the direct quote and in the to-infinitive slot.

"Stop worrying," he told her/*ordered.
"Cheer up!" he told her/*he ordered.
"Drop dead!" he told her/*he ordered.

"Get lost!" he told her/*he ordered.

\{ stop worrying. \}
\{ cheer up \}
\{ drop dead. \}
\{ get lost. \}

ordering involves the speaker not just wanting an action to be done by the addressee, but that some product will arise out of the addressee's action. One verb which is concerned with the process of doing, and which does not entail a definite product is try. try can occur as the main verb in a quote occurring with a tell report expression, but not with an order report expression:

"Try to slow down," \{ he told her. \}

*he ordered.

He told me to try to slow down.

*He ordered me to try to slow down.
I. **In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.**

1. The report verb *admit* is used in report expressions occurring with quotes which state that *X is the case*, or which refer to the fact that *X is the case*:

   "I broke the window," he admitted.
   ("Did you break the window?")
   "Yes," he admitted.

   The content of the quote may be concerned with something done, felt or thought by the original speaker of the quoted utterance; or it may be concerned with some past present or posited future event:

   "One distinguished admiral was even compelled to admit, to Edith Evans, "By Jove, I'm embarrassed to say that this is the first play by Shakespeare I've seen since Richard of Boareaux."")
   ("Dear Me": 182)

   "We had difficulties at first in having these monitors accepted," he admitted...
   ("The Bulletin": 27/10/81: 102)

   (Concerning the destruction of wilderness areas by technological advancement):

   "These projects are going to happen," admits Kevin Markey, a regional representative of the Friends of the Earth." ("Time": 15/12/80)

   "You could be right," he admitted.

   "She'll never be as great a star as Garbo," her agent admitted.
DEFINITION: \( A \) admitted \( X \) (to \( B \))

- knowing \( X \) is the case
- being reluctant to say that \( X \) is the case
  - (because \( A \) wished it wasn't the case)
  - (because \( A \) thought of \( X \) being the case as being bad for him)
- wanting to cause \( B \) to know what is true
- \( A \) said: \( X \) is the case

In many quotes occurring with admit reference to badness is explicit; either through negation of a positive proposition, or, or assertion of a negative proposition:

- "I'm a misogynist," he admitted.
- "I felt inadequate in college," she admitted.
- "My books don't sell," she admitted.
- "I'm not really very brave," he admitted.

3. Badness is relative, not only by contrast to the notion of goodness, but also to the assumed ideas of the participants within a certain dialogue context. What may be assumed to be good in one situation may be assumed to be bad in another.

A quote may, standing on its own, seem neutral, yet the context may provide information as to the assumed goodness or badness of the proposition it contains. The use of admit in the report expression co-occurring with such quotes, indicates that some notion of badness is to be attributed to the seemingly neutral proposition, so reflecting the original speaker's assumption, within context, of its badness.
The following pairs of sentences illustrate the possibility of a quote without direct reference to badness co-occurring with an admit report expression:

1. "I went to a private school," he admitted to his socialist friends.

   **"I went to a private school," he admitted to the Liberal Party selection Committee.**

2. "Our family has three cars," he admitted at an energy conservation meeting.

   **"Our family has three cars," he admitted to his new friends at grammar school.**

4. It stands to reason that co-occurrence of an admit report expression with any quote which makes unequivocal statement of a good attribute or state, is distinctly odd:

   ?"Fortunately I have a good sense of direction," he admitted.

   ?"I'll be the greatest star this town has ever seen," she admitted.

   ?"He's going to make a great president," she admitted.

A speaker, may, with seeming contrariness, also be reluctant to say something good about himself, or some other person or state.

One may admit to virtually anything given certain provisos external and internal to the original speaker.

A speaker may be reluctant to say something good about himself for fear of being thought boastful; or he may be reluctant to say that something good is the case, because to say that it is true would be to weaken some argument he has been working on.
The provisos are reflected to some extent in the content of the quote. Hyperbolic or exclamatory utterances cannot be used to convey reluctance; the speaker cannot use such utterances to express the component:

Feeling reluctant to say X is the case because
A thought of X being the case as being bad for him.

Hyperbolic or exclamatory utterances may express bad feelings but the speaker considers the expression of these feelings to be 'good for him' not 'bad'. It is the saying of X is the case which the speaker considers to be bad, not the intrinsic badness of X is the case which is essential to the meaning of admitting.

Any declarative frame quote, or fragment, may co-occur with an admit report expression provided there is the potential within that quote for the statement of its proposition to be considered 'bad' for the original speaker. This point differentiates admit from related verbs such as confess, agree, and insist.

A speaker may insist that X is the case, or he may confess to having caused X to be the case. In both of these acts, there is no essential reluctance to say that X is the case.

If one insists, one does so because one assumes that the addressee does not believe what has already been stated. The speaker considers it is good for him to say that X is the case.

A speaker who sincerely and voluntarily confesses, wants to say that he did something bad because he considers that it is good for his soul to say it.

When a speaker admits, rather than actively wanting to say that X is the case, he says X is the case because he does not want to not say something that is true. This is where the necessary reluctance comes in. admitting is motivated by a sense of integrity, based on
the speaker's principle that he should say what is true, even if there are possible bad consequences for him.

The same quote may occur with an admit or a confess report expression:

"I have a weakness for chocolates," he {admitted.} confessed.

Quotes reported with insist are more likely to have emphatic auxiliaries:

"I took the money," he admitted.

"I did take the money," he insisted.

The quote occurring with the above admit report expression could also be reported with insist, in which case the reader would note differences in emphasis and pitch.

admit report expressions may not occur with quotes which are in the exclamative frame, or which occur in the declarative frame, but which have exclamatory punctuation:

**"You're right!" he admitted.

**"Reagan could become president!" he admitted.

**"I stole the jewels!" he admitted.

**"Precisely!" he admitted.

**"Exactly!" he admitted.

**"Exclamation!" he admitted.

**"NP VP !" he admitted.

Such co-occurrences are barred because exclaiming involves wanting to say what one feels - no reluctance is involved.
4. The interrogative frame, or interrogative punctuation, may not be used in a quote occurring with an admit report expression: The interrogative is associated with the components:

- not knowing X
- wanting to know X

which components are not compatible with the essential illocutionary point of admit:

- wanting to cause B to know what is true:
  - "Did you know I was scared of spiders?" she admitted.
  - "Was Reagan elected?" she admitted.
  - "Is he right?" she admitted.
  - "He's right?" she admitted.
  - "I took the jewels?" he admitted.

- "...........?" he admitted.

5. The imperative frame is also excluded from occurring in a quote in a reporting sentence with admit, because the imperative is not used to state that something is the case:

- "Don't be scared," she admitted to herself.
- "Prove you're right," he admitted.

- "VP," she admitted.

6. A declarative frame quote which contains an admit performative phrase may not co-occur with an admit report expression:
"I admit I was looking forward to a showdown," he admitted.

"I admit you've got a point there," he admitted.

"I admit X is the case," he admitted.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. An admit report expression may occur with:

a. a that-clause:

   'But one senator admitted that the federation's condemnation was "disturbing".'
   ("Time": 3/8/81: 39)

b. sentential object without complementizer:

   "Faced with an ultimatum, Will admitted he was happier puttering with crankshafts..."
   ("Cosmopolitan": May 1981: 81)

   '...I had to admit we had something in common'.
   ("A Friend of Kafka": 185)

c. nominal object:

   'Agca admitted his crime.' ("Time": 3/8/81: 23)

   'I signed the register and admitted knowing David McNicoll.'
   ("Tanner with Words": 208)

   'She...openly admitted membership in the Communist Party.' ("A Friend of Kafka": 184)
d. (to)+gerund...:

She admitted (to) being wild and superficial in her youth.

"Safire looks back lightheartedly on his White House days.

He admits to writing once that so and so "had a firm hand on the rudder" ("The Bulletin": 28/4/81: 74)

2. The proposition expressed in a that- clause occurring with admit appear at first to be unconstrained. When one admits one says that something is the case. This is all that appears to be needed in the that- clause in an admit reporting sentence: X is the case.

There are, however, a number of things that are unknowable; and, as admit contains the semantic component: 'knowing X is the case any proposition occurring with a that- clause, to which proposition refers to something unknowable being the case, will not occur with an admit report expression.

One can believe, not know that there is a God: which explains the implausibility of:

*He admitted that there was a God.

One could, however, logically know that it is possible that there is a God so that the following is plausible:

He admitted that there could be a God.

He admitted that there \{ *was life after death. \\ could be a life after death. \}

One may also perceive, and therefore think, that someone else is feeling something; one can know what one is feeling oneself, but not know what others are feeling:
He admitted that Sally had been acting very strangely lately.

He admitted that he had been acting very strangely lately.

*He admitted that Sally was feeling depressed.

He admitted that he was feeling depressed.

He admitted that Sally could be feeling depressed.

The fact that could be may occur with an admit report expression does not invalidate the component of admit:

knowing X is the case.

In these cases X can be paraphrased:

'it could be true that'

*A admitted that something he would not know was the case.

3. If the proposition expressed in a that-clause, or the quality stated in a (to)+gerund.... frame, refers to a quality that is incompatible with the component of admit:

because A wished it wasn't the case

it will not occur with an admit report expression.

He admitted that he was scared of spiders.

He admitted (to) being scared of spiders.

He admitted that he didn't feel very brave most of the time.

*He admitted that he felt brave most of the time.
He admitted that he'd been a bad boy.

*He admitted that he'd been a good boy.

*He admitted {to that} he was {doing having} something

that could not be thought of as bad

SUMMARY - ADMIT

a. Constraints.

I. 1. *"Exclamation!" he admitted.
    *"NP VP!" he admitted.
  2. *".........?" he admitted.
  3. *"VP," she admitted.
  4. *"I admit X is the case," she admitted.

II. *A admitted something he couldn't know was the case.
    *A admitted he was something that could not be thought
    of as bad.

    *A admitted to {being doing} something that could not be
    having

    thought of as bad.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing admit:

    *"Exactly!" he admitted.
    *"I stole the jewels!" he admitted.
    *"Is he right?" she admitted.
"Don't be scared," she admitted.

"I admit I was looking forward to a showdown," he admitted.

*He admitted there was life after death.*
Both *tell 1* and *admit* may be used in a reporting sentence without the direct quote to report an utterance with the illocutionary force of admitting:

("The Sydney Morning Herald": 9/7/81):

'MAN ADMITS GUILT IN EYES OF SOCIETY.
A man, 19, who claims to have about 20 de facto wives, told the Court of Petty Sessions yesterday that he knew he was guilty in the eyes of society of the various fraud and theft charges against him.'

The reporter choosing to use *tell 1* and not *admit*, does so in order to give the minimum information about the original illocutionary act in the report phrase.

The combination of *tell 1* report expression and a proposition referring to doing something bad, together provides the hearer with all the essential components of *admitting*, so that such a *tell 1* reporting sentence parallels in essential meaning a corresponding *admit* reporting sentence:

He admitted obtaining goods fraudulently.
He told them he was guilty of the charges.

A *tell 1* reporting sentence without any reference to a bad deed will not be so consistent with the meaning of *admitting*.
He told them he took the goods.

which can reflect an original act of _telling_, with no reluctance involved, and no inference of something bad.

---

The report form usually is used in reporting sentence together with quotes which state that the speaker feels bad because of something that is happening, (or that has happened, with continuing bad effect on the speaker.) Examples:

"The cameraman, Ernest Hall, gawled with shock over fighting, and complained to Mend.
I can't understand her.

("Juan Crearson", 129)

"I have only nine friends," a child of a friend complained.

("Cosmopolitan", May 1961, 67)

The harrow called 'Time'.

Fisher's drink splashed all over the table.

"Jesus!" he complained. "As I hadn't even got the spirit off '14..."

("Hunting the Wild Pinexbols", 46)

When I sat by the table at lunchtime the others leaned that I fainted all the plates and spilled the gravy.

"She keeps' shanty her 'Age. Money.'," they complained.

("The Winter Sparrat", 101)
I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb complain is used in reporting sentences together with quotes which state that the speaker feels bad because of something that is happening, (or that has happened, with continuing bad effect on the speaker.) Examples:

'The cameraman, Ernest Haller, quarrelled with Joan over lighting, and complained to Wald,
"I can't photograph her."
("Joan Crawford": 138)

"I have only nine friends," a child of a friend complained.'
("Cosmopolitan": May 1981: 67)

'...the barman called 'Time'.
Fixer's drink spattered all over the table.
"Jesus!" he complained. "An' I hadn't even got the smell of it..."
("Hunting the Wild Pineapple": 26)

'When I sat by the table at lunchtime the others lamented that I rattled all the plates and slurped the gravy.
"She keeps shaking her legs, Mammy," they complained.'
("The Winter Sparrows": 181)
DEFINITION:  
A complained (about X, to B)  
feeling bad because X is the case  
assuming B wouldn't know that A feels bad about it  
wanting to say what he feels in order to cause B to feel sorry for A  
A said: something bad is the case about me.

2. A quote which states that something that is extremely bad is the case, which state or event would cause anyone to feel bad, will not occur with a complain report expression.

complaining is a somewhat stigmatised English speech act. It is considered more laudable and socially acceptable to put on a brave face when experiencing minor troubles or discomforts, than to complain about them.

A complain report expression will occur with a quote expressing bad feelings about a sore back, but not a broken one; about someone being sloppy around the house, not burning it down; about a steamy climate, not an earthquake; of a leak in the roof, not of the roof blowing off in a cyclone.

"More rain's on the way," he complained.

"Another tidal wave's on the way," he complained.

"I've got a cut on my knee," he complained.

"My leg's severed at the knee," he complained.

"What a miserable climate!" he complained.

"What an earthquake!" he complained.
3. A quote containing information about past bad feelings connected with long-gone events will not occur with a complain report expression. The quote must express the speaker's present bad feelings:

"My back's always so sore now I'm pregnant," she complained.

"My back was so sore when I was pregnant," she complained.

"It's still raining," she complained.

"It rained for a solid week on our honeymoon, twenty years ago last April," he complained.

"You forgot my birthday," she complained.

"He always forgot my birthday, until two years ago," she complained.

"I felt bad about something that happened once," he complained.

4. A quote which does not express speaker feeling will not occur with a complain report expression, being incompatible with the necessary component of the meaning of complain:

feeling bad because X is the case
"Dinner is served," she complained.

"Add the chocolate to the butter," he complained.

"Man has set foot on the moon," she complained.

"X is the case (I feel nothing about it)," she complained.

5. If a quote expresses the speaker's good feelings about X being the case, the quote will not occur with a complain report expression. Again, this quote-meaning is incompatible with the above component of the meaning of complain:

"It's a great day!" he complained.
"It's such miserable weather," he complained.

"I'm so happy!" he complained.
"I'm so exhausted!" he complained.

"He never forgets my birthday," she complained.
"He always forgets my birthday," she complained.

*I feel glad that X is the case," she complained.

