SHE WILL MAKE A GOOD WIFE: ON A CERTAIN USE OF MAKE*

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Introduction

The word make, one of the most common verbs in English, has a usage illustrated in (1):

(1) Jane will make a good wife.

Here make seems to have a very close meaning to that of intransitive verbs such as be or become. This is in clear contrast to the use of make in the following sentence:

(2) Jane will make a new shirt.

The make in (2) has a meaning similar to that of produce and is recognized as a transitive verb.

Moreover, these sentences differ in passivizability:

- (3) *A good wife will be made by Jane.
- (4) A new shirt will be made by Jane.

This difference, coupled with the difference in meaning, forms the very reason why such an NP as $a \mod wife$ in (1) has been treated as a predicative NP, not as an object NP, in a number of studies (cf. Curme (1931); Jespersen (1927); Scheurweghs (1959)).

However, we often observe sentences in which two NP's follow the verb, such as (5):

(5) Jane will make him a good wife.

This sentence can be roughly paraphrased as 'Jane will make a

good wife for him.' The sentence includes two non-subject NP's, i.e., him and a good wife. Note that there is no predicational relation between the two NP's. In this respect, the example in (5) is similar to the following 'double object' transitive sentence:

(6) Jane will make him a new shirt.

In (6), as in (2), make is used as a typical transitive verb, which subcategorizes indirect and direct objects. In order to relate the sentence in (5) to that in (1), one may consider him to be an adjunct. In fact, it might be possible to analyze a good wife as a predicative NP, keeping him in the status of adjunct. In this analysis, however, the similarity observed between (5) and (6) is considered to be merely a disguise.

Notice, however, the dative him in (5) can be recognized as a 'dative of interest' as well as him in (6). We assume, following Jespersen (1927:285), that 'dative of interest' is a kind of indirect object, 'the affective (or emotional) indirect object'. Given this assumption, we can analyze him in (5) as an indirect object, and thus, the following good wife as a direct object. In this paper, we will refer to a good wife in (1) also as object so as to relate the use of make directly to the use in (5). Here and henceforth, the two uses of make in (1), (5) and (2), (6) will be referred to as B('become')—make and P('produce')—make respectively.

This study is an attempt to elucidate the nature of the use of make given in (1) and (5) as contrasted with that in (2) and (6). Specifically, we will propose that the two uses of make share the same abstract notion PRODUCE, which we consider the core meaning of the verb make. Under this notion, these uses are conceptually related in that they are two versions of PRODUCE. On the basis of the analysis, we will provide a natural account for peculiarities of B-make.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 points out

a peculiarity in the referent of direct objects of B-make. Section 2 presents an analysis which associates B-make with P-make. Specifically, it is argued that the notion of PRODUCE is shared by the two uses of make. Furthermore, the notions of 'external-PRODUCE' and 'internal-PRODUCE' are introduced. Section 3 deals with a difference in passivizability observed between B-make and P-make. It is shown that the analysis presented in Section 2 enables us to explain the difference. Section 4 points out that adjectives must appear with direct objects of B-make and shows that the fact can also be explained by our analysis. Section 5 gives some concluding remarks.

1. A Peculiarity of B-Make: Referents of Direct Objects

This section presents two relevant uses of make, i.e., B-make and P-make, pointing out a crucial difference observed between them. 4

In the first place, compare the pair of sentences given above in (1) and (2), repeated here as (7) and (8):

- (7) Jane will make a good wife.
- (8) Jane will make a new shirt.

The two sentences differ only in the object NP. In fact, there is a crucial difference between the referents of these NP's. In (7), on the one hand, the referent of a good wife can be identified with that of Jane; in (8), on the other hand, the referent of a new shirt can never be identified with that of Jane.

Next, let us turn to the examples given above in (5) and (6), repeated as (9) and (10):

- (9) Jane will make him a good wife.
- (10) Jane will make him a new shirt.

