Examining the power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement discourse using the lexicogrammar "被" (bei)

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Abstract

This study examines the power relations shown by the lexicogrammar "被" (bei) through the analysis of the corpus of the Sunflower Movement discourse. Preliminary findings show that the Chinese character "被" (bei) is frequently used in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement. Among the top 100 clusters of "被" (bei), the highest percentage are verbs, which account for more than 50% of the total number of the top 100 clusters. This study further highlights the doer, the recipient and the collocated verbs in the sentences using "被" (bei), examining the relationships between text, discourse and the Sunflower Movement. Analysing the bi-directional power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement from a discourse analysis standpoint, the study explores how the discourse reflects the ideology of the general public and the power structures in Taiwanese society.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, corpus linguistics, sociolinguistics, power dynamics, Sunflower Movement

1. Introduction

On the 17th of March 2014, the Kuomintang[1] (KMT) legislator Zhang Qing-Zhong (張慶忠) hastily announced the passage of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA), causing an outcry from the public. The CSSTA was a trade agreement between Taiwan and China. The public suspected that the government was working in a black box operation, which was why Zhang Qing-Zhong (張慶忠) had made such a hasty announcement. In addition, people were also dissatisfied with the pro-China stance of President Ma Ying-jeu's government. Therefore, the hasty announcement of the passing of the CSSTA aroused strong public opinions and debates in Taiwanese society (Fell 2017). The next day, on the 18th of March, hundreds of university students stormed the National Legislature (Legislative Yuan), occupying the chamber and the podium. Lin Fei-Fan (林飛帆) and Chen Wei-Ting (陳為廷) from the student movement group known as "The Black Island Nation Youth Front (黑色島國青年陣線 Heise Daoguo Qingnian Zhenxian)" were the spokespersons of the group. The students requested to have a dialogue with President Ma while making four key demands[2] to the government. Lin Fei-Fan (林飛帆) claimed that the future of Taiwan should be decided by students in particular and the Taiwanese people in general, and not the black box operations of the government (Ho 2019). While the students occupied the National Legislature, a large number of people

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[1] Kuomintang, also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party and abbreviated as KMT, is one of the major political parties in Taiwan (Republic of China).
[2] The four major demands of protesting students included: sending back the CSSTA, legalising the Cross-Strait Supervisory Mechanism, convening a constitutional meeting of citizens, and legislating the CSSTA before examining it.

protested outside the National Legislature in solidarity with the students who were inside the National Legislature.

The protest continued to gather momentum over time. On the 23rd of March, President Ma Ying-jeou made a speech about the protest but failed to reach a consensus with the students. In the evening of the same day, some protesting students attempted to occupy the Executive Yuan[3] which caused a violent and bloody conflict with the police. This clash led to an escalation of the conflict between the police and the public, as Executive Yuan President Jiang Yi-huah (江宜樺) ordered the protesters to be expelled. On the 30th of March, students staged an anti-CSSTA parade on Ketagalan Boulevard. Hundreds of thousands of Taiwanese people joined the parade, dressed in black, and the crowd swelled like a tidal wave into Ketagalan Boulevard, hence the name "Black Tide (黑潮 heichao)". About a week later, on the 1st of April, Zhang An-le (張安樂), also known as the "White Wolf" (白狼bailang), mobilised hundreds of people to surround the Legislative Yuan, threatening the students and the police and confronting them for several hours before leaving. Zhang An-le (張安樂) is the President of the Chinese Unification Promotion Party (CUPP) and one of the founding members of Taiwan's well-known gang, the Bamboo Union. His public support of the CSSTA made the protesters suspect that the government utilised both police and the gang as tools to restrict or disband the students. The actions of Zhang An-le aroused further debates in Taiwanese society as to who he and his group are working for. On the 6th of April, the President of the National Legislature, Wang Jin-pyng (王金平), entered the National Legislature to talk with student representatives. He promised to review the CSSTA, and then negotiate it with the government (Ho 2019). Wang Jin-Pyng and the students finally reached a consensus in terms of the CSSTA legislating procedure,[4] causing the students to withdraw from the National Legislature on the 10th of April. The student group announced that they would leave the congress to *plant democratic seeds in society*" (出關播種 Chuguan Bozhong), an action that ended the 585-hour protest in the National Legislature. This campaign was codenamed the Sunflower Movement.