6. A quote saying that someone apart from the speaker feels bad because X is the case will not occur with a complain report expression, being incompatible with all of the components of the meaning of complain:
"Your throat must be really sore," he complained.
"My throat is really sore," she complained.

"He's in such pain with his arthritis," she complained.
"I'm in such pain with this arthritis," she complained.

"Someone else feels bad because X is the case,"
he complained.

7. A quote must contain reference to the speaker feeling bad about X being the case, not only saying that something bad is the case about him, if it is to occur with a complain report expression. Although the speaker of the following quotes was obviously saying that something bad is the case with him, he is not saying that he feels bad because of this:

"It only hurts a bit when I breathe," she complained.
"It hurts when I breathe," she complained.

"I've just got a mild headache," she complained.
"I've got a headache," she complained.

"My shoulder's not too bad now," he complained.
"My shoulder's sore," he complained.

The component of complain not being expressed by such quotes is:
wanting...to cause B to feel sorry for A.

"I hurt (not saying this to cause you to feel sorry for me)," he complained.
8. Quotes occurring with complain report expressions commonly are in the declarative. The interrogative frame may also occur. Given that the speaker of a complaining utterance wants to affect the addressee, to make them feel sorry in order to achieve some perlocutionary effect such as 'gain sympathy' (or help or attention), it is natural that the interrogative frame be used. As expression of feeling is also involved, the exclamative frame, or exclamative punctuation may also occur in quotes occurring with complain report expressions. Interrogative punctuation markers may not occur in quotes occurring with complain report expressions:

"Why does he have to make ME do all the work around here!" she complained.

"It's still bloody raining, isn't it!" he complained.

"How can I be expected to work in such appalling heat!" she complained.

"Why is my back so sore?" she complained.

"Why doesn't my back get better?" he complained.

"How can we make working conditions more pleasant here?" he complained.

"It's still raining, isn't it?" she complained.

*"............?" he complained.

9. Although exclamative words or phrases may occur in quotes occurring with complain report expressions, not any exclamative may occur:


"What a miserable day!" he complained.
"How impossibly hot it is in here!" she complained.
"Oh, it's so hot in this dump!" he complained.

**"Fancy it being so hot in here!" she complained.**
**"Well well well, the roof's leaking again!" he complained.**
**"Gosh, it's really pelting down outside!" he complained.**

**"I feel something because X is the case!"**
he complained. (I do not feel bad)

10. An imperative frame quote may occur with a complain report expression:

'...I crouched down over our radio and pressed my ear to the short wave broadcasts from China, the USA, France, Russia, anywhere outside....My father would complain, "Turn that down, for God's sake. I'm trying tae read...."

("The Winter Sparrows": 312-313)

In cases such as this, complain and an imperative quote are compatible because, apart from saying what he wants the addressee to do, the speaker is also expressing his bad feelings about the state he is seeking to change. The above reporting sentence could be paraphrased, in order to explain the relationship between the imperative and the complain report expression:
feeling bad because B has got the radio on
assuming B doesn't know A feels bad about it
wanting to say what A feels so that B will feel sorry for me
A said: Turn the radio down
assuming B would do this because B felt sorry for A

Other instances of imperative frame quotes occurring with complain report expressions are:

Oliver leapt onto the beanbag, and tickled Jane relentlessly. Jane complained: "Oh...leave me alone!"
"What sort of a husband are you!" Maude screamed at him. "Sitting around all day when there's the lawn to be mowed, the roses to prune..."
"Aw...steady on, old girl," Fred complained.
"Give it a break!"

Imperative frame quotes referring to actions which cannot be interpreted as stopping something bad happening for the original speaker will not occur with a complain report expression:

*"Meet me under the town hall clock on the 15th of June," he complained.
*"Plant garlic in spring," he complained.
*"Have my dinner on the table at seven every evening," he complained.
*"See me in my office," he complained.
Usually an imperative frame quote occurring with a complain report expression contains some reference to the original speaker feeling bad: words like oh, aw, bloody, for God's/Christ's/pity's sake commonly occurring.

This need not be the case, however. When an imperative frame quote expressing that the original speaker wants something done immediately occurs with a complain report expression, the bad feelings he has are expressed by the use of complain in the accompanying report expression.

The reader/hearer of the reporting sentence can then imagine that the imperative quote was said in a complaining way.

What is crucial to whether complain can occur with an imperative quote is that the posited future act has the potential for expressing that a present bad-for-the-original-speaker state can be stopped.

"Do something which won't cause something bad to stop happening to me," he complained.

II. In Reporting Sentences which do not contain the Direct Quote.

1.a. A complain report expression may occur with of X:

'Miss Lumley herself, and the junior sewing mistress... complained to their mutual satisfaction of being 'put upon'..." ("Picnic At Hanging Rock": 57)

'She never had colds, she never complained of headaches.' ("Joan Crawford": 89)
'The next morning at breakfast, a rather red-eyed frazzled wife of my acquaintance complained bitterly of being kept awake by their snoring. Now, this is a bit like Muhammad Ali complaining of assault in the 12th round.'
("Tanner with Words": 134)

b. with about X:

'He complains about attempts to poison his food...'
("Time": 27/4/81: 42)

He complained about the manner in which the legislation had been introduced.

'When he complained about being worked so hard,...'  
("Joan Crawford": 262)

c. with that-clause

'The men complained that when they married, they married the whole lot of the wife's family.'
("National Times": 27/9 - 3/10/81: 10)

'Some woman from California complained that one of you phoned her and said you were an FBI agent.'
("All the President's Men": 226)

2. Any phrase which refers to something good will not occur as the object of a complain report phrase:

a. *She complained that she felt great.

*She complained about her good luck.

*She complained of good health.

*Iraq has complained over Iran's good behaviour.

b. He complained that his back was worse than ever.

She complained about her bad luck.
She complained of ill health.

Iraq has complained over Iran's bad behaviour.

c. She complained about her luck.

Iraq has complained over Iran's behaviour.

The examples in c. illustrate that it is not necessary for the notion of badness to be explicit; the badness is attributed by the use of complain. Luck can be good or bad, as can behaviour. What the examples in a. illustrate is that goodness must not be expressed.

\[
\text{A complained \{ that } X \text{ was good. } \\
\text{about something good. } \\
\text{of something good. } \\
\text{over something good. }
\]

3. The object, or cause of the act of complaining, must be something with associated polar notions of good and bad.

An object or a state that is considered to be wholly bad will not be complained about; so a complain report expression may not occur with an object whose nominal proposition does not allow for both positive and negative effects.

*She complained about the tidal wave.

She complained about the rain.

*She complained about the earthquake.

She complained about the climate.

*She complained that the roof had blown off in the storm.

She complained that the roof was leaking.
Although a leaking roof cannot be said to be good, it can be ignored and not necessarily have a very bad effect on one. Having no roof, in a storm or any other time, could not be so easily ignored.

*A complained \( \{ \text{about something very bad happening.} \} \)

that something very bad had happened.

4. A complain report expression may not occur with a proposition that someone else, other than the subject (the original speaker) feels bad because of something that has happened to them.

*She complained about his sore back.

*She complained about her mother's arthritis.

She complained about her sore back.

She complained about her arthritis.

*A complained about B's something bad.

SUMMARY - COMPLAIN

a. Constraints

I. 1. **"Something very bad is the case," he complained.  
2. **"I felt bad about something that happened once," she complained.  
3. **"X is the case (I feel nothing about it)," he complained.  
4. **"I feel glad that X is the case," he complained.  
5. **"I hurt (not saying this to cause you to feel sorry for me)" he complained.
6. "Someone else feels bad because X is the case," he complained.

7. ".........?" she complained.

8. "I feel something because X is the case (I do not feel bad)," she complained.

9. "Do something which won't cause something bad to stop happening to me," she complained.

II. 1.  

*A complained 
\begin{align*}
\text{that } X \text{ was good.} \\
\text{about something good.} \\
\text{of something good.} \\
\text{over something good.}
\end{align*}

*A complained 
\begin{align*}
\text{about something very bad happening.} \\
\text{that something very bad happened.}
\end{align*}

*A complained about B's something bad.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing complain:

**"My leg's severed at the knee," he complained.

**"My back was so sore when I was pregnant," she complained.

**"Antechinus is a small Australian marsupial," he complained.

**"I'm so happy!" she complained.

**"He's in such pain with his back!" she complained.

**"Why is my stomach so sore?" he complained.

**"Fancy it being so hot in here!" she complained.

**"Bring the tanks round at 0.800," he complained.

*She complained of good health.

*She complained about the earthquake.

*She complained about her mother's arthritis.
PRAISE

1. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb praise occurs in reporting sentences with propositions referring to something done well by some person other than the original speaker, or to the product of someone else's action.

a. A praised B:

   'Last year Ronald Reagan wrote a letter...praising his old pal, Frank Sinatra.' ("The Bulletin": 18/8/81)

   In this case good actions are not stipulated.

b. A praised B for X

   'Kania...praised the country's religious leaders for the "responsibility they showed during the crisis"...' ("Time": 27/7/81: 40)

   'If Flora made two mistakes she was patted on the head and praised for the ones she got right.' ("The Winter Sparrows": 117)

   'He and Constable Terry Paff have been praised by Chief Inspector Max Bradley...for their "outstanding dedication to duty".' ("The Canberra Times": 19/10/81: 1)

c. A praised B as X

   'Simon Bolivar...praised his late predecessor as "a politician who was in office for a very long time"...' ("National Times": 13 - 19/9/81: 59)

d. A praised X

   Critics praised the book/exhibition/performance.

   The teacher praised his essay/work/report.
2. Praising involves judging an action, or the product of an action, and coming up with the conclusion that of the possible range between 'done well' and 'done badly', it has been done well.

Any proposition which does not refer to a causable state will not occur with a praise report expression:

*He praised her for her lovely blue eyes.

*She praised his fine bone structure.

*He praised her for her height.

He praised her skill at applying character makeup.

She praised the realism with which the sculptor had executed his piece.

He praised the grace with which she carried her height.

*A praised B for something B couldn't cause to be.

3. Naturally, a proposition that refers to a negative valuation of something will not occur with a praise report expression; primarily
violating the meaning of praise:

thinking X has been done well (by B)

*He praised her for misbehaving when he had specifically asked her to be good for grandma.

*He praised her bad behaviour.

*He praised the Bill for its total lack of understanding of the needs of the Australian citizen.

*He praised her for being so lily-livered.

*He praised her cowardice.

**A praised (B for) something thought of as bad.

4. One can only praise the efforts made by other people, or the product of efforts made by other people. A proposition referring to something good done by the speaker will not occur with a praise report expression:

He praised his writing style.

*He praised his own writing style.

She praised her bravery.

*She praised herself for her bravery.

He praised his speech.

*He praised his own speech.

**A praised himself for X.

**A praised his own X.
5. A praise report expression may occur with a nominal object, and no reference to 'goodness' need be made explicit:

- He praised the government's decision.
- He praised the paintings.
- He praised her dedication/honesty/diligence.

but:

- *He praised her house.
- *He praised their view.
- *He praised the flower.

One can imagine these noun phrases occurring with an enthuse report expression, expressing feelings (good ones) about the referent of the noun phrase:

- He enthused about her house/their view/the flower.

in which no judgement about human skills has been made.

However, the following are acceptable:

- He praised her taste in furnishings.
- The judges praised the winning entry, 'Morning Glory'.
- The builder praised their choice of house site.

Again, what is praised must be the product of human effort.

6. There are many things that can be done, and many products of human effort to which judgement of execution is not applied:

- She praised the garbage collectors for doing their job quietly and neatly.
- *She praised the garbage collectors for doing their job.

- She praised him for handing in such a good essay.
- *She praised him for handing in the compulsory essay.
*A praised (B for) something about which A could not think it can be done well or badly.

**SUMMARY - PRAISE**

a. **Constraints**

* A praised (B for) something B couldn't cause to be.
* A praised B for something bad.
* A praised his own X.
* A praised himself for X.
* A praised (B for) something about which A could think: it can be done well or badly.

b. **Unacceptable reporting sentences containing praise:**

* She praised his height.
* He praised her bad behaviour.
* He praised his own speech.
* She praised him for handing in the compulsory essay.
1. **In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.**

1. The report verb *boast* occurs with quotes which predicates something good about the speaker. A speaker may *boast* about his skill at football, as well as *boast* about the number of tries his son made in the junior football match. Examples:

   "She tossed her hair back and stretched her arms above her head like a ballet dancer. "I can do the splits," she boasted.

   ("The Winter Sparrows": 272)

   "I'm the best in my class at spelling," she boasted.

   "My father's the richest man in town," she boasted.

   "He boasted: "I've been trained to kill with my hands. I can kill the strongest man with three fingers...

   I can break a block of wood with the side of my hand."" ("Ice": 77)

**DEFINITION:** A boasted (about X, to B)

assuming B would think that someone about whom this can be said is better than other people

wanting to cause B to think of A as better than other people,

feeling proud because this can be said about A,

A said: something good about X

(assuming B understands A thinks of this as being good about A)
2. One may not boast about something bad about oneself. A quote stating that the speaker has done something bad will not occur with a boast report expression.

"I am sorry I broke your vase," she boasted.
"I am the ugliest girl in the world," she boasted.
"I can't even spell," she boasted.

"Something bad about me," she boasted.

3. Goodness may be attributed to the speaker if the subject slot is filled by a first person pronoun (the most explicit kind of boasting); by a first person possessive pronoun + NP; by a third person pronoun (seen to be related to the speaker); or a NP (seen to be related to the speaker).

Quotes with a third person subject may not occur with a boast report expression if that report expression contains information which does not connect the subject of the report expression with the subject of the quote:

"John's a self-made man," she boasted of her husband.
"John's a self-made man, she boasted of her new neighbour.

"He scored six goals in a row," he boasted of his son.
"He scored six goals in a row," he boasted of a member of the opposing team.

"3rd person is/does/did/has/had something good," she boasted of someone who could not be thought of as related to her in any way.
4. What is predicated and associated with the original speaker in the quote cannot be merely good, but must set the speaker above other people. A quote which states that the speaker did something good, but expected of anyone, will not occur with a boast report expression.

"I have cleaned my teeth," she boasted.

"I blew my nose," he boasted.

"I swept the floor," he boasted.

"I did something thought of as a good thing to do, which anyone could do," he boasted.

5. The "excellence" of an action may be minimized by the use of a verb with a less than positive connotation, or by diminishers such as just, only, or only just. A quote containing any of these will not occur with a boast report expression; the meanings of such quotes being incompatible with the essential meaning component of boast:

assuming that someone about whom this can be said is better than other people

"I only just scraped home first," he boasted.

"We only won by a fluke," she boasted.

"I did something good, but I do not think of myself as better than other people because of it," he boasted.
6. Quotes with an interrogative frame or interrogative punctuation may not occur with a boast report expression:

   *"Did I top the state in Latin?" he boasted.
   *"Will I get the scholarship?" she boasted.
   *"Did you know my father's the richest man in town?" he boasted.
   *"Did you hear I got the best pass in Prehistory?" she boasted.
   *"Did you see me kick that goal?" he boasted.