As stated above, these sentences are similar on the surface: their difference is found only in the last NP. Again, the same difference exists, as is observed between (7) and (8). That is, in (9) Jane and a good wife share the same referent, while in (10) the referent of Jane is naturally distinct from that of a new shirt. Note that the sentences in (9) and (10) can be paraphrased into (11) and (12) respectively:

- (11) Jane will make a good wife for him.
- (12) Jane will make a new shirt for him.

Needless to say, the pair maintains the same difference pointed out above.

Here we find the following B-make sentence:

(13) John made his student a good teacher.

Interestingly, the sentence is ambiguous: (i) John made a good teacher and (ii) John's student became a good teacher. When the sentence has the latter reading, that is, his student and a good teacher are in a predicational relation, the make is being used as a causative verb. When it has the former meaning, the make is considered to be B-make. In this case, the same referent is shared by John and a good teacher. The B-make version of (13) can be roughly paraphrased into (14):

(14) John made a good teacher for his student.

This sentence also shows a correferentiality between subject and object:

In the observation made above, we have pointed out a crucial difference with respect to referents between direct objects of B-make and P-make: the former is identified with the referent of the subject, while the latter evidently has a specific referent separate from that of the subject.

2. An Analysis

We have seen that the two uses of make, namely, B-make and P-make, show a clear difference in referentiality. In this section, we propose that the two uses of make is conceptually related in that they share the same abstract notion of PRODUCE, and argue that the contrast between them follows from the difference between two versions of PRODUCE: internal-PRODUCE and external-PRODUCE.

Before proposing our analysis, let us examine the meaning of B-make sentences more closely. In the first place, consider the meaning of the sentence Jane will make a good wife. It is a common view that this sentence differs from the sentence Jane will become a good wife in the following respect: the former implies that Jane already has the qualities of a good wife. Given this, the meaning of the sentence Jane will make a good wife can be as follows:

(15) Jane will fulfil the role of a good wife drawing out her qualities of a good wife.

The important points of (15) are (i) the referent of the subject NP has the qualities of a good wife and (ii) the qualities enable the referent to fulfil the role of a good wife. Here we can say that an abstract notion of PRODUCE is involved in the use of make as well as P-make. That is, in the sentence, Jane does PRODUCE a good wife gathering her qualities of a good wife. It seems that the idea of defining make in terms of the notion PRODUCE is quite plausible. In fact, Cattell (1984:245) states, '... make means something like 'do the actions to produce', and the noun phrase that follows make simply fills in what is produced'. Although his study is mainly concerned with composite predicates such as give a kiss, have a bath, and make a dash, his idea that the notion of producing is the core meaning of the verb make seems quite natural and convincing. Hence it can be argued that the

two uses of make are defined in terms of PRODUCE.

We may consider now that both P-make and B-make have the same 'PRODUCE X' schema (here, 'X' denotes 'end-product'). If this is correct, we are able to attribute differences between the two uses of make to the difference of 'X'. That is, when 'X' is a concrete entity separable from the 'producer', 'PRODUCE X' is interpreted as P-make, while when 'X' is an abstract entity identified with the 'producer', 'PRODUCE X' is interpreted as B-make.

Now we are in a position to present our analysis of the two different uses of make. As stated above, B-make describes a version of PRODUCE in which the 'end-product' cannot be a concrete entity. Let us call it 'internal-PRODUCE' since the act of producing is done inside of the 'producer'. Here, in order to make the contrast explicit, we refer to action described by P-make as 'external-PRODUCE'. These can be stated as follows:

(16) External-PRODUCE:

to PRODUCE an object completely separable from the 'producer'.

(17) Internal-PRODUCE:

to PRODUCE a thing inside the 'producer' drawing out potential abilities.

Both external-PRODUCE and internal-PRODUCE can be thought of as notions derived from the abstract PRODUCE. External-PRODUCE, on the one hand, is visible in that it produces a concrete object outside of the 'producer'. Internal-PRODUCE, on the other hand, is invisible since it is done inside the 'producer' and the 'end-product' cannot be separated from the 'producer'.