The Sunflower Movement marked its 10th anniversary in 2024, and this special milestone provided a chance to look back on this social movement that mobilized the whole of Taiwan to defend its democracy. Within the Sunflower Movement, discourse played a very important role. Discourse recorded the passionate discussions of the Sunflower Movement and Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement[5] (CSSTA) issues among the general public and governmental organisations in Taiwan in the form of Taiwanese Chinese language, poster texts, newspaper and magazine texts, internet postings, and audio-visual recordings, among others. The confrontation between the protesting students (along with the social workers) and the government at that time was also reflected in the discourse. By observing the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, it is possible to observe the top-down power relationship from the

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[3] The "Executive Yuan" is the executive branch of the government of Taiwan. It is similar to the cabinet in other countries and is headed by the Premier, who is appointed by the President. The Executive Yuan is responsible for implementing policies, administering government affairs, and overseeing the various ministries and agencies within the government.

[4] Wang Jin-Pyng announced that, before passing the CSSTA Oversight Bill into law, no party caucus meetings related to the CSSTA would be convened to review the agreement.

[5] The Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) is a trade agreement signed between Taiwan and China in June 2013 under Article 4 of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). The people of Taiwan are concerned that the agreement might subject Taiwan to greater political and economic manipulation and influence from China. Additionally, public dissatisfaction with the KMT government's pro-China policies led to controversies over the agreement, birthing the Sunflower Movement. Following the Sunflower Movement protests, the CSSTA was suspended, so it is yet to be ratified.

government to the people, and the bottom-up power relationship from the people to the government. Such a two-way power relationship created power dynamics, and it also gave the researcher a chance to explore the structure and pattern of the Taiwanese Mandarin discourse in the democratic society of Taiwan. In this study, the passive word "被" (bei) is used as the departing point to analyse the power dynamic between words as reflected by it. This study provides a linguistic analysis of the discourse of modern democracy in Taiwan, and considers the power dynamics in the social hierarchy that can be generated through discourse.

To address the above broad aim, the following research questions are proposed: (1) How is the lexicogrammar "被" (bei) used in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement to establish power relations? And (2) What are the power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement?

2. Theoretical framework
2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was introduced in the 1970s to study the correlation between discourse, power and ideology. It is particularly applied to issues such as social justice and discrimination, exploring how power can be established and strengthened through discourse, and how social problems can be dealt with effectively (Fairclough 2009). Scholars of CDA often focus on the integration of discourse, discursive practices and social contexts (Wodak and Meyer 2009; Van Dijk 2009; Fairclough 1992), as well as examining the relationship between power and social order as reflected in discourse (Van Dijk 2006; Fairclough 1995). This paper adopts the Dialectical-Rational Approach (DRA) proposed by Norman Fairclough. This approach emphasises the relationship between discourse and social injustice, particularly the display of power and ideology (Fairclough 2009). By employing this approach, this study aims to (1) examine the discourse of this social movement as actions taken against social injustice, and (2) analyse the relationship between power and ideology within the discourse.

CDA views language as a social practice (Blackledge 2005), given that people use language to communicate and interact. CDA focuses on the use of language in social activities and everyday life. This approach to linguistic analysis emphasises that language is important in determining the relationship between power and society (Fairclough 1995). One example of this is the phenomenon of hegemony: the demonstration of power over society based on economics, which leads to social hierarchies and relations of dominance and subordination (Fairclough 2013). For example, to the protesting students and the masses supporting the protests in the Sunflower Movement, the Ma government's compulsory passage of the CSSTA was a manifestation of hegemony. Because the government, as the leader of social operations, wields power over the people, its legislative and law enforcement methods, behaviours and attitudes will be scrutinised by the public. The content of the CSSTA, as well as the manner in which it was read out in the legislature, made many people feel that it was "undemocratic." In other words, the government demonstrated "hegemonic" behaviours in a situation where the power between the government and the public is already unequal.