   *"..........?" she boasted.

7. Imperative frame quotes are also prohibited from occurring with a boast report expression:

   *"Show me another girl with such long beautiful hair as mine!" she boasted.
   *"Look at me, the greatest star on Broadway," she boasted.
   *"Listen to me play this etude and eat your heart out Yehudi!" she boasted.

   *"VP NP", he boasted.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1.a. A boast report expression may occur with about X:

   'Mr Hodgman...boasted about the high levels of investment and building activity.'

   ("The Canberra Times": 15/10/81: 12)
'Information which Mr Terrence Clark boasted about having received from the Narcotics Bureau, was either wrong, or could not have come from that source...'

("The Canberra Times": 12/11/81: 3)

b. of X:

'He did not appear quite sober, and boasted of his horses and wines...'

("Lucinda Brayford": 14)

c. that-clause

'He boasted that he had never thrashed him...'

("Lucinda Brayford": 41)

2. In boast reporting sentences without the direct quote, the proposition expressed in the that-clause may not be related to the notion of badness:

*She boasted that she couldn't do the translation.
*She boasted that she'd flunked out of med. school.
*He boasted that his father was an alchoholic.

She boasted that she did the translation better than anyone.
She boasted that she'd graduated summa cum lauda.
He boasted that his father was the richest man in town.

*He boasted that \{ he'd done something bad. \\
\{ something bad was the case. \}

3. The propositional content of an about-phrase is not so constrained:
He boasted about killing the old tramp.

He boasted about his exploits with underage girls.

In these examples, in contradistinction to those starred examples above, one can imagine contexts in which a speaker could think that doing X somehow said something good about him; so, a young tough could boast about killing an old man, feeling proud of his machismo; and a middle age man could boast about seducing young girls, being proud of his sexual prowess.

about-phrases are less specific in their reference to real world facts than are that-clauses. that-clauses, like those above, state that X is the case, so there is little leeway for the reporter's hearer/reader to infer a context in which what is expressed in the that-clause is good.

The report expression with boast, when it occurs with an about-phrase, provides the hearer/reader with the information: he was proud because of something which could be said about him. The badness of the proposition (if expressed) is somehow neutralised by the use of boast when about is also used.

4. about-phrases are constrained in a different way. Some reference to the X in the phrase being attributable to the speaker needs to be made if about X is to occur with a boast report expression

He boasted about his father being the richest man in town.

He boasted about his son being a self-made man.

They boasted about their trip overseas.

*He boasted about Paris being the capital of France.

*He boasted about the Prime Minister's wealth.

*She boasted about the neighbours' trip overseas.
5. A boast report expression may occur with a that-clause whose proposition refers to a possible future event:

He boasted that he would top the class in Russian.

or to an event that is expressed as possible, but which does not stipulate a particular spot in time or space, as in:

He boasted that he could kill a man with three fingers.

would infers the speaker's intention to do X in the future;
could infers that the speaker is able to do X (at any time);
will and should are prohibited from occurring in a boast reporting sentence; although they may occur in that-clauses in other reporting sentences:
He told me that he'll see you at three o'clock.
He suggested you should see another doctor.

*He boasted that he (wi)'ll do X.
"He boasted that he should do X.

boasting presupposes some existing state or ability; the use of would or could is consistent with this, would do X meaning 'I am able to do X so X will happen' and could do X meaning 'I am able to do X'.

6. Although boast may occur with complements proposing a subject's action, for the same reason, (that the object of a boast report expression is to be compatible with that part of the meaning of boast: ...this can be said about me)
a boast report expression may not occur with a to+infinitive:

*He boasted to be the richest man in town.
*He boasted to kill a man with three fingers.
*He boasted to come top in Russian.

*He boasted to be/do X.

SUMMARY - BOAST

a. Constraints

I. 1. "You be/do/have something good," she boasted.
2. "3rd person is/was/does/did/has/had something good," he boasted of someone who could not be thought of as related to him.
3. ""I did something good which anyone could do," she boasted.

4. ""I did something good, but I don't think of myself as better than other people because of it," he boasted.

5. ""...........?" she boasted

6. ""VP NP," he boasted.

II. *He boasted (that) he'd done something bad.

*A boasted \{of about\} something which could not be said about A

*A boasted that A \{will should\} do X.

*A boasted to \{do be\} X.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing boast:

""You came first in Maths," she boasted.

""He scored six goals," he boasted of a member of the opposing team.

""I washed my face," he boasted.

""We only won by a fluke," he boasted.

""Did I win?" he boasted.

*She boasted that she had failed everything.

*He boasted about Tokyo being the capital of Japan.

*He boasted of the Prime Minister's father's wealth.

*He boasted that he will win the race.

*He boasted to come top in Russian.

***
CRITICIZE

1. criticize is used in reporting sentences to report utterances which point out a fault with something someone has done. The fault must not be momentous, that is evil or wicked. criticize can be seen to have an antonymomous relationship with praise, so it is natural that there will be some similarity in constraints for criticize and praise, though, of course, there are different good/bad polarities involved.

a. A criticized B:

'Top U.S. officials criticized Begin, and President Reagan was forced to take some action to show his displeasure.' ("Time": 3/8/81: 12)

'...Joh periodically criticizes the P.M., but there's no way he would assist any move to replace him...' ("The Bulletin": 18/8/81: 60)

b. A criticized X:

'The Kremlin sent him an ominous letter criticizing his failure to deal effectively with "counter revolutionary forces".' ("Time": 13/7/81)

'...Barry Simon...criticized government policy.' ("The Bulletin": 28/4/81: 21)

'...Professor Delfono criticized the conclusions by the American researchers...' ("The Canberra Times": 28/9/81: 1)

'He even criticizes the way I teach.' ("Coins for the Ferry Man": 130)
c. A criticized B for X:

'...the Foreign Affairs Association...has criticized the Government for not giving adequate priority to security measures at Australia's overseas posts.'
("Hansard: Senate": 13/5/81: 2110)

'Solidarity leaders were fiercely criticized...for selling out...' ("The Canberra Times": 28/9/81)

DEFINITION: A criticized (B for) X

thinking that X has been done in the wrong way (by someone)
assuming B has not noticed this
wanting to cause B to know what A thinks
A said: something bad about (someone for doing) X
hoping that someone will do it in the right way in the future

2. When a speaker criticizes, he assumes that the addressee is not already aware of what he (the speaker) has found to be wrong with X. Moral wrongdoings are the product of social convention, and as such would be considered to be wrong by all of that society. Statements of moral wrongdoings will not occur with criticize report expressions, because it would be assumed that everyone would know that such acts are bad:

*He criticized America for its unwanted and brutal massacre of thousands of Indo-Americans.
*He criticized Australia for its disgusting display of racial discrimination.

*A criticized (B for) something everyone would know is very bad.

3. A proposition positing something good about something or someone will not occur with a criticize report expressions:
*He criticized the government for doing a sterling job.
*She criticized her flawless brushwork.
*He criticized her excellent posture.
*He criticized her well-cut hair.

*A criticized (B for) something good.

4. The addressee, or a third person, or something attributable to the addressee or a third person may be the intended goal of the criticism: A speaker will not criticize himself, although he may be critical of his own efforts or products. One can find fault with oneself, but it is paradoxical to think that one can cause oneself to know something:
*He criticized his own essay.
*She criticized her own table manners.

*A criticized A's own X.
A's own X may not refer to family members, or to other groups to which one may belong: the following are acceptable:

He criticized his own wife/son/daughter/father.

She criticized her own Party/Government.

**SUMMARY - CRITICIZE**

a. **Constraints**

I. *A criticized (B for) something everyone would think was something very bad.

*A criticized (B for) something good.

*A criticized A's own X (X = something done by A)
DISCUSSION: CRITICIZE

Fillmore (1972) also notes the inapplicability of criticize with very bad acts:

'If the offending situation is extremely serious, the words criticize and scold seem inappropriate.

41. I accused Harry of raping my daughter.
42. I criticized Harry for raping my daughter.
43. I scolded Harry for raping my daughter.

This observation probably has nothing to do with specific linguistic facts about these verbs, however. It's just that we find it difficult to imagine a situation in which someone is explaining to someone else that an act of rape was immoral or in bad taste.' (284)

Contrary to Fillmore's claim, it is the meaning of the verb criticize which predicts the unacceptability of the above. Essential to the meaning of criticize is the notion of something being done in a wrong way; not, as Fillmore suggests, to say that something is immoral or in bad taste.

One criticizes someone for the way in which they do something not the actual doing itself. Raping is not thought of as an act which can be judged according to the way it is done, whereas slouching is criticized because it is considered to be the wrong way to stand; and an artist's technique can be criticized because it is considered that he did not paint in the right way.
PROMISE

I. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. A promise report expression occurs with a quote positing that the speaker intends to do something assumed to be wanted by the addressee; or that something the addressee wants to happen, will happen. Examples:

"I'll give you the money on Friday," he promised.
"I'll write every week," she promised.
"You'll enjoy this," Control promised.
("Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy": 138)
"I'll take care of it," he promised.
"We'll extend your contract to three years," he promised.

DEFINITION: A promised \((\text{to do } X \text{ for } B)\) \((\text{that } X \text{ would happen for } B)\)

knowing B wants \(\{ A \text{ to do } X \} \)
\(\{ X \text{ to happen} \}\)

assuming B doesn't know whether \(\{ A \text{ will do it} \} \)
\(\{ X \text{ will happen} \}\)

wanting to cause B to know that \(\{ A \text{ will do } X \} \)
\(\{ X \text{ will happen} \}\)

A said: \(\{ I \text{ will do } X \} \)
\(\{ X \text{ will happen} \}\)

assuming that saying this \(\{ \text{obliges } A \text{ to do } X \} \)
\(\{ \text{causes } B \text{ to believe} \}
\(\{ X \text{ will happen} \}\)
2. In order for a quote to occur with a promise report expression, future time must be referred to:

"I'll give you every opportunity I can," he promised.

"I'll pay you back in a month," he promised.

"I'll give you the report on Monday," he promised.

"The money will be transferred into your account next week," he promised.

These quotes are barred from occurring with promise report expressions because their meaning is incompatible with that part of the meaning of promise referring to the future.

3. In order for a quote to occur with a promise report expression, the posited action or event must be one assumed to be wanted by the original addressee. Any quote which posits an unwanted action or event will not occur with promise:

"I'll give you a party for your birthday," he promised.

"I'll give you something to really cry about!" she promised.
"I'll punch the cards for you," he promised.

*"I'll punch your teeth down your throat!" he promised.

"I'll leave you in peace," he promised.

*"I'll keep bothering you till you tell me," he promised.

*"I'll do something I assume you wouldn't want me to do X," he promised.

"You'll feel better soon," he promised.

*"You'll feel dreadful the first two days," he promised.

"You'll enjoy Fiji," he promised.

*"You won't enjoy Fiji," he promised.

*"Something I assume you wouldn't want will happen," he promised.

Quotes which state that the speaker will not do what the addressee wants are also barred from occurring with promise report expressions:

("Give me the money.")

*"I won't give it to you," he promised.

("Please marry me.")

*"I won't marry you," she promised.

("Give grandma a kiss.")

*"I will not kiss grandma," she promised.
Under different circumstances such quotes could be compatible with promise.

*I will not do what you want,* she promised.

4. If a quote posits that a future speaker-caused event is not certain, but is merely a possibility, that quote may not occur with a promise report expression:

*I might pay you back on Friday,* she promised.
*I'll probably see you tonight,* he promised.
*Maybe I can get the money to you in a week,* he promised.
*We could be able to reduce taxation,* she promised.
*I should be able to pay you back sometime,* she promised.

Such quotes do not state that the speaker intends to do X, merely that he might be able to do it. Modals expressing possibility, or sentence adverbials like *perhaps* and *maybe* may not occur in quotes occurring with promise report phrases.

*X might happen/I might do X,* she promised.

5. Quotes positing actions which it is assumed the speaker will do anyway will not occur with a promise report expression. A speaker promises because he wants the addressee to know he will do something, assuming the addressee doesn't already expect that he will do it.
"I'll just wash this shirt," she promised.
"I'll just go and tell the boss you're here,"
the receptionist promised the client.

The following would be possible:
(Knowing your other shirts are to be dry cleaned only, and that you think I might wash them, and ruin them, wanting you to know I won't wash the other shirts):
"I'll only wash this shirt," she promised.

(receptionist and employee plotting how to cover for the employee while the employee takes the gold out of the back vault. The employee wants to make sure that the receptionist will stall the boss by saying he is in the office):
"I'll tell the boss you're here," the receptionist promised.

**"I'll do something I assume you knew I would do," she promised.**

6. One might assume that only quotes with agent slots filled by first person pronouns are possible if the quote is to occur with a promise report expression.

However, if it is understood that the speaker can cause the third person to do what the addressee wants, a quote with a third person subject may occur with a promise report expression:
"My son will have the money to you by Friday," she promised.
"He'll be there," she promised.
"Dad'll talk to her for you," she promised.
"Joan will practice two hours every night," she promised.

The same applies to quotes with second person subjects.

"You'll be better in no time," the doctor promised.
"You'll have a wonderful time in Fiji," the travel agent promised.

Quotes with second person subjects and verb slots filled with an action verb will not occur with a promise report expression:

**"You'll walk to school," she promised.**
**"You'll give him the money," she promised.**
**"You'll meet him at Manny's at 8 tonight," she promised.**

These quotes may not occur with promise report expressions because the speaker is not able to ensure that X will be the case.

In the acceptable sentences with you as the subject, the X in the definition of promise refers to the speaker telling the truth about something that will happen to the addressee. A doctor can know how a patient will feel and is obliging himself to say what is true and possible when he says the patient will feel better soon. A speaker cannot know in the same way, and promise that the addressee will do some future action.

A speaker can promise that something will happen to the addressee but cannot promise that the addressee will cause something to happen:

**"You will cause something to happen," he promised.**
7. Quotes occurring with promise report expressions may have a quote-final comma or an exclamation mark, the latter to stress the speaker's intention to do X, or the certainty of X being the case. Interrogative frame quotes and other frame quotes with a question mark may not occur with a promise report expression:

"Will I see you tonight?" he promised.
"I'll see you tonight?" he promised.
"See you tonight?" she promised.
"Will I give you back the money," he promised.
"Will I give you back the money." he promised.

"Int. NP VP,?/!" he promised.
"(NP) VP?" she promised.

8. Imperative frame utterances refer to future addressee actions and so are incompatible with the component of the meaning of promise: wanting to cause B to know A will do X

"Give me the money," he promised.
"See me tonight," he promised.
"Don't come near me again!" she promised.

One can imagine the acceptability of the following, recognising that they refer to future speaker actions:

(I'll) "Give you the money on Friday," she promised.
(I'll) "See you tonight," he promised.
(1) "Won't come near you again," he promised.

"Do X for me," he promised.
9. A quote with a promise performative phrase may not occur with a promise report expression:

*"I promise," he promised.
*"I promise I'll never see her again," he promised.
*"I'll never see her again, I promise," she promised.
*"You'll be better soon, I promise," he promised.

