Purpose Clauses, Rationale Clauses and Their Positions

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1. Previous Analyses

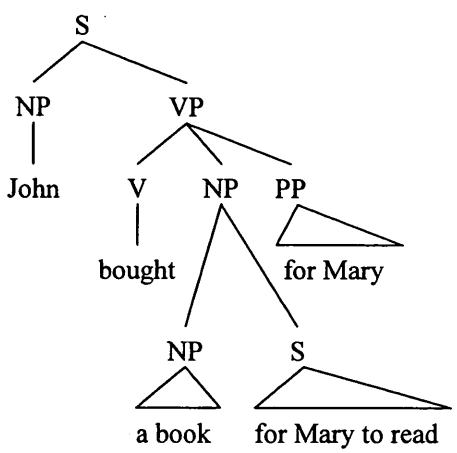
A considerable number of works in the linguistic literature have sought to clarify precisely where to position purpose clause constructions configurationally. Faraci (1974) is a classic example of the early work in transformational-generative grammar, while Browning (1987) subsequently presents an important argument in the Government-Binding framework. Less well known but equally important are Berman (1974) in the early work and Jones (1985, 1991) in the Government-Binding framework. We will begin by reviewing Berman (1974) and Jones (1985, 1991).

1.1. Berman (1974)

Berman (1974), who discusses purpose clauses as well as infinitival relative clauses, claims that purpose clauses start as matrix datives, and presents the following configuration:

(1) a. John bought a book for Mary to read

b.



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Berman's arguments are as follows:

(2) John$_i$ bought a book for himself$_i$ to read.
(3) *John$_i$ bought a book for him$_i$ to read.

While sentences like (2) are not viewed by everyone as perfect, they are clearly better than sentences like (3), which are completely impossible under a coreferential reading. (2) and (3) indicate that *for*-NP is a matrix dative.

(4) For whom did you buy a book to read?
(5) *For whom would you prefer to leave?
(6) *For whom would it be a shame to leave now?

Subjects of infinitival clauses cannot be extracted by rules like Relativization and Question Formation, as in sentences (5) and (6). The grammaticality of (4) is predicted by an analysis in which the *for*-NP is a matrix dative.

(7) I bought a cake for all the children to eat.
(8) *I bought a cake for the children to all eat.

Sentences (7) and (8) show the impossibility of floating quantifiers in purpose clauses. In general, a quantifier of a subject noun phrase may be moved rightwards to the verb. The ungrammaticality of sentence (8) follows automatically from an analysis in which the *for*-NP starts as a matrix dative.

1.2. Jones (1985, 1991)

Jones (1985, 1991) claims that purpose clauses are not S's but VP's and considers *for*-NP's to be matrix constituents.

(9) I brought this wine over for John to enjoy with dinner.
(10) I brought this wine over for John.
(11) For John, I brought this wine to enjoy with dinner. (Jones (1991:39-40))

According to Jones, sentences (9)-(11) show that purpose clauses take subjects from the matrix. Thus, *for-John* can stand independently as a PP and can be preposed.

2. Purpose Clauses as Clausal Adjuncts

We present below evidence to refute the contention that *for*-NP's of purpose clauses are part of the matrix.

(12) I bought these tiles to put on the floor and to cheer myself up.
(13) I lent it to Harry to try out in his shop and to show Brenda that I wasn't possessive.
(Ishii (1985:73), Kirkpatrick (1982:272))

Sentences (12) and (13) show that purpose clauses and rationale clauses can be coordinated.[1] As rationale clauses are obviously adjuncts, it follows that purpose clauses are also adjuncts. Sentences (14)-(16) support the phenomenon of Parenthetical Placement.

(14) John bought, as you know, a book for Mary to read.
(15) John bought a book, as you know, for Mary to read.
(16) * John bought a book for Mary, as you know, to read. (Berman (1974:43))

In general, a parenthetical expression may not follow *for*-NP as a complementizer plus a subject of an infinitival clause, and the ungrammaticality of sentence (16) is predictable on the assumption that purpose clauses are indeed clauses.[2] On the other hand, if *for*-NP is a matrix prepositional phrase, an *ad hoc* constraint is needed to rule out sentence (16).

Further support for purpose clauses being adjuncts—although not directly relevant to *English* purpose clauses *per se*--comes from typological data. According to Shopen ed. (1985), many languages in the world use the same morphology for purpose clauses and reason clauses. For instance, Ngizim, a Chadic language, employs the same subordinating morpheme *gáadá*

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[1] The syntactic difference between purpose clauses and rationale clauses is made clear by the insertion of "in order" before each construction.

(i) a. I bought a ball to play with.
b. *I bought a ball in order to play with. (purpose clause)
c. I bought a ball to please my children.
d. I bought a ball in order to please my children. (rationale clause)

Two more points that serve to differentiate the two constructions are:

(A) Purpose clauses exhibit syntactic gaps while rationale clauses do not.
(B) Purpose clauses impose certain semantic restrictions on the kind of verbs possible in main clauses.

For an in-depth analysis see Faraci (1974).