Hegemony is also embodied in ideology, as ideology establishes a link between language and society. Ideology is a complex concept related to discourse and power. Ideology manifests itself in discourse as the hegemony of power. CDA researchers investigate world events involving inequality and injustice by looking at people's beliefs, power and language choices (Mertz 1998). Fairclough identifies three characteristics of ideology: social practice as matter, the mutually claimed subject and the ideological state apparatus (Fairclough 1992). In addition, van Dijk defines ideology from a societal perspective: ideologies are social "ideas and beliefs"

that are fundamental or axiomatic and relatively stable (van Dijk 2006). From both Fairclough's and van Dijk's points of view, ideologies are formed in society and can be used to demonstrate certain powers or beliefs. The Sunflower Movement is, to some extent, an acknowledgement of social inequality and injustice. It challenged the policies that the government planned to implement in Taiwan, forming a top-down power relationship between the protesters and society. At the same time, it involves the actions of the protesting students against the government, forming a bottom-up power relationship. Such a bidirectional dynamic of unequal power relationship underscores quite a complex ideology. By exploring the ideologies revealed in the discourse, it is worth reflecting on how the hegemony in the social and linguistic structure extends or is limited by social events (i.e., the Sunflower Movement). It is also worthwhile to think about how the people of Taiwan managed to achieve more refined linguistic communication and reconciliation.

2.2 The lexicogrammar "被" (bei)

Coined by Michael Halliday, "lexicogrammar" is a term used in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to emphasise the interdependence and coherence between the lexicon (vocabulary) and the syntax (grammar) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2013). It indicates a word that also serves a grammatical function. The term "lexicogrammar" has both semantic and pragmatic ramifications. The meanings and grammatical functions of the lexicogrammar "被" (bei) are exemplified below.

a) The lexicogrammar "被" (bei) is used in a sentence to show passivity.

「表被動性，用在動詞前構成被動詞組。」[6]

"It is used before verbs to form passive phrases."

b) It is used to emphasise the action performed by the doer on the recipient. For example:

「水被我弟弟喝了。」

"The water was drunk by my younger brother."

c) In some cases, the extent of the action performed is added. For example:

「水被我弟弟一口氣喝了。」

"The water was drunk by my younger brother in one gulp."

From the above examples, it can be seen that the use of "被" (bei) demonstrates the power of the doer. The actions performed by the doer on the recipient fully demonstrate the use of power in the discourse. Therefore, by examining the use of "被" (bei) in discourse, it is possible to observe the power dynamics in the Taiwanese Mandarin-dominated discourse of the Sunflower Movement.

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[6] *Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary*. https://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=185&q=1&word=%E8%A2%AB#order1 (26 November 2023)

Since the expressive and communicative functions of a language are carried out in a specific cultural and social context (Gledhill 2011), by observing the structure of a language, linguists can observe how the language is used by a particular group of people at a particular time. One of the ways to observe language structure is to collect a large amount of a given corpus to investigate its linguistic structure and logic (Tucker 1998). Therefore, this study analyses a large amount of data on the word "被" (bei) and observes how the word "被" (bei) was used in the speech or conversation of the public at the time of the Sunflower Movement.

3. Methodology
3.1 Corpus data
In the last two decades, the hybrid approach combining corpus linguistics and CDA has flourished in CDA research (Cheng 2013; Baker 2006), forming another relatively macroscopic perspective on CDA. Baker (2010) and others (e.g., Hardt-Mautner 1995; Baker et al. 2008) have advocated that CDA researchers should adopt a mixed-methods approach, combining CDA with corpus linguistics methods in order to promote a dialogue between quantitative and qualitative methods. Corpora provide a large amount of corpus data for CDA, which enables CDA to interpret and analyse a wider range of discourses more accurately. With the rapid development of information and communication technology (ICT), corpus-assisted discourse analysis has attracted increased academic attention. The purpose of adopting corpus-assisted discourse analysis methods in the present study is to expand from qualitative to quantitative research methods.

In order to faithfully reflect the discourse features of the Sunflower Movement, this study collected six categories of Sunflower Movement texts, including online newspapers (United Daily News and Liberty Times), Facebook fan pages of supporters and opponents of the Sunflower Movement, PTT discussing pages of FuMao (服貿版 fumao ban), statements from the Ma government, the protesting students and the social groups, lyrics of songs sung during the Sunflower Movement, and Sunflower Movement documentaries. Except for the documentaries and the lyrics, all other texts were produced within 24 days (i.e., from 18th March 2014 to 10th April 2014) of the students' occupation of the Legislative Yuan. This aims to ensure the consistency of the time of discourse production. The total number of characters in the corpus is 17,960,144, excluding English, dates, and non-text symbols.

3.2 Data analyses: Statistical and Critical Discourse Analyses
The corpus is statistically analysed by AntConc. Specifically, the data were subjected to word frequency, cluster[7] and KWIC (keyword in context) analyses of the lexicogrammar "被" (bei).