*"I promise I'll do X," he promised.
*"I'll do X, I promise," he promised.
*"X will be the case, I promise," he promised.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. A promise report expression may occur with:
   a. a that-clause:

   'He promised that everyone would be heard in due course.'
   ("Ice": 41)

   'Seems hizzoner promised that the city's new aquarium would be finished by July 4 or he "would jump in the tank".' ("Time": 27/7/81: 75)

   'My Father kept promising me that when the Messiah came those who studied the Torah would be saved...'
   ("A Friend of Kafka": 29)

   (about a person who offers the public 3-day vacations in an imitation Nazi prison camp):

   'He promised that his vacationers would have a "horrible time and love every minute of it"...'
   ("The Bulletin": 28/7/81: 47)
b. a sentential object without a complementizer:
   "I promised Mademoiselle we wouldn't be away long."
   ("Picnic at Hanging Rock": 35)

c. a (not) to-infinitive:
   'Both the Justice Department and the White House hastily promised to furnish the records.'
   ("Time": 3/8/81: 46)
   'So Fee promised not to say a word in her letters...'
   ("The Thorn Birds": 238)
   'He promised to keep alert for any information that might be useful to the Post.'
   ("All the President's Men": 261)

d. a nominal object:
   'Rowland promised a time of "sleeves-up change" for the Observer.'
   'Those who keep their vows are promised the attainment of Buddha - after seven rebirths.'
   ("Time": 27/7/81: 75)
   'Also yesterday, the Western Australian Government promised legislation confirming the joint venture's rights to the mineral claims covering the deposits.'
   ("The Canberra Times": 16/10/81: 1)

e. passive:
   '...he was promised a compensating treat when we returned.'
   ("A Difficult Young Man": 17)
   'But this spring, when testing time came, their principal staged a pep rally and promised them a trophy and a party if they did well.' ("Time": 13/7/81: 55)
2. A promise report expression occurring with a that-clause will always contain would as part of the (that-) clause:

He promised me (that) he would have the car finished by this afternoon.

*He promised me (that) he could have the car finished by this afternoon.

*He promised me (that) he should have the car finished by this afternoon.

should, may, might and could entail conditions or possibilities, which notions are incompatible with the component of promise:

wanting to cause B to know that \{ A will do X. \}

{ X will happen. }

| *A promised (B) (that) \{ \n| \ A might/may/could/should cause X to be the case. \n| \ X might/may/could/should be the case. \n |

3. The subject NP in the sentential object of a promise report expression cannot be filled with a noun referring to the original addressee (B) (in active embedded sentences); if the filler of the B slot in the report phrase is 'me' or 'you':

*John promised me I'd pay him back on Friday.

*John promised you you'd pay him back on Friday.

Third person nouns or pronouns are acceptable, and as discussed in the section on promise reporting with the direct quote, the speaker of a promising utterance may promise that a third person will do something (with it implied and understood that the speaker will cause that person to do it).
4. The verb in the sentence occurring with a *promise* report expression and in (not) to-infinitives must entail the notion of activity:

She promised me she'd approve my recommendation.
She promised to approve my recommendation.

*She promised she'd approve of me.
*She promised to approve of me.

She promised me she'd keep an eye out for any danger.
She promised to keep an eye out for any danger.

*She promised she'd sense danger.
*She promised to sense danger.

One can *promise* to have a certain human quality, but only if that quality involves, as part of its meaning, the doing of something:

She promised to be brave at the dentist.
*She promised to be fearless at the dentist.

She promised not to be so impulsive in the future.
*She promised not to be so impelled in the future.

One can only intend to so something that one is able to cause; states over which one has no control cannot fill the intended state slot in *that* clauses or (not)+to-infinitives in reporting sentences with *promise*:
5. The verb phrase may not refer to something obviously unwanted by the addressee if promise is to be used in the reporting sentence.

She promised to kill me if I ever became terminally ill.

*She promised to kill me if I didn't give her the money.

She promised she'd leave him all her money.

*She promised she'd cut him off without a cent.

With this example it is easier to imagine a situation in which the following would be acceptable:

His aunt promised she wouldn't leave him any money.

He could, for example, belong to an extremist group to which possession of money was a crime punishable by death; and his aunt could make him this promise. To 'cut someone off without a cent' contains as part of its meaning the knowledge that this action will be unwanted by that 'someone', which accounts for the incoherence of the starred sentence containing this expression.

6. The occurrence of a promise report expression with a nominal object is constrained on the same grounds: the thing promised may not be something obviously unwanted:
He promised her a bunch of flowers on her birthday.

*He promised her a bunch of fives on her birthday.

The police department promised a reward for information leading to the capture of the escapees.

*The police department promised a five-year sentence for withholding of information leading to the capture of the escapees.

*A promised (B) something B wouldn't want.

SUMMARY - PROMISE

a. Constraints

I. 1. *"I/We did X," she promised.
   *"X was the case," he promised.
  2. *"I'll do something you don't want me to do," she promised.
  3. *"I won't do what you want me to do," he promised.
  4. *"X might happen/I might do X," he promised.
  5. *"I'll do something I assume you knew I would do," he promised.
  6. *"You will cause something to happen," he promised.
  7. *"Int. NPVP?/!" he promised.
   *"(NP) VP?" she promised.
  8. *"Do X for me,"(!)" he promised.
  9. *"I promise I'll do X," he promised.
   *"I'll do X, I promise," he promised.
II.

*A promised (B) (that) A might/may/could/should cause X to be the case.
*A promised me I'd do X.
*A promised you you'd do X.
*A promised A would non-action verb.
*A promised A would have/be a non-causal state.
*A promised (B) (that) A would do something B didn't want to.
*A promised (B) something B didn't want.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing promise:

**"I gave you the money," he promised.
**"You had a good time in Fiji," she promised.
**"I'll smash your face in," he promised.
**"I won't give you the money you want," he promised.
**"I might see you at eight," he promised.
**"You might get better soon," he promised.
**"You will kill him," he promised.
**"Can I give you the money on Friday?" he promised.
**"Give me my cloak," she promised.
**"I promise I'll do whatever I can to help," he promised.
**"You'll be better in no time, I promise," he promised.

** * **
The acts of promising and threatening both involve a future speaker action. Reporting sentences with threaten, and those with promise may contain a quote stating: "I will do X" or, in reporting sentences, without the direct quote, may take a (not) to+infinitive, again referring to a future speaker action.

The difference between the two acts hinges on the speaker's assumption as to whether the future act is good or bad for the addressee.

promise also entails the notion of obligation. A speaker of a threatening utterance may feel obliged, in order to save face, to carry out the posited action, but obligation is by no means essential to the meaning of threaten.

threaten also has a different point: the speaker wants the addressee to do something. When a speaker promises, all he wants of the addressee is for the addressee to know that he will do what he says.

threats can also be more obscure, the addressee needing to infer much of the meaning of the act from one small related part of the meaning: e.g.

"See this gun?" he threatened.

in which case, the addressee knows, from what has already occurred, what the speaker wants him to do, and, knowing that a gun can be used to cause bad things to happen to him, the addressee (or any observer) could correctly interpret the threatening nature of the speaker's utterance.
This is not the case with promising. An utterance represented by the quote: "See this money?" could not imply that the speaker intends to give the money to the addressee.

threatening utterances may also contain modals expressing possibilities and conditions; promising utterances may not.

"If you don't go straight to bed, I could just lost my temper," he threatened.

"If you don't give me the combination, you could end up dead," she threatened.

"If you don't get that homework done, I might just forget about getting those tickets to "Kiss"," he threatened.

"I could cut you out of my will," she threatened.

*I could meet you at 8," he promised.

*I might leave you my jewelley," she promised.

threatening utterances like these are more sly and menacing than utterances which state that the speaker will do something bad to the addressee.

***
AGREE

1. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb *agree* has two senses. A quote may occur with *agree 1* if it states a proposition that *X is the case*, or if it refers to a proposition that *X is the case*; which proposition is the same logically as some previously stated proposition:

"That Mrs McGarrigle looks like Pop-Eye's girl friend," I remarked to my mother...

"Aye," she agreed.' ("The Winter Sparrows": 26)


'The New York Times called Crawford's performance "Sincere and effective". The Herald Tribune agreed: "Intense and restrained...she plays with studies underemphasis."' ("Joan Crawford": 139)

DEFINITION: A *agreed* (with B, about X)

knowing someone has said "X is the case"

expecting A should say what A thinks about it

thinking that *X is the case*

wanting to cause B to know that A thinks what has been said is right

A said: I think that *X is the case* too.
In any situation in which a speaker can be reported as having agreed about X, two options are possible for the original speaker. Hearing the utterance "X is the case" he can say that he thinks the same as the previous speaker, or that he thinks differently from the previous speaker. There is an element of choice involved.

The report verb agree occurs with quotes stating explicitly that the speaker will do what the addressee wants him to do, or refers to him doing it. agree and agree are related by the notion "thinking something is right". In agree it is a previous claim which the original speaker thinks is right. In agree the original speaker thinks it is right that he do what is wanted of him. Examples:

"Thank you. Yes, I shall take coffee," Theodora agreed. ("The Aunt's Story": 250)

'Darryl Zanuck wanted Joan to star in a film at "Twentieth Century Fox", "Daisy Kenyon."

"I'll do it," Joan agreed.' ("Joan Crawford": 149)

**DEFINITION:** A agreed (to do X, for B)

knowing B wants A to do X

assuming A doesn't have to do it if A doesn't think it is right for A to do it

assuming B wants to know whether A will do it

wanting to cause B to know that A thinks it is good for A to do it

A said: I will do X
In the way that a speaker can think that a previous statement is either right or wrong, and can be reported as having agreed if he says he thinks it is right, a speaker who is reported as having agreed also has the option of thinking it is either right or wrong (good or bad) for him to do something.

2. The compatible co-occurrence of quote with agree report expressions depends on the logical relationship between the content of the quote and content of the original motivating utterance.

The quote occurring with an agree report expression may not be in the interrogative or imperative. Both senses of agree involve assertion, expressed in the definitions by:

wanting to cause B to know...

which component is not able to be expressed by interrogative or imperative frame quotes:

("He's the best president we've had.")

*"Is he?" she agreed.

*"What's he done that's so good?" she agreed.

*"Don't be silly," she agreed.

However, without a question mark, some interrogative frame quotes may occur with an agree report expression:

("He's the best president we've had")

"Isn't he great," she agreed.

("That was the best play I've ever seen,"")

"Wasn't it," she agreed.

Similarly, any declarative frame quote with interrogative punctuation will not occur with an agree report expression:
("Reagan's the best president this country's seen.")
*"He's the best?" she agreed.
"He's the best," she agreed.

("I think we should tackle this problem collectively.")
*"That's a good idea?" he agreed.
"That's a good idea," he agreed.

*"Do(n't) do X," he agreed.

*..........?" he agreed₁.

3. A declarative frame quote may occur with an agree₁ report expression provided its proposition is logically consistent with the proposition in the prompting utterance:

("He's made a real fool of himself this time,")
"Yes (he has)," she agreed.
*"No he hasn't," she agreed.

("He didn't deserve his last promotion.")
"No (he didn't)," she agreed.
*"Yes he did," she agreed.

("Life in the country is hell.")
"You're right," she agreed.
*"I just love the peace and quiet in the country," she agreed.
The starred examples are implausible reporting sentences because what is stated in the quote is different logically from what is stated in the prompting or motivating utterance.

A constraint to cover this fact relies more on the logical relationship between the contents of both quotes than to the isolated meaning of the second quote:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{("X is the case")}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\ast\text{"X is not the case," she agreed}_1.
\end{align*}
\]

4. Similarly with agree 2, the quote occurring with the agree 2 report expression must not express a logically different proposition, or refer to a logically different proposition from that of the prompting quote.

\[
\begin{align*}
&(\text{"Can you meet me after work?"})
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{"I'll be there," he agreed.}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{"Yes," he agreed.}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\ast\text{"Not tonight," he agreed.}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\ast\text{"I can't make it," he agreed.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&(\text{I want you to do X})
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\ast\text{"I won't/can't do X," he agreed}_2.
\end{align*}
\]

5. Both senses of agree may be used performatively (agree 1 occurring performatively more commonly than agree 2). Any quote with
an agree performative phrase may not occur with an agree report expression:

"I agree," he agreed.

"I agree with you," he agreed.

"I'll agree to look into the matter," he agreed.

"I agree...," he agreed.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

i. agree

1. An agree report expression may take as its object:

a. a that-clause in which any proposition may be made:

(Tey)'...ended their two day talks in Bonn by agreeing that the West must strengthen its military forces...'.

("The Bulletin": 28/7/81: 21)

which is used to express the content of the original utterances.

b. on X:

'In Zurich, meanwhile, representatives of Western and 
Japanese banks agreed on a proposed plan to postpone payment of some $3 billion in Polish debts falling due this year...' ("Time": 3/8/81: 22)

c. to X:

'The radically rightist Tehiya Party is made up of former 
Begin backers who broke away when Begin agreed to the Camp David accords.' ("Time": 13/7/81: 9)
d. with B:

'...Winnie Greene-James agreed with him.'

("Lucinda Brayford": 179)

'Tun Abdul Razak agreed with Mahathir and began translating his ideas into policies.'

("Time": 27/7/81: 481)

e. with X:

'Even some military officers agree with this criticism.'

("Time": 27/7/81: 23)

2. The NP following on may only be a noun phrase referring to a speech genre; that is something that is the product of human language, or it may refer to a person:

If a NP referring to a concrete real world object which is not a human illocutionary product, the notion of 'place of agreeing' is evoked.

They agreed on John (for the part)
They agreed on the proposal/plan/recommendations.

*They agreed on the tree.

on the spaceship.

on the mountain.

With additions to the preceding, acceptable sentences may be formed but the NP following on does not, in these cases, refer to the topic of the act of agreeing, which it does refer to in the previous cases, but to the place of the act of agreeing:

They agreed, on the spaceship, to go out to dinner and have spaghetti bolognaise, after they returned to earth.
3. Similarly, with takes either a noun phrase referring to the topic of the act of agreement, or it may take a noun phrase referring to the other participant in the dialogue:

They agreed with

\[\begin{cases} 
\text{the criticism/}^*\text{the imagination.} \\
\text{the basic proposal/}^*\text{his feelings.} \\
\text{the recommendations.}
\end{cases}\]

She agreed with him.

*She agreed with the letter box.

*He agreed with the rose-bush.

*He agreed with the cat.

In fantasy, anything can be personified; but whatever occurs in the NP slot with with in these cases, must refer to the other participant in the dialogue.

*She agreed with

\[\begin{cases} 
\text{non-human object.} \\
\text{non-illocutionary product.}
\end{cases}\]

4. With 'He agreed to X', the same constraint as that needed for on and with must apply. What is agreed to is the product of illocutions:

He agreed to the plan.

He agreed to the proposal.