The present analysis which associates B-make with internal-PRODUCE can be supported by the following observation made by Cattell (1984:255) with respect to the use referred to here as B-make: 'there is an 'inalienable' relationship

between subject and direct object''. The following contrast pointed out by Cattell (ibid.) also seems to show the 'inalienable' relationship:

- (18) *Beryl made a lovely bride, and here is the lovely bride that she made.
- (19) Peter made a box, and here is the box that he made.
- (18) reveals that the object of B-make cannot be a distinct entity in contrast to the object of P-make.

If we associate B-make with internal-PRODUCE, the fact that the object of B-make cannot have a referent independent of that of the subject is a purely natural result. Since the 'end-product' of internal-PRODUCE is inside of the 'producer', the object of B-make cannot have a distinct referent. This is in contrast to the case of P-make, where make represents external-PRODUCE whose 'end-product' is outside of the 'producer'. In this case, the object has an independent referent.

In addition, there is a crucial difference between the two versions of PRODUCE: as for internal-PRODUCE, it seems that the 'producer' cannot be intentional. Compare the following:

- (20) I will make a good wife.
- (21) I will {be/become} a good wife.

The sentence (20) is acceptable only when the speaker judges herself fit to be a good wife. This is in contrast to the fact that both versions of (21) are acceptable when the speaker has the will to become a good wife.

Next, consider the following contrast:

- (22) a. *Tom forced Jane to make a good wife.
 - b. *Tom persuaded Jane to make a good wife.

- (23) a. Tom forced Jane to make a new shirt.
 - b. Tom persuaded Jane to make a new shirt.

The fact that the examples in (22) are unacceptable shows that B-make is incompatible with stimuli or pressure of the outside world. This supports our analysis which equates B-make with internal-PRODUCE, which can be considered to be a purely internal act.

Moreover, the following contrast shows that internal-PRODUCE is not visible to person(s) other than the subject.

- (24) a. *Jane deliberately made a good wife.
 - b. *Jane carefully made a good wife.
- (25) a. Jane deliberately made a new shirt.
 - b. Jane carefully made a new shirt.
- (24) is unacceptable because of the adverbs deliberately and carefully, which describe the way of producing.

In this section, we have related the two uses of make under the abstract notion PRODUCE. In the following sections, we will show that our analysis enables us to explain peculiarities of B-make.

3. Difference in Passivizability

3.1. The Facts

As briefly mentioned in Section 1, a clear contrast is observed between B-make and P-make in passivizability. First, observe the following examples:

- (26) a. Jane will make a good wife.
 - b. *A good wife will be made by Jane.
- (27) a. Jane will make a new shirt.
 - b. A new shirt will be made by Jane.

- (28) a. Jane will make a good wife for him.
 - b. *A good wife will be made for him by Jane.
- (29) a. Jane will make a new shirt for him.
 - b. A new shirt will be made for him by Jane.
- (30) a. Jane will make him a good wife.
 - b. *A good wife will be made (for) him by Jane.
 - c. *He will be made a good wife by Jane.
- (31) a. Jane will make him a new shirt.
 - b. A new shirt will be made (for) him by Jane.
 - c. *He will be made a new shirt by Jane.

The examples in (26), (28) and (30) show that B-make sentences cannot be passivized. In contrast, as shown in (27), (29) and (31), P-make sentences can basically be passivized, although (31c), where the indirect object of (31a) is in subject position, is not acceptable. The fact that both (30c) and (31c) are ungrammatical can be accounted for if we assume that the indirect object him is 'dative of interest'. It is generally considered that 'dative of interest' cannot be in subject position of a passive sentence (e.g., *I was lit on my way by the servant < The servant lighted me on my way). What should be noticed here is the contrasts between (26b) and (27b), (28b) and (29b), and (30b) and (31b). In other words, the phrase a good wife does not appear in subject position of passive sentences.