The sentences in the KWIC analysis of "被" (bei) are also categorized in terms of doers and recipients, as well as the verbs used to perform the action.

As stated previously, this study adopted the Dialectical-Rational Approach proposed by the CDA scholar Norman Fairclough. After the initial quantitative data analysis, a Critical Discourse Analysis is conducted to perform a qualitative analysis of the data. The steps of the analysis in CDA were taken:

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[7] A small collection of the smallest units of meaning in a language (usually 1-2 in Chinese language/Mandarin) that do not yet constitute a sentence is called a 'cluster'.

(1) Textual analysis: The analysis was based on the cluster of lexicogrammar "被" (bei), including three categories (i.e., noun, personal pronoun and verb) to observe the usage of "被" (bei).

(2) Analysis of discourse practices: Analysis of the relevance of the text and the discourse, and the interpretation and explanation of the possible reasons behind the relevance. In this phase, the relationships between sentences and their explicit or implicit meanings were examined through the KWIC analysis of "被" (bei).

(3) Social practice analysis: this step explored how the discourse of "被" (bei) was put into practice in the Sunflower Movement, explaining its relevance to power dynamics.

4. Findings
4.1 Cluster proportion analysis

The first step in the corpus analysis is word segmentation. After completing the word segmentation, a total of 4,526,682 tokens[8] were obtained, and "被" (bei) was ranked 26th (minus "reply" (回覆) which was originally ranked 26th[9]). Ranking 26th out of more than 4.5 million tokens, it can be seen that "被" (bei) appears highly frequently in the corpus. The total occurrence for "被" (bei) was 13,986, which means that it occurs 13,986 times in the whole corpus. This general result shows that "被" (bei) is used a lot in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, which suggests that there are a lot of power relations operating in the discourse.

The clusters of "被" (bei) were observed and classified into two categories: *"被" (bei)+ token* and *token + "被" (bei)*. There were 100 clusters; each category was listed and categorised according to their lexical properties. The categorisation results are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

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[8] Token refers to the word that appears within the text.

[9] The word "reply" (回覆) is the set word for replying to a Facebook post (i.e., same as "comment" in the English version of Facebook), so there is a large amount of "reply" in the text that is not explicitly related to the content of the text. Therefore "reply" (回覆) is excluded from the calculation, and "被" (bei) is moved up one position to 26th.
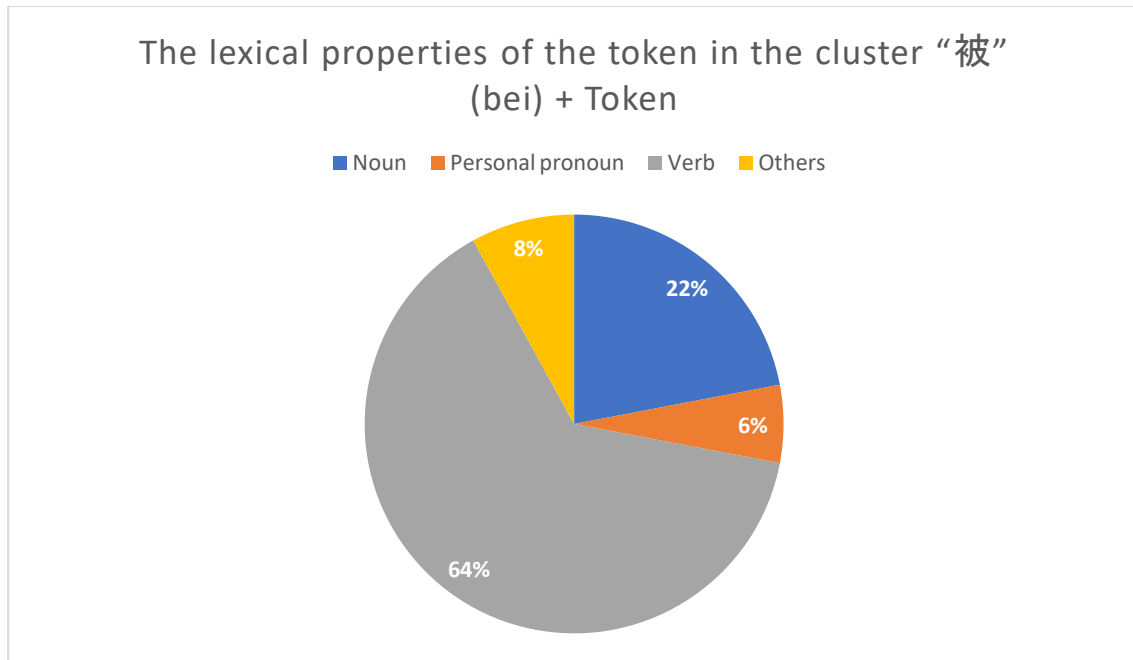
Figure 1. The lexical properties of the token in the cluster "被" (bei) + token