He agreed to the recommendations.
In this case, the product of the illocution must refer to a something which has as part of its meaning that something will be done: ideas and sentiments cannot be agreed to:

He agreed with the chairman's suggestion.

*He agreed to the chairman's suggestion.

She agreed with the chairman's ideas.

*She agreed to the chairman's ideas.

*She agreed to the table.

*A agreed to X (X does not refer to an illocutionary noun prescribing action)

ii. agree 2

1. agree 2 report expressions may occur without an object:

'He quietly asked Adan to step outside to "talk it over".

The young man agreed.' ("Time": 3/8/81: 51)

b. or with a to-infinitive:

'...peasant leaders agreed to refrain from staging new protests and to recognize the leading role of the Communist Party in their forthcoming charter.' ("Time": 27/5/81)

2. In order for a to-infinitive to occur with an agree report expression, it must refer to an action which is capable of producing a product for the original addressee (the person asking the original speaker to do something).
He agreed to think about it.
He agreed to marry them.
He agreed to let them use his house for the reception.

*He agreed to feel better.
*He agreed to believe in God.
*He agreed to appreciate fine art.

*He agreed to non-action verb.

3. The action posited in an agree to do X reporting sentence may not refer to something unwanted by the original addressee:

*He agreed to deny her the raise she so desperately wanted.

*He agreed to not do what she wanted.

SUMMARY - AGREE

a. Constraints
I. 1. *" .......... ?" he agreed 1/2.

2. "Do(n't) do X," he agreed 1/2.

3. ("X is the case.")

*"X is not the case," she agreed 1.
4. ("I want you to do X.")

"I will not/can't do X," he agreed 2.

II. 

"They agreed on X (X does not refer to \{an illocutionary product\}, a human.

*She agreed with \{non-human object. \{non-locutionary product.\} \}

*A agreed to X (X does not refer to an illocutionary noun prescribing action).

*He agreed to non-action verb.

*He agreed to not do what she wanted.

b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing agree:

*"Is he!" she agreed.

*"Peter's a good chairman?" he agreed.

*"Give it to me!" he agreed.

*"Don't be silly!" she agreed.

*I agree," he agreed.

*I agree to give you the project," he agreed.

*They agreed on the imagination.

*She agreed with the cup.

*He agreed to the table.

*He agreed to feel better.

*He agreed to refuse her bail. (her = addressee)

***
A speaker may promise or agree to do something for the addressee:

"I'll look them over carefully," he promised.
"I'll look them over carefully," he agree.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{He promised to} \\
&\text{He agreed to}
\end{align*}
\]

look over my notes.

These verbs share the components:

Knowing B wants A to do X

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{A said: I will do X}
\end{align*}
\]

and

Both also share similar components to do with the original speaker's assumption concerning the original addressee's attitude as to the certainty of the future event:

Promise: assuming B doesn't know whether A will do X

Agree 2: assuming B wants to know whether A will do X

Agree to implies mutual benefit (I will do what you want if I think it is right for me) whereas promise implies benefit for the addressee, although, with a plural subject, a promise report phrase may indicate benefit to both participants, as in:

They promised to meet at 8.

In such cases, both participants are doing it for the other person, so it is only because they both promise that they both benefit.

* * *
EXCLAIM

1. In Reporting Sentences containing the Direct Quote.

1. An *exclaim* report expression will occur with quotes expressing the speaker's feelings. Examples:

   "You son of a bustard!" Lansing exclaimed admiringly.  
   ("Bad Man's Return": 102)

   "That was one fantastic ride, I highly recommend it," he exclaimed as Columbia soared into orbit. "Oh man, that is so pretty."  
   ("Time": 27/4/81: 13)

   "Gad!" he exclaimed. "What a stench!"  
   ("Lucinda Brayford": 9)

   "And you can tell Miss Shearer that I didn't get where I am on my ass!" she exclaimed.  
   ("Joan Crawford": 121)

   **DEFINITION:** A *exclaimed* (about X, to B)  
   noticing X  
   feeling surprised at something about X  
   wanting to say what A feels  
   A said: I feel surprised (at X)

2. A speaker may feel other additional feelings as well as the initial surprise:

   Molly walked into the room and saw the large bouquet on the table. "Oh, how lovely!" she exclaimed.
In this case, the reporting sentence indicates that Molly is surprised to see the flowers there, and the choice of qualifier indicates that she feels good about it. Different feelings are indicated in:

"What the hell do you mean by that!" Sam exclaimed.

In this case, Sam is saying that he is surprised that the addressee has said such a thing, as well as saying that he feels bad because of what the addressee has said.

Certain exclamations regularly encode certain feelings:

**Surprise:**
My!/Gosh!/Golly!/Good heavens!/Gracious!/Goodness!/ (I am surprised)

**Surprise and triumph:**
Ha!/Ah-Ha!/Eureka!/Bull's-eye!/ (I am surprised and I feel good.)

**Surprise and delight:**
How + positive qualifier:
How lovely!/Wonderful!/beautiful!/fantastic!/glorious!/ (I am surprised and I feel good.)

**Surprise and incredulity:**
What!/Incredible!/Unbelievable!/ Astonishing!/Amazing!/ (I am surprised and I still can't believe it.)

Any adjective may occur with how and form an acceptable quote, but not any adjective may combine with how and the quote plausibly occur with an exclaim report expression; at least not in normal everyday circumstances.

*"How depressing!" she exclaimed."
"How depressing!" she sighed.
*"How boring!" he exclaimed.
"How boring!" he muttered.
*"How sad!" she exclaimed.
"How sad!" she exclaimed.
The preceding examples might suggest that only good feelings may be expressed by: "How X!". This is not the case.

"How infuriating!" he exclaimed.
"How annoying!" she exclaimed.
"How awful!" he exclaimed.
"How ridiculous!" she exclaimed.

One can imagine the above to refer to situations in which the speaker is reacting empathetically with the addressee, and that the quote would have been uttered with the following intonation:

```
HoW infuriating
```

When such quotes occur with a report phrase, the original speaker is meaning:

- noticing you feel infuriated because X is the case
- feeling surprised because X is the case
- wanting to say what I feel

I say: I am surprised at X being the case

I can understand why you would be infuriated about it

Note, however that the following *exclaim* reporting sentences are implausible:

"How sad!" she exclaimed.
"How miserable!" she exclaimed.
"How boring!" he exclaimed.
"How depressing!" she exclaimed.

If "How infuriating!" she exclaimed." and ""How sad!" he exclaimed. are compared, perhaps the reason for unacceptability of the latter will be explained.
The point with "How infuriating!" is that the speaker is not saying she is feeling infuriated. She is responding to a previous utterance (say, the addressee has just recounted the story of a work-day frustrated by other people's careless mistakes.)

The speaker of the exclamation wants to respond, but doesn't know precisely what to say, so with her "How infuriating!" utterance, she shows polite and sympathetic surprise that the addressee can have had so much bad luck in one day and states how she thinks the addressee must feel. To respond to an addressee's tale of woe with "How sad!/depressing!/boring!/miserable! expressing primarily surprise, and such an utterance would be considered trivializing and insulting to the addressee. It would be more appropriate for the speaker to say: "How sad/depressing" etc. in the same situation to emphasize sympathetic feelings and not exclaim it.

Being sad, depressed, miserable, bored, unlucky are states which should be taken seriously, not trivialised.

"How very bad I feel," she exclaimed.

Such adjectives are barred from occurring in any quote together with an exclaim report expression:

"That's wonderful!/fantastic!/great!/dreadful!" she exclaimed.

"That's sad!/depressing!/boring!/unlucky!" he exclaimed.

"I feel great!/good!/so happy!/terrific!" he exclaimed.

"I feel sad!/depressed!/miserable!/bored!" she exclaimed.
"That makes me feel very bad!" he exclaimed.
"I feel very bad!" he exclaimed.

3. An **exclaim** report expression may occur with a quote with an exclamative, interrogative, imperative or declarative frame.

"Do you really mean it!" she exclaimed.
"You're sorry you ever loved me?" he exclaimed.

("He's building a castle up there.")
"Castle!" he exclaimed.

"It's hot, isn't it!" she exclaimed.
"What on earth are you talking about!" he exclaimed.
"Get out of here!" he exclaimed.
"Give it a break!" he exclaimed.

Quotes with a declarative frame which occur with **exclaim** report expressions have the meaning:
noticing that X is the case
feeling surprised that it is the case
(not believing it can be the case)
wanting to say what A feels
A said: I am surprised that X is the case

Quotes with interrogative frame occurring with **exclaim** report expressions have the following meaning:
noticing that X is the case (because of what someone just said)
feeling surprised that it is the case
(not believing it is the case)
wanting to say what A feels
A said: (I'm surprised X is the case) Is X really the case?

Quotes with the imperative frame occurring with **exclaim** report phrases have the following meaning:
noticing B hasn't done what A wanted B to do
feeling surprised that D hasn't done it
wanting to say what A feels (and cause B to do this)
A said: do X (I'm surprised you haven't done it)

4. In a sense, almost any quote may occur with an **exclaim** report expression. However, combination of certain frames with certain punctuation (reflecting intonation indicative of certain illocutionary components) are barred from occurring with an **exclaim** report expression:

Interrogative quotes which are **requests** for something ("Can you do X?/ Would you do X for me?/ May I have X?") may occur with an **exclaim** report expression, but only if there is an exclamation mark:
"Can you pass me the paper!" he exclaimed.
*"Can you pass me the paper?" he exclaimed.
"Can I beat him!" she exclaimed.
*"Can I beat him?" she exclaimed.
The use of the question mark emphasizes the 'I want to know X' component of questions. With the exclamation mark, 'wanting to say what I feel' is emphasized, so \textit{exclaim} may occur in the associated report expression.

\begin{quote}
*Can/Can't you do X?" he exclaimed.
\end{quote}

5. If the negative in an interrogative frame quote is uncontracted, the quote may not occur with an \textit{exclaim} report expression:

"Shouldn't you be in bed!" he exclaimed.
*"Should you not be in bed?" he exclaimed.

"Isn't she beautiful!" she exclaimed.
*"Is she not beautiful?" she exclaimed.

"Can't you read it!" he exclaimed.
*"Can you not read it?" she exclaimed.

"Wouldn't you take it!" he exclaimed.
*"Would you not take it?" she exclaimed.

Hudson (1975: 14) notes that whilst \textit{isn't it} serves to mark exclamations, the uncontracted \textit{not} may not occur in exclamations

'(14) a) Hasn't he gone a long way?

b) Has he not gone a long way?'

(b) is concerned more with seeking addressee affirmation than is (a). Again, of "Is.../Did.../Will.../Has... not?" is consistent with the component: \textit{wanting to know}, and is not compatible with the essential component of \textit{exclaim}:

wanting to say what A feels
6. Interrogative frame quotes with **BE**, **DO** and **HAVE** have other co-occurrence constraints:

"Isn't it a lovely day!" he exclaimed.

*"Is it a lovely day?" she exclaimed.

"Didn't he perform well!" he exclaimed.

*"Did he perform well?" he exclaimed.

"Hasn't he got talent!" she exclaimed.

*"Has he got talent?" she exclaimed.

Questions with a **BE** positive tag are also excluded from occurring as the quote with an **exclaim** report expression:

"It's a lovely day, isn't it!" he exclaimed.

*"It's a lovely day, is it?" he exclaimed.

**DO** and **HAVE** allow positive and negative tags:

"He performed well, did he!"/"didn't she!" he exclaimed.

"He's got talent, has he!"/"hasn't he!" she exclaimed.

*"Is it NP?" she explained.

*"It's X, is it?" he exclaimed.

*"Did \{ BE \\} NP do X?" she exclaimed.

*"Does \{ HAVE \\} NP do X?" she exclaimed.
7. Declarative frame quotes may occur with an *exclaim* report expression if an exclamation mark is used:

"Reagan won the presidency!" he exclaimed.

"That lad isn't human!" he exclaimed.

"I haven't been behaving cheaply!" she exclaimed.

A declarative frame quote with a question mark may be used in the quote and the quote occur with an *exclaim* report expression:

"You don't love me anymore?" he exclaimed.

"The Grogan's are leaving town?" he exclaimed.

Some writers prefer to use *italics* indicating exclamatory speech, rather than use an exclamation mark:

'He introduced her to the poetry of Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Joan was entranced. "This woman is writing *me*," she exclaimed.' ("Joan Crawford": 104)

Similarly with quotes consisting of a noun phrase; either an exclamation mark, or underscoring or italics are necessary to indicate that the speaker's intention is to say what he feels:

("When did you see her last?")

a. "Yesterday!" he exclaimed.

b. *"Yesterday,"* he exclaimed.
("I've decided to give you the part.")

"Mr Zanuck!" she exclaimed.

"Mr Zanuck," she exclaimed.

"X is the case," she exclaimed.

"NP," he exclaimed.

8. An imperative frame quote without an exclamation mark, or written stressing will not occur with an exclaim report phrase:

"Get out," he exclaimed.

"Get out!" he exclaimed.

"GET OUT," he exclaimed.

"Give me the gun," he exclaimed.

"Give me the gun!" he exclaimed.

"Do X," he exclaimed.

9. A number of commentators have remarked that exclamatory questions are only possible if some reference is made to degree. Jespersen (V: 498) notes that the how common in exclamations:

"How different/beautiful/happy/lovely you look!"

indicates "degree".

Quirk et al (1972: 400) and Hudson (1973) exemplify the same line of thought; stating that sentences such as:

"Isn't she lovely!"

"Didn't she sing badly!"

"Didn't she sing a beautiful song!"
can be exclamations (and therefore, can, within the scope of this thesis, be reported with *exclaim*) whereas:

"Isn't he coming tomorrow?"

"Wasn't she your secretary last year?"

"Didn't he do the washing up?"

can never be exclamations.

Given that surprised intonation indicates an act of *exclaiming*, one can see that it is possible for a speaker to be surprised about anything; and that exclamations are not restricted to quotes referring to extremes of gradation. If a speaker felt absolutely sure that John was coming to the party tomorrow, and he hears someone say John will be in Paris tomorrow, it is possible for him to say:

Isn't he **COMING** tomorrow

and the reporting sentence be:

"Isn't he coming tomorrow!" Sam exclaimed.

The same would apply to any of Quirk's examples. The notion of degree, whilst common to a number of exclamations, is not an essential part of the meaning of *exclaim*.

II. In Reporting Sentences not containing the Direct Quote.

1. The report verb *exclaim* occurs mainly in reporting sentences containing the direct quote. Too few examples have been found, despite a rigorous search, of reporting sentences containing an *exclaim* report expression with an object that is not a direct quote, for any generalizations to be made about the constraints on *exclaim* in reporting sentences without the direct quote. We can imagine the
following reporting sentence with exclaim:

When she saw Johnny standing in the doorway, Celeste exclaimed and ran over to give him a hug.

or may be:

Celeste exclaimed when she saw Johnny standing in the doorway, and ran over to give him a hug.