It might appear straightforward to attribute the unpassivizability of B-make sentences to the predicate-like property of a good wife. However, we have analyzed a good wife as a direct object on the assumption that him should be an indirect object, not an adjunct. In what follows, we will argue that the unpassivizability of B-make sentences follows from the characteristic of internal-PRODUCE, in which its 'end-product' is produced inside of the 'producer'.

3.2. An Analysis

In the first place, we need to make clear what is the condition for passivizability. Before doing this, we have to ask what is the nature of passivization.

Intuitively, passivization is bringing into focus the object NP of a transitive sentence, putting the NP into subject position of a passive sentence. In her study, Okuyama (1990/1993) defines passivized sentences in terms of notions of FOREGROUND and BACKGROUND. She observes, ''passives are expressions such that CHANGE OF STATE of the subject NP is conceived of as the FOREGROUND and the other participant(s) as the BACKGROUND (1993:178)''. In other words, it can be said that passive sentences require that the subject should be in the foreground, while the by-phrase is in the background.

If this is correct, we may say that the transitive sentences are passivized only if the subject and the object refer to different entities. This is due to the notions of FOREGROUND or BACKGROUND, because for a FOREGROUND—BACKGROUND relation to hold there must be at least two entities available. This is evident from the following statement by Langacker (1987:125), 'A participant in the foreground is typically more prominent and easily perceived than one in the background, simply because of greater proximity to the viewer'.

Keeping this in mind, let us proceed with our discussion. First, recall that the subject a good wife cannot have a referent separate from Jane in the sentences (26b), (28b), and (30b), which are repeated as (32b), (33b), and (34b) respectively:

- (32) a. Jane will make a good wife.
 - b. *A good wife will be made by Jane.
- (33) a. Jane will make a good wife for him.
 - b. *A good wife will be made for him by Jane.

- (34) a. Jane will make him a good wife.
 - b. *A good wife will be made (for) him by Jane.

As seen in Section 2, the 'end-product' of internal-PRODUCE is produced inside of the 'producer', and thus, in a B-make sentence, which is a liquistic realization of internal-PRODUCE, the object NP cannot have a distinct referent from that of the subject. Thus, in (32b), (33b), and (34b), no FOREGROUND-BACKGROUND relation holds. For this reason, (32a), (33a), and (34a) cannot be passivized.

To sum up, we have accounted for unpassivizability of B-make by means of the notion of internal-PRODUCE coupled with the definition of passivized sentences in Okuyama (1990/1993): since B-make is a linguistic realization of internal-PRODUCE, in which the 'end-product' cannot have a referent separate from that of the 'producer', B-make sentences cannot be passivized.

4. A Peculiarity of Direct Objects of B-Make

In the preceding section, we have pointed out that B-make sentences cannot be passivized and provided an account for the fact by means of internal-PRODUCE. This section reveals another interesting peculiarity with respect to B-make.

First, it would be worth pointing out that a variety of adjectives other than good can appear in direct objects of B-make:

(35) Jane will make a {thoughtful/kind/careful/bad} wife.

However, adjectives like the following do not fit B-make sentences:

(36) Jane will make a {?young/??tall} wife.

The contrast between (35) and (36) can be observed also in the case of be. Observe the following examples:

- (37) a. Jane will be a {thoughtful/kind/careful/bad} wife.
 - b. Jane will be a {?young/??tall} wife.

This fact should be explained by some semantic or pragmatic constraint although we will not decide what kind of constraint works here.

What should be stressed here is the intriguing fact that direct objects of B-make must have an adjective. First, compare the following examples of B-make and P-make:

- (38) a. Jane will make a good {wife/teacher}.
 - b. *Jane will make a {wife/teacher}.
- (39) a. Jane will make a new shirt.
 - b. Jane will make a shirt.