The result in Figure 1 shows that when the cluster structure is *"被" (bei) + token*, the proportion of token as a verb is very high, reaching 64%. This result indicates that the Chinese structure *"被" (bei) + verb* is heavily used in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, in which the 'recipient' is acted upon by the 'doer,' and these actions may contain specific power relations. In Figure 1, the share of nouns is 22%, which is second among the four categories. But there is a difference between its obvious share and that of verbs. The proportion of nouns in the second place indicates that the Chinese structure *"被" (bei)+ doer* is also widely used, emphasising the 'doer.' Therefore, knowing who the 'doer' is may be able to show the nature of the power relationship. On the other hand, the category of personal pronouns has a 7% share, which is not far from the 6% share of other categories, but a personal pronoun is another way of presenting the name of the 'doer.' The use is that the name 'doer' has already appeared in the previous speech or text, so the subsequent sentence is replaced by the personal pronoun. Another possibility is that the name of the 'doer' can be derived by implication from the words in the discourse, which suggests that it is not necessary to mention the name in the discourse. However, whatever the possibility, a personal pronoun can be an alternative pronoun for nouns to a certain extent, which would make the proportion of the structure *"被" (bei) + doer* as high as 29%. However, verbs were the most frequently occurring lexicon properties in the structure *"被" (bei) + token*.
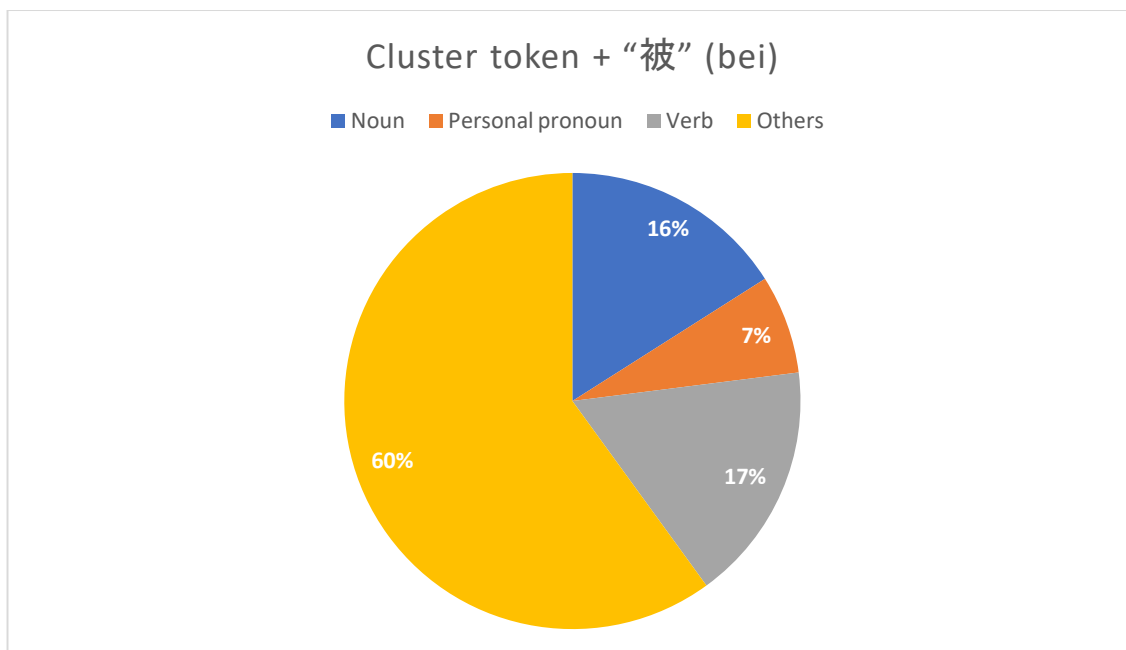
Figure 2. The lexical properties of the token in the cluster token + "被" (bei)

Figure 2 explores the structure *token + "被" (bei)*, which contradicts the results presented in Figure 1. In Figure 2, the highest percentage is that of "Others" (i.e., other lexical items) is 60%. This result may be attributable to the Chinese grammatical structure token + "被" (bei).