The following examples have been found:

'...Mr Begin was said to have exclaimed that Isreal "would make Linowitz famous"...'  
("The Canberra Times": 15/10/81: 10)

'Como was visited and exclaimed over.'  
("Tanner With Words": 158)

SUMMARY - EXCLAIM

a. Constraints

1. **"How adjective [t feels very bad] !" she exclaimed.**
   **"That's adjective [t feels very bad] !" she exclaimed.**
   **"I feel very bad," he exclaimed.**

2. **"Can/Can't you do X?" he exclaimed.**

3. **"BE/HAVE/DO NP not np/vp?" she exclaimed.**

4. **"Is it NP?" she exclaimed.**
   **"Did/does NP do X?" he exclaimed.**
   **"Has NP X?" he exclaimed.**
   **"It's X, is it?" he exclaimed.**

5. **"X is the case," she exclaimed.**
   **"NP," she exclaimed.**

6. **"Do X," he exclaimed.**
b. Unacceptable reporting sentences containing exclaim:

"How sad!" she exclaimed.
"That's boring," she exclaimed.
"I feel miserable!" he exclaimed.
"Can you pass me the salt?" he exclaimed.
"Can you not read it?" she exclaimed.
"Is it a lovely day?" she exclaimed.
"It's a lovely day, is it?" he exclaimed.
"The Grogans are leaving town," he exclaimed.
"Yesterday," she exclaimed.
"Give me the gun," he exclaimed.
In reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote, the report verb may co-occur with a prepositional phrase expressing some part of the original proposition, or expressing the original addressee.

The co-occurrence of preposition and report verb is constrained by the meaning of the report verb and the meaning of the preposition; as the co-occurrence of quotes and sentential/clausal/phrasal objects with report verb is constrained by the meaning of the report verb.

The scope of this thesis does not, unfortunately, allow for a full investigation of co-occurrence between report verb and preposition, but some of the facts which have come to light concerning the compatibility of preposition and report verb are relevant to the general aim of this thesis; establishing compatible co-occurrences with report verb expressions.

The prepositions about which these necessarily tentative conclusions are made are those which may occur with the report verbs under study: about, of, for, from, to, against, on, with, at, and as. to+infinitive will also be discussed.

Other prepositions which may occur with report verbs and express a meaning other than the place or time of the original utterance, and which have not been analysed here are: off, after, around, in, out, up and over.
A number of sets of report verbs may occur with for X, with different senses.

1. The first group contains verbs whose meaning entails that the original speaker knew that someone had done something:

   I admonished her for her unruly behaviour.

   'Kania...praised the country's religious leaders for "the responsibility they showed during the crisis"...'

   ("Time": 27/7/81: 40)

   'The Foreign Affairs Association has criticized the Government for not giving adequate priority to security measures at Australia's overseas posts.

   ("Hansard: Senate": 13/5/80: 2110)

   He fired her for insubordination.

   She reproached him for being late.

   He condemned them for supporting the Pol Pot Regime.

for X, in these cases, indicates the cause of the speech act represented by the report verb: e.g.

   He fired her because she was insubordinate.

   She reproached him because he was late.

   I admonished her because she was unruly.

   Only report verbs with the component:

   A knew B did X (knowing B did X)

may occur with this sense of for X.

   blame, criticize, praise, condemn may all take this sense of for X, whereas accuse, charge, may not, because although the original
speaker of an accusing, charging utterance knows that something has been done, he does not know that B has done it, he merely thinks that B has done it.

She (*reproached
*scolded
*reprimanded
*admonished
*(told)
accused) him for being late,

but she did not know when he arrived.\footnote{17}

This example shows that knowing B did X is part of the meaning of the starred verbs not part of the reporter's knowledge:

She {scolded/reprimanded/admonished} him {for} being late,

but I don't know when he arrived.

2. The next sense of for X occurs with report verb expressions containing the components:

wanting B to do X
assuming B doesn't have to do what A says

He begged/screamed for mercy.
She appealed for help (from the embassy).
She prayed for forgiveness.
He pleaded for a chance to explain her actions.
She pressed him for an answer.
She advertised for a live-in housekeeper.
She called for an end to the arms race.
'The Indian Government were inquiring for tough horses for frontier police work.' ("Seven Emus": 169)
The son and grandson of Shostakovich have asked for asylum in West Germany.

Many report verbs have the illocutionary point of wanting the addressee to do something. However, only those verbs whose meaning does not entail the original speaker assumption that the addressee will do what he wants may take this sense of \( X \):

- He \{ asked \} for silence.
- He \{ ordered \} for silence.
- She \{ called \} for an immediate end to the debate.
- She \{ commanded \} for an immediate end to the debate.
- He \{ begged \} for mercy.
- He \{ demanded \} for mercy.

Report verbs which do not entail the original speaker wanting an action from the original addressee will also not occur with this sense of \( X \):

- He \{ screamed \} for help.
- He \{ exclaimed \} for help.
- He \{ prayed \} for forgiveness.
- He \{ admitted \} for forgiveness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>report-verb with the components:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>wanting B to do X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assuming B doesn't have to do it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

because A wanted \( X \).
3. **For X (3).**

The next set of verbs which take a for X phrase are those verbs whose correlate speech acts involve an obligation for the speaker to say something, which something may either be good for X or bad for X.

He testified for the defendant.
She voted for the motion.
The judge found for the defendant.
She argued for the Bill.

A subpoenaed witness must testify; and what he says will either cause good things or bad things to happen to the defendant. A judge must make a finding; and his choices are guilty or not guilty (if the latter, he finds for the defendant, thus causing good things to happen to him). A member of parliament may be called on to debate a Bill; he may argue for or against that Bill. If he argues for it, he wants good things to happen to the Bill (that is, that it be passed). Members of an electorate are obliged to vote; as are members of committees or governments: one votes for something when one wants that something (someone) to get one's vote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>report-verb</th>
<th>for X (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>R-V with the component: having to say something knowing what A says can be either good for X or bad for X</td>
<td>because A wanted good things to happen to X.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Some report verbs allow either an about X phrase, or an of X phrase to indicate, in different ways, the content focus of the proposition contained in the original utterance.

He spoke \{ about \} his travels in darkest Africa.

She warned them \{ about \} the dangers of smoking.

He told them \{ of \} his plans to leave the country.

She complained \{ about her sore back. \} \{ of a sore back. \}

He boasted \{ about \} his success with women.

These examples show that, at least in these cases, about and of have a related meaning. However, the fact that both about and of may be used illustrates a difference in sense.

of may also be used in a different way with other report verbs:

She was assured \{ of \} \{ *about \} a fair trial.

He accused her \{ of \} \{ *about \} murder.

The judge acquitted him \{ of \} \{ *about \} murder.

He asked many questions \{ of \} \{ about \} the defendant.
Taking firstly those report verbs which may take of and about with a similar meaning, it can be seen that of and about express different degrees of specificity regarding the original utterance which is reported in the about or of phrase. of, when used with these report verbs, has the function of summarising the original proposition:

He told us of his many years as a sea captain.
= He told us that he was a sea captain for many years.
He told us that X was the case.

He boasted of his success with women.
= He boasted that he was successful with women.
He boasted that X was the case.

She complained of a sore back.
= She complained that her back was sore.
She complained that X was the case.

He warned the class of the dangers of drugs.
= He warned the class that drugs were dangerous.
He warned the class that X was the case.

In contradistinction, about X expresses not the original proposition, but the topic of the original proposition:

A report-verb about X.
A did something by speaking, saying different things, all of which were related to one thing: X.

He warned them about the dangers of smoking.
He warned them, saying different things, all of which were related to one thing: the dangers of smoking.
He told us about his many years as a sea captain.

He told us, saying different things, all of which were related to one thing: his many years as a sea captain.

He boasted about his success with women.

He boasted, saying different things, all of which were related to the one thing: his success with women.

She complained about her back.

She complained, saying different things, all of which were related to the one thing: her back.

He advised her about Family counselling services.

He advised her, saying different things, all of which were related to the one thing: Family counselling services.

4. The relationship between of X and that-S, explains why reporting sentences with of X imply the truth of the proposition. If one says: He boasted of his fine wines.

one is saying that it is true that he has fine wines, and he boasted about them.

When one says:

She complained of a sore back.

one is saying: it is true that she had a sore back, and she complained about it. The same truth value does not apply to about X

She complained about her sore back.

She complained; what she complained about was her back.
5. That a complained of X reporting sentence must posit that X is the case and not just posit X can be seen in the following:

* She complained of her/a back.
* She complained that her/a back.
She complained of a sore back.
She complained that her back was sore.

A complained about X reporting sentence is not so tightly constrained:

She complained about her back.
She complained about her sore back.
* She complained about a back.

6. With warn, complain, tell, speak, and boast, the construction with of X expresses a more limited proposition in the original utterance. about X expresses that the speaker did not just say X is the case, but that all the things she said were related to X being the case:

So the utterance:

My back's sore.

would be more likely to be reported:

She complained of a sore back.

whereas: "I can't even walk with this rotten back of mine!"

would be more likely to be reported:

She complained of her back.
A report-verbed \{of \atop about\} X.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A report-verbed of $X_1$.</th>
<th>A report-verbed about X.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A report-verbed that</td>
<td>A report verbed, saying different things, all of which were related to one thing: X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X$ was the case.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. of X (2)

This sense of of is used to express the original addressee of the speech act referred to in the report expression:

\[
\text{A report verbed } X \text{ of } B.
\]

He asked many questions of the defendant.

He requested a favour of me.

There are not enough report verbs which allow of+addressee for any real generalization to be made (one can imagine the slightly antiquated co-occurrence of beg and entreat with of+B). This sense can be seen, however, to relate to the original speaker wanting something, so the above reporting sentence could be explained:

He asked many questions, wanting the defendant to answer them for him.

He requested a favour, wanting me to do something for him.

9. The last sense of of occurs in reporting sentences like:

The judge found him (not) guilty of the charge.

The court acquitted him of all the charges.

He was declared innocent of the charges laid against him.

She accused him of lying.

He was convicted of murder.
All of these report verbs relate to speech acts which are used to create a different state for the addressee. The sense can be captured in:

A report-verbed B because A wanted something to become sayable about B.

FROM

1. **from X** expresses a number of meanings:
   1. He abstained from voting.
   2. He argued from a socialist platform.

2. He abstained from voting.
   He dissented from the motion.
   Unauthorized personell are prohibited from entering top security areas.
   She was excused from sport.
   She excused herself from participation in the debate.

All of these report verbs have a component:
   not wanting to do X (abstain, dissent, excuse (active))
   not wanting B to do X (prohibit, excuse (passive))

The meaning of this **from X** construction can be expressed:

A did this (report verbed) because A didn't want to do X.

*  e.g. He abstained, because he didn't want to vote.
or:

A did this (report verbed) because A didn't want B to do X.

e.g. She was excused from sport, because they didn't want her to have to play sport if she didn't want to.

3. He argued from a socialist platform.

He speaks from experience.

This construction's meaning can be expressed:

A did this this way (report verbed) because he had X.

e.g. He argued that way because he had a socialist platform.

He speaks that way because he has experience.

TO B

He admitted to his father that he had been wagging school.

She complained to me the other day that her knee was playing up again.

That brooch was promised to me.

He told a story to the class.

He boasted about it to all his friends.

*He requested to me to give him a lift.

*He pleaded to me to let him go.

In these cases, to B indicates the recipient of the original utterance:

A report verbed, wanting B to know that X.
e.g. He admitted, wanting his father to know that he had been wagging school.
He boasted, wanting all his friends to know about it.
He told a story, wanting all the class to hear it.
She promised, wanting me to know that I would have the brooch.

Any report verb which does not contain as part of its meaning wanting B to know something
will not occur with to B.

AGAINST X

Of the verbs under study, warn and advise report expressions may co-occur with against X phrases:

She warned her against putting all her eggs in one basket.
He advised her against talking to the Press.

Other verbs which may co-occur with against are: argue, testify, caution, vote.

warn, advise, caution and argue against X share the same meaning:

A report verbed, wanting B not to do X because doing X would cause bad things to happen
testify, vote, argue (which may also occur with for X (3))

share the same basic meaning:

| A report verbed, wanting bad things to happen to X. |

**ON X**

1. Some verbs allow \{on \( \text{about} \) \} X:

- He advised them \{on correct court procedure. \( \text{about correct court procedure.} \)
- She lectured \{on Impressionism last week \( \text{about Impressionism last week.} \)
- She questioned him \{on his part in the robbery. \( \text{about his part in the robbery.} \)
- He warned the class \{on the dangers of drugs. \( \text{about the dangers of drugs.} \)

2. Other verbs may allow on X but are not paraphraseable with about X.

   i. He praised them \{on their dedication to duty. \( *\text{about their dedication to duty.} \)
- He complimented her \{on her appearance. \( ?\text{about her appearance.} \)
- He blamed the drop in salary \{on the new marketing techniques. \( *\text{about the new marketing techniques.} \)
He congratulated her \{ on her new promotion. 
\{ *about her new promotion.

ii. They all voted \{ on the amended proposal. 
\{ *about the amended proposal.

He bet \{ on the bob-tail nag. 
\{ *about the bob-tail nag.

3. Those report verbs which may take on X or about X, occur with on X when the reporter infers that the original speaker considered the subject matter of the original utterance was 'serious' in nature.

This is expressed in the meaning of the construction by:

thinking someone should (be caused to) know this

on X (1)/(2) may therefore occur, with report verbs with:

wanting to know X

or:

wanting to cause B to know X

components.

He advised them on correct court procedure.
He advised them, thinking he should cause them to know about correct court procedures.

He lectured the class on Impressionism.
He lectured the class, thinking that he should cause them to know about Impressionism.

He questioned them on their part in the conspiracy.
He questioned them, thinking he should cause them to know about their part in the conspiracy.

He warned the sixth-formers on the dangers of smoking.
He warned the sixth-formers, thinking he should cause them to know about the dangers of smoking.
A report verbed, B, thinking \( \{ A \} \) should cause \( \{ B \} \)
to know about X.

4. Those report verbs which may occur with on X but may not take
about X may in many cases optionally occur with for X:

He praised them \( \{ \text{on} \} \) their dedication to duty.

praise, congratulate, criticize, compliment, command, blame,
all contain the notion of good or bad as part of their meaning.
Leaving aside blame for the moment, reporting sentences containing
these verbs plus an on X phrase have the underlying meaning:

A did this (to) B because of something \( \{ \text{good} \} \)
(report verbed)

about X thinking A should cause B to know
why A is report verbing B.

He praised them on their dedication to duty.
He praised them, because they were dedicated to duty
thinking he should cause them to know why he is
praising them.

He congratulated her on her promotion.
He congratulated her, because she got the promotion
thinking he should cause her to know why he is
congratulating her.
5. vote, bet, confer, deliberate, debate, agree, disagree are among the verbs which take on X to indicate topics about which there may be different opinions:

A report verbed, saying something about X, knowing other people could say something different about X.

He bet on the bob-tailed nag, saying the bob-tailed nag would win the race, knowing other people could say it won't.

They voted on the proposed amendment, they voted, each of them saying something about the amendment, each knowing other people could say something different.

