

(ii) The *bèi* construction, like the *bǎ* construction, allows implied disposal, as in (39) which contains a complex stative construction clause (see chapter 22):

- (39) wǒ   bèi   tā   qì   de   tóu   dōu   hūn   le  
 I   BEI 3sg anger CSC head all dizzy CRS

I was angered by him/her to such an extent that my head got dizzy.

(iii) The disposal nature of the *bèi* construction, as with *bǎ*, is incompatible with the potential infixes, whether positive or negative, of resultative verb compounds (see section 3.2.3 of chapter 3 on resultative verb compounds). For example:

- (40) \*wǒ   bèi   tā   dǎ   -   de   -   sǐ  
 I   BEI 3sg beat - can - die

(I can be beaten to death by him/her.)

- (41) \*nèi   -   ge   yǐzi   bèi   tā   nòng   -  
 that - CL chair BEI 3sg make -

bu   -   pò  
 can't - broken

(That chair can't be broken by him/her.)

(iv) The disposal nature of the *bèi* sentence is incompatible with the negation of the verb only—that is, placing the negative particle, *bu/méi(yǒu)*, immediately in front of the verb so that only the verb lies in the scope of the negation (see chapter 12 on the scope of negation). The negative of a *bèi* sentence is formed by the placement of the negative particle in front of *bèi*, just as the negative particle is placed before *bǎ* in a *bǎ* sentence:

- (42) a. \*wǒ   bèi   tā   méi   pīpíng  
 I   BEI 3sg not criticize

- b. wǒ   méi   bèi   tā   pīpíng  
 I   not BEI 3sg criticize

I wasn't criticized by him/her.

There is one notable difference between the *bǎ* construction and the *bèi* construction with regard to their shared disposal meaning: while the *bǎ* construction occurs freely as a command, the *bèi* construction cannot serve as a command except when it is negated with the negative imperative particle, *bié*. The reason is one of semantic incompatibility, in spite of the fact that the disposal meaning is generally conducive to the expression of commands. Recall that the first noun phrase of the passive construction is the direct object, not the agent, of the verb signaling disposal, whereas the first noun phrase of the *bǎ* construction is the agent of the verb signaling disposal. It makes sense to command the agent to carry out an action with a disposal meaning; but it is senseless to command the direct object with respect to the disposal action, because s/he or it has no control over the action. On the other hand, a command can be formed from a *bèi* sentence by the addition of the negative imperative particle, because commanding someone not to be the receiver of an action is tantamount to commanding him/her to do something to *avoid* an adverse experience. The following sentences are illustrations of this principle:

- (43) a. \*(nǐ)   bèi   māo   zhuā   -   le  
 (you)   BEI cat scratch - PFV  
 (be scratched by the cat)
- b. (nǐ)   bié   bèi   māo   zhuā   -   le  
 you don't BEI cat scratch - PFV

Don't get scratched by the cat.

So far we have shown that the passive construction with the particle *bèi* can best be understood in terms of its function of signaling adversity and disposal. We will next examine the structural properties of this construction.

## 16.2 Structural Properties

Several of the structural properties of the *bèi* construction have already been discussed in the preceding section, where its disposal meaning was presented. One of these structural properties concerns negation; another deals with the use of passive as a command. In chapter 8 on adverbs, the interaction between manner adverbs and the passive construction is described. The following structural properties of the *bèi* passive have not yet been mentioned, however.