The reason is that the word "被" (bei) can be preceded by different adverbs or very long clauses or nouns, in which case: firstly, adverbs are not included in the scope of this study, and secondly, the statistical system is unable to read longer clauses or nouns. However, none of these two reasons is consistent with the notion of cluster composition (i.e., a set of 2-3 meaningful minimal units of Chinese characters). Apart from Others, second place in the category in Figure 2 is the Verb category, with 17%. The Noun category follows closely behind with 16%, which is only 1% different from the percentage of the Verb category. However, since the attributes of verbs in the grammatical structure *verb + "被" (bei)* may be different from those in *"被" (bei) + verb*, it is necessary to explore this further in the next stage of analysis. The cluster *noun + "被" (bei)* clearly shows the role of the 'doer' and the power relationship that may exist in the text. In Figure 2, the category of personal pronouns is the least represented, with only 7%. As in Figure 1, the category of Personal Pronoun is a substitute for the noun category, and thus can be regarded as the 'doer' to a certain extent and classified as the same as the Noun category. In this way, the proportion of 'recipient' in the cluster *token + "被" (bei)* is 24%, which is nearly one-quarter of the total.

4.2 Cluster and KWIC analyses

This study analysed two different kinds of tokens, namely "verb" and "noun," according to the structure of *"被" (bei) + token* and *token + "被" (bei)*. Tokens with a frequency of more than 50 were selected to form a table (See Tables 1 and 4).

Table 1. The token of the cluster "被" (bei)＋ token

The token of the cluster "*被*" *(bei)＋ token*

Verb	a. **Hand-related action:**
	beat打 (freq. 271), face-slap打臉 (freq. 78),
	grab / take away抓 (freq. 63), lift抬 (freq. 60),
	b. **Political-related:**
	unify 統一 (freq. 101), sell賣 (freq. 66), occupy佔領 (freq. 57),
	c. **Behaviour with negative effects:**
	lie騙 (freq. 90), brainwash洗腦 (freq. 89), incite煽動 (freq. 85),
	exploit利用 (freq. 67)
	d. **Non-physical binding, exclusionary or aggressive behaviour:**
	blame罵 (freq. 78), evict驅離 (freq. 68), force逼 (freq. 64),
	lock/ imprisonment關 (freq. 52), marginalise邊緣化 (freq. 86)
	e. **Others:**
	view as視為 (freq. 66), speak / say說 (freq. 50)
Noun	a. **Occupation:**
	police警察 (freq. 191), media媒體 (freq. 173),
	student(s) 學生 (freq. 132), police警方 (freq. 119)
	b. **Name of country:**
	China中國 (freq. 176), Mainland (China) 大陸 (freq. 59)
	c. **National Executive:**
	government政府 (freq. 72)
	d. **Political parties:**
	Kuomintang (KMT) 國民黨 (freq. 56),
	Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) 民進黨 (freq. 55),
	Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 中共 (freq. 54)
	e. **Name of person:**
	Ma馬 (freq. 50)
	f. **People:**
	people人 (freq. 116), Internet users網友 (freq. 51)

In Table 1, there are five types of verbs: "hand-related actions," "political-related," "behaviour with negative effects," "non-physical binding, exclusionary or aggressive behaviour," and "others." From Table 1, we can see that in the language of the Sunflower Movement, the Chinese structure *"被" (bei) + verb* was frequently used to refer to physical or non-physical aggressive behaviours, which may cause physical or mental harm. The actions related to physical aggression are all related to the hands: beat, face-slap, grab/take away, and lift. In this context, the term "face-slap" does not refer to actual face-slap, but rather to slap oneself in the mouth, indicating the inconsistency between one's words and actions. The term face-slap was popular at the time, indicating the use of a figurative physical action as a metaphor for the

inconsistency of someone's words and behaviours. Among the action tokens of "hand" in Table 1, "beat" appears most frequently, up to 721 times, which shows that it is often used in the text and discourse. This result may be related to the protesting students' clash with the police at the Executive Yuan on 24th March 2014:

Table 2. The KWIC analysis of "被" (bei)＋ beaten (打, da)