**WITH X**

1. with X/B may be used with different types of report verbs to indicate, in different ways, that two actions occurred.

2. with B is used to reflect a speech act carried out by two people within the same space of time:
   i. She agreed with him that the Home should stage a charity drive.
      He quarrelled with her about money.
      She conspired with them to assassinate Fraser.
      He argued with the Board about staffing policy.

Sentences such as these are used by a reporter instead of the similar:
ii. They agreed that the Home should stage a charity drive.
They quarrelled about money.
They conspired to assassinate Fraser.
They argued about staffing policy.

in order to express the reporter's focus of interest in the original situation.

The reporting sentences in (ii) are also different from the sentences in (i) in that although both sets of sentences indicate that more than one action were involved in the speech event, only (ii) indicates that the actions by both (all) participants were identical:

They both agreed/quarrelled/conspired/argued.

The sentences in (i) may reflect a situation in which both participants performed the same action, but it is also possible that they performed different actions.

She agreed with him...
She agreed with something he suggested, proposed, stated.
He didn't agree with her in the same way

He quarrelled with her...
He quarrelled, she may have also quarrelled but
she may also have argued, justified, asserted.

He argued with the Board....
He argued, the Board may have argued also, but it is also possible that the Board reasoned, explained, contradicted, laid down the law.

Verbs which may take with B in this way may be divided into two groups:
a) Verbs entailing that both participants wanted/thought the same about something, (agree, confer, conspire);
b) Verbs entailing that both participants wanted/thought different things about something (argue, quarrel, disagree).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A report verbed with B about something.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) (for agree, confer, conspire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A and B said things to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A did this (report verbed), wanting/thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the same as B about something.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| b) (for argue, quarrel, disagree)     |
| A and B said things to each other     |
| A did this (report verbed), wanting/thinking different things from B about something. |

3. One sense of with X occurs in reporting sentences like:

He spoke with great emotion of his time in occupied France.
He admitted it with a sob in his voice.
She cried out with pain.

Such reporting sentences indicate two actions, but both are carried out by the same person:

He spoke with great emotion....
He did two things
He spoke, and at the same time, felt great emotion.
He admitted it with a sob in his voice.  
He did two things  
He admitted it, and at the same time he sobbed.  

She cried out with pain.  
She did two things  
She cried out, and at the same time felt pain.  

A report verbed with X  
A did two things  
this (report-verb), and at the same time did something else.  

4. Another sense of with X is exhibited in the following:  
He threatened her with expulsion/dismissal/retribution/exile.  
He charged her with murder.  
Despite centuries of debate, Leonardo Da Vinci has finally been credited with the minor masterpiece, Portrait of Ginevra Benci.  
In such cases, two actions are again referred to:  
He threatened her with expulsion.  
He threatened her, at the same time saying he would cause her to be expelled.  
He charged her with murder:  
He charged her, at the same time saying she had murdered someone.  
...Leonardo has been credited with...Portrait of Ginevra Benci  
Someone credited Leonardo, at the same time saying he had painted Portrait of Ginevra Benci.
A reported verbed B with X.
A did something, saying someone had/would do
something else.

AT

1. The only verb under study her to take at X is exclaim:
   She exclaimed at the sight of her long-lost brother.
Other report verbs taking at X with the same meaning are: jeer, scoff, sneer, snort.

A report verbed at X.

He { jeered
      scoffed
      sneered
      snorted
    } at my decision to go to University.

The meaning of such sentences is:

A report verbed, wanting to say what he felt
about X.

2. A related, but more pointedly directed, sense of at can be seen
in reporting sentences in which X expresses the original addressee:

He { nagged
      ranged
      whinged
      whined
      screamed
      harped
    } at me to fix the leaking tap.

(jeer, scoff, sneer, and snort may also occur with at B.)
Such reporting sentences express the meaning:

A report verbed, wanting B to know how he felt.
1. **praise** and **criticize** are the only two verbs under study to occur with as X:

   He was praised.

   He praised him as a proud and honest man.

   The Bill was criticized.

   He criticized the Bill as being too restrictive.

Other verbs occurring with as X are:

   He acknowledged it as the truth.

   He described him as a villain of the first water.

   They hailed him as King.

   He was condemned as a traitor.

   He was appointed as acting-assistant Secretary.

   He was ordained as a priest.

   His illness has been diagnosed as cancer.

   Fonda is widely acclaimed as one of the great stars of the seventies.

   She was cited as co-respondent.

2. as X is used to give the subject content of the original proposition, and is used in reports of stative utterances:

   The passive is often used so the meaning of reporting sentences with as X is best expressed using the passive:

   B was report verbed: A saying that X is the case about B.
Fonda is acclaimed, people saying she is one of the great stars of the seventies.

He was described, someone saying he was a villain.

She was cited, someone saying she was the co-respondent.

**TO+INFINITIVE**

1. A number of the verbs under study allow a to+infinitive complement.

'His father, a country vicar, advised him to go to Australia, as there men of his connexions and scholarship must be few, and he would doubtless attain preferment, and might with regained health become a colonial bishop at an early age...'

("Lucinda Brayford": 11)

'Rabbit asked them to repeat aloud everything said on the tapes.' ("Time": 27/7/81: 90)

'...peasant leaders agreed to refrain from staging new protests and to recognize the leading role of the Communist Party in their forthcoming charter.'

("Time": 27/5/81)

'...Mr Alias attacked the committee, demanding to know how they'd got his name.'

("National Times": 29/9-2/10/81: 47)

'Gaddifi...has ordered his people to create similar projects - enormous cattle farms and wheat plantations in the desert.' ("The Bulletin": 12/5/81: 79)
'He promised me faithfully this morning to have them back here at eight o'clock.' ("Picnic At Hanging Rock": 45)

'Mr Porson told Dominic to follow him to his study.'

("A Difficult Young Man": 38)

'I threatened to leave him then and there....'

("The Bulletin": 28/7/81: 46)

'... the prosecutors warned the jurors to beware of jokers wearing press cards.' ("All the President's Men": 210)

2. A to-infinitive may co-occur with a report expression containing a report verb with the component of meaning: 

...to do X

In the case of verbs like: warn, advise, ask, order, tell 2, instruct, direct, caution, invite, beg, challenge, dare it is a future original addressee action which is wanted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A report-verbed</th>
<th>B to do X.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A ordered, warned, advised, directed, etc.</td>
<td>B because he wanted B to do X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. In the case of verbs like promise, vow, swear, pledge, agree 2, consent it is a future speaker action which is posited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A report-verbed</th>
<th>to do X.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A promised, vowed, pledged, swore, etc.</td>
<td>because A wanted B to know that A would do X.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. decline and refuse may also take a to+infinitive, with the meaning:

   A \{ declined, refused \} because he didn't want to do X

5. ask and enquire may occur with Wh- to+infinitive

   He asked her how to get to the post office.
   He enquired of her how to get to the post office.

   A \{ asked B, enquired of B \} how to do X.

   A \{ asked, enquired \} because he wanted to know how to do X,
   wanting to do X

6. tell and explain may also occur with Wh- to+infinitive.

   He told her \{ how to work the photocopier, where to put the papers. \}
   He explained (to her) how to derive the formula.

   A \{ told 1 her, explained to her \} because B wanted to know
   something about X, wanting to do X.
7. **not to+infinitive**

A number of report verbs may take **not to+infinitive**:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{He } \{ \text{asked, warned, cautioned, advised, ordered} \} \text{ her not to sell the property just yet.}
\end{align*}
\]

The meaning of such reporting sentences is:

```
A report verbed B because he didn't want B to do X.
```

With verbs like **warn**, **caution** and **advise**, the original speaker didn't want the original addressee to do it because it would be bad for the original addressee.

With verbs like **order** and **ask**, doing X could be bad for either the original speaker or addressee. **beg** and **entreat** entail that X would be bad for the original speaker.

8. **Any report verb which does not contain, as part of its meaning that the speaker or the addressee will do something will not co-occur with a to+infinitive complement.** **complain, exclaim, praise, criticize, admit, confess** are all concerned with actions which occurred at a time previous to the **complaining, exclaiming, praising, etc. utterance.** **predict, foretell, and forecast** posit future events, but not future actions by the speaker or the addressee, so are barred from occurring with a to+infinitive.

***
CONCLUSION

1. The preceding analysis has shown that the acceptability and coherence of a reporting sentence is determined and predicted by the meaning of the main verb of the sentence: the report verb.

   In order for a quote or sentential/phrasal/clausal object to occur with a report expression containing a particular report verb, the meaning of that quote must not be incompatible with the meaning of that report verb. Incompatibility, rather than compatibility, is stressed, because it is not the case that there needs to be a one-to-one match between both parts of the reporting sentence.

   The preceding analysis has also provided an insight into the function of both parts of the reporting sentence; into the difference in function between reporting sentences containing the direct quote, and reporting sentences without the direct quote; and into the different types of report verbs.

2.a. Differences between the function of the parts of a reporting sentence.

   The two parts of the reporting sentence have different functions relative to the original speech event.

   The report expression identifies the original speaker or the addressee, or both original speaker and addressee, and may identify the place or time of the original utterance represented by the quote. The verb in the report expression gives some information as to what happened at the time of, or as a result of the original utterance.

   The quote, or the sentential/clausal/phrasal object of the report expression has the function of giving the reader/hearer of the
reporting sentence information about the content of the original utterance. The report verb expression gives the necessary information concerning what actions occurred in association with the particular original utterance and or both of the participants; the quote or sentential/clausal/phrasal object expresses the content (or part of the content) of what was actually said.

There are differences in function between the quote and the sentential/clausal/phrasal object.

The quote has the particular function of both saying what the original speaker said, as well as showing how he said it. Intonation is conveyed to some extent by punctuation and stress (italics or underscoring). The reporting sentence must, however, be seen as a whole. The particular report verb chosen will predict the characteristic intonation of the quote with which it co-occurs. A reader confronted with the following reporting sentences, would be cued as to the appropriate realization of the quote by the meaning of the report verb:

"Don't move!" he warned.
"Don't move!" he threatened.

Early on in the analysis in the main body of this thesis it was noted that the same verb is prohibited from occurring in both parts of the one reporting sentence: it may not, simultaneously occur in the report expression and performatively within the quote:

*I admit I made a lousy error in judgement," she admitted.
*"We promise to fill your order within a month," he promised.
*"I recommend it," he recommended.

The simple explanation for this is that language avoids tautology. What occurs in the quote complements, not reduplicates, what occurs in the report expression.
However, the following reporting sentences illustrate an interesting fact:

"That was one fantastic ride, I highly recommend it," he exclaimed as Columbia soared into orbit."
("Time": 27/4/81: 13)

'Vowed he: "We promise to help all genuine Polish patriots"' ("Time": Ibid)

"I admit I don't like the look of it," he confided.

"I suggest you waste no time in getting back," he warned.

There are a number of ways of explaining such sentences. If one believed that one utterance = one speech act, one might suggest one of the following explanations:

either: the report verb indicates the illocutionary force of the utterance (represented by the quote), in which case the performative verb in the quote is not a 'real' performative, but is merely masquerading;

or: the performative verb in the quote indicates the illocutionary force of the utterance, with the report verb offering additional information about the 'manner' of execution of the utterance. This sounds feasible if we consider that some of the verbs which appear in the report verb slot in a sentence with a performative quote characterize 'ways' of speaking: e.g. scream, moan, sigh, cry, stutter, mumble. (Some of these also have a 'point' that is, have an illocutionary meaning.) One can imagine that report expressions containing these verbs could be paraphrased: "he said with a sigh, moan, groan, lisp, stutter."

This explanation does not, however, explain the use of verbs such as interrupt, cut in, butt in, put in; which may occur with
performative quotes and which refer to acts performed with respect to place within the dialogue; nor does it explain the occurrence of verbs such as warn, promise, vow, state; and the ubiquitous occurrence of say in report expressions occurring with performative quotes.

This fact can be explained if one starts from the premiss that, like other human actions, two speech acts may be performed simultaneously; that one may vow and promise, at the same time, in the same way as one may run and bounce a ball, or jump and clap.

Finding actual evidence of reports of these pairs or reporting sentences is very difficult; it would be unnecessary for any writer or speaker to give the same information twice, but in different ways. We can imagine, however, reporting sentences without the direct quote which capture the meaning of these kinds of reporting sentences:

Vowed he: "We promise to help genuine Polish patriots."

Although a reporting sentence without the direct quote could focus on one of the two possible report verbs:

He promised/vowed that they would help genuine Polish patriots.

the following reporting sentence captures the same meaning as the reporting sentence with the direct quote:

He promised that they would help genuine Polish patriots, and vowed to keep that promise.

Similarly: "I admit I don't like the look of things," he confided.

He confided in me that he didn't like the look of things.

or:

He admitted that he didn't like the look of things.

or, including both illocutionary verbs:

He confided in me, admitting that he didn't like the look of things.
"I suggest you be back at seven, if you want to see your wife again," he warned.

He warned me to be back at seven.
He suggested I be back by seven.
He warned me, suggesting I be back by seven, if I wanted to see my wife again.

"I swear I never want to see you again," she screamed.
She screamed that she never wanted to see me again.
She swore that she never wanted to see me again.
She screamed at me, swearing that she never wanted to see me again.

Only report verbs whose meanings are not incompatible may so occur in a reporting sentence. The co-occurrence of dyads like: condemn/exult/deny, and apologize/boast are unimaginable:

"I condemn the government for its discriminatory attitudes," he exulted.

"I deny any part in the conspiracy," he accused.

"I apologize," he boasted.

This illustrates, from a different angle, the main findings of this thesis. The coherent co-occurrence of report expression and quote or sentential/phrasal object depends on the compatibility of meaning of both parts of the reporting sentence.

The function of an illocutionary report verb in a reporting sentence with the direct quote is to make the illocutionary force of the utterance plain.

It is assumed by the reporter, that without the qualifying report verb expression, an interpretation may be made of the quote which is unreflective of the actual situation.
For example, the frame: "Let's do X." is usually associated with the act of suggesting, yet suggest would be inappropriate in the following dialogue, because it is incompatible with the meaning of the rest of the dialogue: order is used to express that the original speaker was in a position of power over the other participants, and that he expected them to do what he said:

"Listen," Paterno began slowly, "we really ought to get down to the business of planning a campaign." He rubbed his hands together, not in glee but in a kind of awed respect, as if conscious of touching the hand of the future governor of New York.

"Let's get started," he finally ordered. 'You three are the core of any campaign organisation I'm going to have, and you're just sitting here like you've got sunstroke. Wake up! That's better. Now Eileen and Terry, no more bickering, okay?" They nodded. "Good. Marcia, you have to speak up more. Okay, it's March tenth. We have a few weeks of enforced grace, at least till the end of the month, when the official state of mourning period is over. It would not look good if I declared my candidacy and the TV cameras picked up a flag still flying half mast for Gresham." ("Cosmopolitan": July 1981: 148)

Any devotee of fiction, or avid reader of journals/newspapers will note that say is the most commonly used report verb.