[2] We assume that the grammaticality of sentence (11) (on the intended reading) is an exceptional case (under the influence of sentences (9) and (10)).

for both purpose and reason clauses. The difference relates to semantics: purpose clauses express a motivating event which *must* be realized at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which *may* be realized at the time of the main event. Since reason clauses are clearly adjuncts, it follows that purpose clauses are also adjuncts.

3. The Positioning of Purpose Clauses

Having established that purpose clauses are infinitival adjuncts, we can now determine where to best position purpose clauses. There are two possibilities: VP-adjunction and S-adjunction.

Let us first examine the following data:

(17) *I_i gave the gun to $Mugsy_j$ PRO_i to get rid of.
(18) I_i gave the gun to $Mugsy_j$ PRO_j to get rid of.

Abney (1987), who requires a mutual c-command relation between adjuncts and the antecedents of empty elements, rules out sentences such as (17) on the grounds that a mutual c-command relation does not hold between I_i and PRO_i. Thus, purpose clauses like (17) are not S-adjoined but VP-adjoined. Sentence (18) is well-formed because a mutual c-command relation holds between $Mugsy_j$ and PRO_j.

We have presented one piece of evidence in favor of the VP-adjunction option. Now, let us examine data from language acquisition studies:

(19) I_i forgot my $pants_j$ PRO_i to pull e_j up. (Nishigauchi and Roeper (1987:107))

According to Nishigauchi and Roeper (1987), sentences like (19), which are observed in children's utterances, can be regarded as precursors to adult purpose clauses. If the VP-adjunction option is adopted as the landing site of purpose clauses, empty elements are c-commanded by antecedents, which is clearly a desirable result.

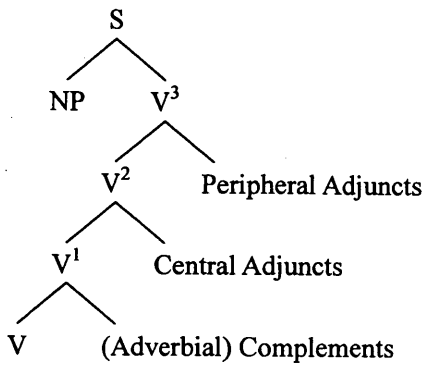
Theoretically speaking, Chomsky (1986) allows the possibility that adjuncts may be dominated under S. Hasegawa (1986), Takami (1987) and others, however, point out that this option must be rejected, partly because VP-movement can be applied to adjuncts.

(20) John tried to kiss Mary on the cheek, and kiss Mary on the cheek he certainly did.
(21) John tried to kiss Mary in the woods, and kiss Mary in the woods he certainly did.

Takami (1987) also questions the legitimacy of the "stacked VP" structure, at least in the case of adjuncts, and maintains that VP projects up to a triple-bar level, as in the configuration

presented below.

(22)



We, however, support the stacked VP structure, which is in conformity to the two-level X'-theory.

To summarize, the VP-adjunction hypothesis is better supported than the S-adjunction hypothesis.

4. A Short Note on the Positioning of Rationale Clauses

Let us consider the case of rationale clauses.[3] The same constituency test as that employed in Hasegawa (1986) argues for the VP-adjunction hypothesis. Observe the sentences below, all of which are grammatical:

(23) John said he would read Anna Karenina in order to impress Mary.
(24) John said he would read Anna Karenina in order to impress Mary, and read Anna Karenina in order to impress Mary he (certainly) did.
(25) Read Anna Karenina in order to impress Mary though he may, John won't impress her.

There is, however, another kind of data that seems to indicate the legitimacy of the S-adjunction hypothesis.

(26) I_i gave the gun to $Mugsy_j$ PRO_i to get rid of it.
(27) I_i gave the gun to $Mugsy_j$ PRO_j to get rid of it.

Sentences (26) and (27) are similar to sentences (17) and (18), respectively, but the former are instances of rationale clauses and the latter of purpose clauses. If Abney (1987) is correct in

[3] See Note 1.

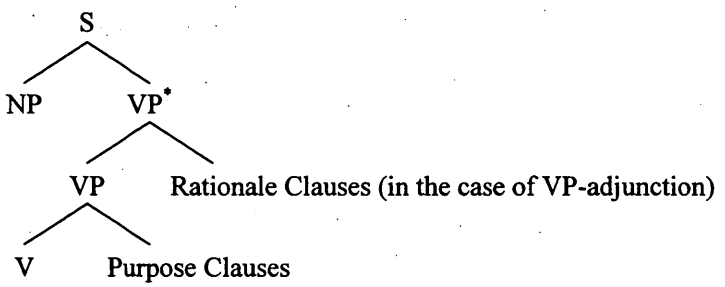
assuming there must be a mutual c-command relation between adjuncts and controllers, then (26) is a case of S-adjunction and (27) is a case of VP-adjunction (note the difference in the identity of the controller of PRO). Since (26) is as grammatical as (27), the S-adjunction hypothesis should be equally plausible.

Thus, for rationale clauses, analysis for S-adjunction, as well as for VP-adjunction, is possible.

5. Summary

The configurational representation that emerges from the discussion thus far is the following (shown below is the case of VP-adjunction of rationale clauses):

(28)



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