In B-make sentences in (38), the adjective modifying the object NP cannot be deleted. In contrast, P-make sentences in (39) does not need such a prenominal modifier. Next, observe the following sentences:

- (40) a. Jane will be a ?(good) wife.
 - b. Jane will be a (good) teacher.
- (41) a. Jane will become a ?(good) wife.
 - b. Jane will become a (good) teacher.

In both (40) and (41), the (a) sentences are still acceptable even if they lack the adjective; and the (b) sentences are perfect with or without the adjective. What makes slightly odd the adjective-less versions of the (a) sentences is our common knowledge that a woman will be a wife when she get married. Thus, the (a) sentences without an adjective are less informative than (b) sentences without an adjective.

The important point to be noted here is why the direct object of B-make must be modified by some appropriate adjectives, as (38) shows. 5 Given the present analysis which recognizes B-make as a linguistic realization of internal-PRODUCE, this fact can be explained in a natural way. that internal-PRODUCE is defined as 'to PRODUCE a thing inside the 'producer' drawing out potential abilities.' If this is correct, 'end-product' of internal-PRODUCE must be an outcome of drawing out potential abilities. Thus, it follows that the direct object of B-make must be a realization of some potential abilities. Now let us return to (38). In (38b), the NP's such as a wife can be interpreted not as a realization of some potential abilities, but as NP's which represent only a certain social status. Thus, they cannot be used as direct objects of B-make. In contrast, the direct object in (38a), where the adjective good is added, can be interpreted as a realization of some potential abilities.

In this section, we have argued that the peculiarity with respect to direct objects of B-make follows from the definition of internal-PRODUCE.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper has shown that the two uses of the verb make are related to each other under the abstract notion PRODUCE. Our analysis, which associates B-make with internal-PRODUCE, enables us to provide a natural account for the following two facts: (i) B-make sentences cannot be passivized, and (ii) direct objects of B-make must be modified by some appropriate adjectives.

Along the line of the present analysis, we are able to attribute the surface similarities between B-make and P-make to the core meaning of make, namely, PRODUCE. Furthermore, we have succeeded in differentiating B-make and P-make precisely by means of the two versions of PRODUCE, that is, internal-PRODUCE and external-PRODUCE.

NOTES

- * This paper is a revised version of the paper read at the 49th monthly meeting of the Tsukuba English Linguistics Colloquium held on April 29, 1991. I am very grateful to Minoru Nakau and all other participants at the meeting for their insightful comments and helpful suggestions. like to express my gratitude to Yukio Hirose, Hidehito Hoshi, Mika Okuyama, Yuji Tanaka, Naoaki Wada, Satoru Kobayakawa, Takeshi Shimada for their helpful comments and discussions on earlier versions of this paper. In completing this paper, I have greatly benefited from many times of discussions especially with Mika and Hidehito. I really appreciate their all-out support. I also thank Mikinari Matsuoka for his careful reading of an earlier version. In addition, I would like to thank Robyne Tiedeman, Ronald Craig, and Roger Martin, who patiently acted as my informants. All the sentences in this paper have been checked at least by one of them and most have been checked by all of them. Finally, I wish to express my thanks to Takaaki Hattori for his support, understanding and encouragement.
- More precisely, Jespersen (1927) uses the term
 'predicative' for such NP's.
- 2 See Poutsma (1926), who analyzes an NP like a good wife as 'quasi-object'.
- ³ Curme (1931:28) states, 'wife is still an object, as we can see by the simple dative object him before' with respect to the sentence She will make him a good wife.
- ⁴ Although the number of examples given in this section is limited, there are a lot of NP's fit for the object of B-make, for example, a good {doctor/journalist/actress...}, which represent some role or occupation.
- ⁵ In the case of the subjunctive mood, however, all the adjective—less direct objects other than a wife and a husband are permitted: She might make a {teacher/journalist}. Even a wife and a husband are permitted if an appropriate indirect

object is added: She might make someone a wife or He might make a husband. In order to explain these facts, we have to take into account the meaning of the subjunctive mood. Since this issue is beyond the scope of the present paper, we have to await future research.

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