Quotes which contain a performative verb, or quotes whose frame and content is characteristically employed to execute one speech act, and which could be reported with the corresponding report verb will in most cases have a say report expression.
However, if as in the above example, a frame is used uncharacteristically, then a report verb which is not characteristically used with that type of quote will be used.

The sentential/clausal/phrasal object, instead of saying what the original speaker said, says something about what the original speaker said. It makes some comment on the original proposition, and may even restrict reference to the original utterance to just one part of that utterance. So a reporter choosing to use a reporting sentence without the direct quote has a wider range of possible report verbs to choose from than does a reporter choosing to use a reporting sentence with the direct quote.

It could be assumed that the constraints for the co-occurrence of quote and report verb will predict whether that report verb may be used in a reporting sentence without the direct quote. In many cases this is true.

Any of the constraints on declarative frame quotes will predict that the quote will not prompt a reporting sentence without the direct quote with that particular report verb as the main verb. For example: BOAST.

The following two constraints are based on the one idea:

*"Something bad about me," he boasted.

*He boasted that he'd done something bad.

So it is obvious that a quote (standing for an utterance) that is so constrained from occurring with a boast report expression, will automatically be constrained from prompting a boast reporting sentence without the direct quote.

Yet, the constraint:

*"VP NP," he boasted

does not make the same prediction.
"Listen to me play this piece, and eat your heart out Yehudi!" she boasted.

But, in a later report, this quote could prompt the following boast reporting sentence:

She boasted that she could play better violin than Yehudi Menuhin.

The same applies to agree_2 which may not take an imperative frame quote.

However, an imperative frame quote associated with a proposition consistent with the meaning of agreeing may prompt an agree_1 reporting sentence without the direct quote.

"Have it on my desk this afternoon, and I'll look it over before five," he agreed.

but: He agreed to look over my notes this afternoon.

could be prompted by such an utterance (represented by this quote).

The same applies to report verbs which may not occur with an interrogative quote: e.g. admit.

"Did I ever tell you I once embezzled money from my employer?" he admitted.

but: this quote could prompt the following:

He admitted embezzling money from his employer.

tell_1:

"Did you know Celeste and Frank have split up?" he told her.

but: the utterance could later be reported:

He told her Frank and Celeste had split up.

Report verbs with the component 'wanting to know X' (such as ask_1, enquire, question) may not occur with imperative or declarative frame quotes such as:
*"Tell me your name," she asked.

*I wonder if you could tell me where to find Gimbles," she asked.

But later reporting sentences with ask could be prompted by these utterances:

She asked me my name.

He asked where to find Gimbles.

What these examples point up is that a reporting sentence without the direct quote may focus on one part of a quote, and provided that part is compatible with the meaning of the report verb, then that proposition may occur as the object of that report verb's report expression.

2.b. Difference in function of the two types of reporting sentence.

There is a clear difference in function between the two kinds of reporting sentence. Reporting sentences with the direct quote encapsulate the content of the original utterance, plus some other concomitant part of the execution of that utterance, which information is not already evidenced in the direct quote. The report verbs which may occur in a report expression occurring with a direct quote, may give information as to the illocutionary force of the utterance: (the speakers intent in making that utterance); to some head movement made at the time of the utterance ('...', he winked/smiled/grinned/sneered.) to some non-lexical accompanying sound (laugh/titter/giggle/thunder/bellow).

Reporting sentences which do not contain the direct quote are not so time bound: their function is broader. All of the above may be stipulated, as may the effect of the utterance. Reporting sentences
without the direct quote may also give information related to wider discourse chunks, and larger numbers of participants in the discourse. Reciprocal verbs such as discuss, caucus, conspire, negotiate, chat, confer may occur in reporting sentences without the direct quote; but are constrained from occurring in a reporting sentence with the direct quote.

A reporting sentence with the direct quote refers to something said (usually) by one person at one given point in time. A reporting sentence without the direct quote may refer to the same thing, but it may also refer to a number of utterances made by a number of people, within a wider time span.

*I'll do it,* they promised for weeks.

They've been promising for weeks to clear out the attic.

The committee deliberated on the matter for a full month.

2.c. Types of report verbs.

Although the sample of verbs analyzed is small relative to the whole field of report verbs, it is possible to extrapolate from the findings in the main body of the thesis, some general conclusions about the report verb field.

There are different kinds of report verbs. Although all report verbs operate over the rest of the sentence, making some claim about what a speaker did when he said something, the reference to the part of the speech event differs according to what kind of report verb is used.

Those report verbs which match illocutionary verbs are used to give the reader/hearer some information as to the assumed illocutionary force of the original utterance. The reporter's assumptions are
important; it need not be the case that the speech act the original speaker intended will be the speech act that the reporter wants to focus on. The original speaker's view of the event is more limited; the reporter is more likely to see the event as a whole, taking both participants into consideration.

A speaker may intend to remind the addressee about something, and in a certain context may be reported as having nagged.

Similarly, a speaker may intend to assert that X is the case, and the reporter, doubting the truth of the assertion, could report the utterance using the verb claim.

This does not mean that the reporter can arbitrarily choose any report verb he wishes, his range of choices are still limited to the meaning of the original utterance.

The first class of report verbs is:

1. Report verbs used to inform the reader/hearer of the (an) illocutionary force of the original utterance.

Some illocutionary report verbs have a matching performative use, others don't. admit, promise, condemn, agree, swear, warn, advise are some of the verbs which have a performative use. Others, like boast, allege, jeer, threaten, exclaim, scold do not have performative use.

Apart from a performative/non-performative split within this group of illocutionary report verbs, there are also differences according to whether an illocutionary report verb may be used in the report expression of a reporting sentence containing the direct quote.
Some illocutionary report verbs correspond to highly formal and ritualized speech acts, whose expression is formulaic, and generally restricted to performative utterances.

Such report verbs may occur in reporting sentences without the direct quote, but may only occur in the performative verb slot in the quote in a reporting sentence containing the quote. Such verbs as: *sentence, overrule, abstain, cancel, prohibit, baptize and abdicate* may not occur in the report expression in a reporting sentence containing the direct quote:

"I don't want to vote," he abstained.

"The game is off," she cancelled.

"No one is to pass the third gat," he prohibited.

Other verbs which have no corresponding performative use are also barred from occurring in such a position:

"The brushwork is shoddy," he criticized.

"You capitalist pig!" she insulted.

"Louie Luger done the warehouse job," he informed on him.

There is another class of report verbs which says something about the effect of a speech act; parallel to what are classed as perlocutionary verbs in the literature: *convince, persuade, dissuade, leak, besmirch*. These verbs are used to report the consequences or result of an illocution.

By explaining the dangers of the Queensland Wet, a speaker may discourage his addressee from taking a proposed motor trip of North Queensland; by enthusing about a particular stage production a speaker may persuade his addressee to see the show; by urging or reasoning a speaker may convince his addressee that he is right about something. These verbs have parallel use in reporting sentences.
without the direct quote to report verbs which describe a certain illocution:

He ordered me to see the show.

He persuaded me to see the show.

2. Report verbs used to inform the reader/hearer of the effect of an illocution.

Verbs of this class do not occur in a report verb phrase with a direct quote. This tells us much about the function of report expressions occurring with direct quotes. What is postulated in a report expression occurring with a direct quote must and can only refer to something that happened at the precise time of the utterance represented by the quote. One is convinced, persuaded etc. at some time after the original utterance; the two do not go hand-in-hand.

Another class of report verbs contains verbs referring to non-volitional ways of executing an utterance: lisp, stammer, stutter, rasp.

3. Report verbs used to inform the hearer/reader of the way someone said something, not wanting to do anything by saying it in this way.

These report verbs may occur in reporting sentences with or without the direct quote. Their use in reporting sentences without the direct quote is characterised by the following frame:

A report verbed NP

He lisped/stammered/stuttered his reply.
There are some report verbs which, although illocutionary in nature, are not primarily illocutionary. One may forgive, wish, blame, condemn (non-judicially), approve, disapprove, exonerate. These report verbs do not occur in reporting sentences with the direct quote because, by saying "this" the speaker is not simultaneously forgiving, blaming etc. He has already forgiven, blamed. By saying what he does, he is making it known that he has done X. Again, it is the function of the report expression occurring within a direct quote to state what happened when the utterance associated with the quote was made.

2.d. The main task throughout has been to show how the meaning of the report verb predicts possible co-occurrences within the reporting sentence. In the process of this analysis, several other interesting facts have come to light. One of these is that by determining the possibilities when a reporting sentence which does not contain the direct quote, the possibilities for performative sentences are also determined. The same syntactic/semantic rules apply to both. The other is that there are restrictions on co-occurrences within the report expression itself. The fact that language avoids tautology is also relevant here. Information which is already given is not repeated in the report phrase. This refers specifically to fillers of the speaker and addressee slots.

According to previous related information, the addressee need not be stipulated. *ask* may optionally take an object referring to the addressee:
'Celeste and Maude perused the paintings.'

a. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked.

b. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked Maude.

c. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked her.

d. "Are any of these yours?" she asked.

'Frank and Celeste perused the paintings.'

a. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked.

b. "Are any of these yours?" she asked.

c. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked Frank.

However, in the following, the participants in the dialogue are not specified in previous related dialogue.

'The group of students meandered through the gallery, stopping here and there to chat, dispute or simply appreciate the final-year students' work.'

a. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked Maude.

b. "Are any of these yours?" she asked (her).

c. "Are any of these yours?" Celeste asked (her).

In this example, it is clear why proper nouns are chosen instead of pronouns.

The tense of the report verb may be past or present:

"Things are going to get worse," warned/warns the Commissioner of Police.

Use of the present tense is a device making the speech event more immediate to the reader/hearer. By saying that it is happening now, the reporter is involving the reader/hearer in the reporting situation. Story tellers frequently use this device to increase the impact of their story on the hearer.
In order for the grammar of reporting sentences to be fully understood, a number of other related areas need to be studied. Deeper analysis needs to be made of the constraints on prepositional phrases; and of the use of adverbs, both within the report expression and operating over the whole sentence. As well as analysing prohibitive constraints, preferential constraints need to be understood. What is it that determines the reporter's final choice of report verb when given one utterance in one context, two or more report verbs are possible? Why does a reporter choose tell instead of claim and vice versa?

This thesis has dealt with some of the obvious co-occurrence constraints of a (relatively) small number of verbs. Some insight has been gained into the nature and meaning of those report verbs, and simultaneously of their corresponding illocutionary acts; the function of reporting sentences has also been clarified. Inadequate though written language may be at recreating (as in actual news/current events reporting) or at creating (as in fiction) acts of speech, there are precise rules for reporting, which parallel, to some extent the rules for production of speech acts.

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Notes

1. Thanks to Tim Shopen for the suggestion of this term in lieu of my original term report phrase.

2. The term illocutionary is used throughout this thesis to refer to verbs which have complex meanings, including the essential components: wanting X indicating the specific speaker intention, and:

   I say: this

indicating that the intention was expressed by means of speaking.

3. A verb is used performatively when it is used by a speaker, within an utterance, to indicate what illocution that speaker is performing by making that utterance. In the quote:

   "I admit I was wrong."

admit is being used performatively. In the quote:

   "I always admit it when I'm wrong."

admit has an illocutionary, but not performative use. The corresponding illocutionary report verb use can be seen in:

   "I was wrong," he admitted.

   He admitted that he was wrong.


7. Ibid: 1

8. Ibid: 91
9. "Let us pause to dwell a little more on the expression 'explicit performative', which we have introduced rather surreptitiously. I shall oppose it to 'primary performative' (rather than to inexplicit or implicit performative.)

We gave as an example:
1) primary utterance: "I shall be there."
2) explicit performative: "I promise that I shall be there". (1962: 69)

"...it is both obvious and important, that we can on occasion use the utterance 'go' to achieve practically the same as we achieve by the utterance 'I order you to go.': and we should say cheerfully in either case, describing subsequently what someone did, that he ordered me to go." (1962: 32)

The distinctions Austin makes between phonetic, phatic and rhetic acts is also relevant to reporting. These acts combine to "add up to 'saying' something, in the full sense of 'say'." (1962: 92) "The act of 'saying something' in this full normal sense I call, i.e. dub, the performance of a locutionary act. (1962: 94) "...the rhetic act is the one we report, in the case of assertions, by saying 'he said that the cat was on the mat', 'He said he would go',...This is the so-called 'indirect speech'." (1962: 96)

10. Of particular interest are:

Hare, R.M. (1970); Holdcroft, D. (1979), (in which the relevance of speech acts to philosophy and linguistics is blended); Black, M. (1962).
NOTES (continued)


13. There is a difference only in focus and tense between the definition of an illocutionary verb and a report verb. The following expresses the meaning of illocutionary order:

I order you (to do X)
wanting to cause you to do X
assuming you can do it
assuming you have to do what I say
because I have the right to cause you to do things
I say: I want you to do X
assuming saying this will cause you to do it.
The use of A (in definitions of report verbs) to indicate the original speaker of the quoted utterance, or reported proposition, and B to indicate the original addressee, allows for the reporter or the addressee to be either of the original participants, or for the reporter to be a third person.

14. This distinction between order and demand comes from Wierzbicka, A. A Dictionary of Illocutionary Verbs, (in production, 1981).

15. Although quotes such as "You're tired/upset/depressed/angry" may be used to show "attention, interest and empathy" (as noted in Wierzbicka, A. (1980)), such quotes may, particularly in the counselling situation, be used as ways of telling someone something. A counsellor/psychiatrist may consider that the client (the addressee) is not aware of his feelings. The psychiatrist, perceiving something about the client, considers that he 'knows' what the client is feeling, and may tell him, that is, say that the client is feeling something in order to bring it to the client's attention.

16. This section does not deal with the meaning of phrasal verbs. A report verb may develop a fixed relationship with a preposition, so that verb+preposition forms a phrasal verb with a meaning related to, but distinct from the meaning of that report verb when it occurs without the preposition.

The notion of substitutability as a criterion for the definition of phrasal verbs, put forward by Dixon (1980: 5) and Bolinger (1971: xi) helps to explain the relationship between 'synonymous' phrasal report verbs and other report verbs:
NOTES (continued)

e.g. **tell**: tell off/reprimand; tell on/incriminate

**ask**: ask over/invite;

**talk**: talk round/persuade; (talk big)/boast;
    talk over/discuss; (talk tall/exaggerate);
    talk around/circumlocute.

**beg**: beg off/decline;

**cry**: cry for/demand; cry out/protest;

**call**: call off/cancel; call in question/query/dispute;
    call in/call out/summon (the troops);
    call out/exclaim; call for/demand;

**swear**: swear in/induct

The combination of report verb plus preposition in this section does not deal with such phrasal verbs. One brief comment, which can be made about phrasal report verbs is that their meaning cannot be said to be exactly identical to the 'synonymous' verb; that the explication of their meaning will include the meaning of the particular report verb in the phrasal verb, as well as indicate the additional components; so that **tell off** would incorporate the meaning of **tell 1**; whereas **reprimand** would not.

17. Thanks to Tim Shopen for his comments on this section.
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