1	WS_text all...	. 114 . 34 . 152 . 248 03 / 24 00:28噓 yaieki :	被 打	的 人 根本 沒 抵抗 為什麼 還 要
2	WS_text all...	他們 現在 爽 的 哩 03/26 00:07推 feelike : 那些	被 打	的 人 都 忍 了 外面 的 我們
3	WS_text all...	學妹 也 被 打 了有 沒 有 人 要 收集	被 打	的 人 名單—— 驗傷 驗完 給 律師團 提告打躺
4	WS_text all...	身 上 有 什麼 傷痛， 完全 不 知道 影片 中	被 打	的 人 就 是 他 。（ 突發 中心 / 台北
5	WS_text all...	吃下來 了其中 有 幾 個 警察 失控 動 了 手，	被 打	的 人 流 了 幾 滴 血衝突 流
6	WS_text all...	邊， 可以 想象 這些 人 該 有 多 邪惡 。這些	被 打	的 人 還是 被 大眾 關注 的 維權
7	WS_text all...	分享 並 留言 。留言 的 部分， 在 現場 被 抬、	被 打	的 人 能 提供 第一手 消息 最好， 透過
8	WS_text all...	喊 暴力 警察？ 說真的 不 是 323 那 天 被 噴水、	被 打	的 人 沒 資格 說 這 句話 。
9	WS_text all...	00:26→ Now Qmmmmmmm : 那 昨晚 我 面前	被 打	的 是 我 眼睛鬼 遮眼 ？03/25 00:26噓 Waitaha : 這
10	WS_text all...	如 他們 自己 所 講的 這樣 親密 .如果 今天	被 打	的 是 你 的 家人 ,你 的 朋友，
11	WS_text all...	是 要 去 郊遊 的 喔！ 回覆 7 年Ching Hulk Hulk那	被 打	的 是 你 你 覺得 呢?打 你
12	WS_text all...	卡茸 可以 聽進去 。回覆 8 年李瞳�同理心 啦 如果	被 打	的 是 藍 的 你們 會 怎樣！ 而且

The KWIC analysis of *"被" (bei) + beaten (打, da)* shows that there is an obvious power relationship in this Chinese cluster (i.e., "the person who is beaten" is the one who has no power or weak power). Below are the sentences marked in yellow in Table 3:

BD1. 「***被打***的人根本沒有抵抗（，）為什麼還要 ... .」

*"The person who **was beaten** did not resist at all. Why did you do that?"*

BD5. 「... ... 其中有幾個警察失控動了手， ***被打***的人流了幾滴血 ... .」

*"...where a couple of cops got out of hand and the guy who **was beaten** shed a few drops of blood...."*

BD12.「... ... 如果***被打***的是藍的（，）你們會怎樣！ ... .」

*"...what would you do if they were the Blue (KMT) who **was beaten**! ..."*

(Note: "BD" is the code created for the KWIC list of ***"被" (bei) + beaten (打, da)*** in the corpus.)

In BD1, the speaker described the lack of resistance on the part of the "person who was beaten" (i.e., the person who was assaulted). To enhance the tone, the speaker also used the adverb "at

all" (根本, genben) to emphasise the innocence of the "battered." Here, it can be seen that the speaker wanted to emphasise the victimization of the battered and that the power of the "batterer" is much greater than that of the "battered."

In BD5, the speaker points out that the "batterer" was the police. The speaker described the state of the "beaten person" after the beating as "shedding a few drops of blood," showing that the person who was beaten suffered from unequal power and injuries.

Finally, in BD12, the speaker uses a hypothetical tone and asks, "What would have happened to 'you' if the person who was beaten was "blue." The "blue" here refers to the KMT (Kuomingtang), while "you" may refer to the government, the police, or government supporters. Whichever way, they were the ones who held the power at the time of the Sunflower Movement.

In Table 1, apart from "beat," other words (including categories b-e) show very strong unequal power relations. Examples include "grab/take away," "sell," "exploit," "force," "lock/imprisonment," and so on. Due to the limitation of space, it cannot be discussed in depth here. But Table 1 shows that under the language structure of *"被" (bei) + token*, the recipient is often the one who does not have the power or has less power than the doer.

The second category in Table 1 is that of a noun. There are several categories of tokens in nouns: "Occupation," "Name of the country," "National executive," "Political parties," "Name of person" and "People." From the results of the analysis, it can be seen that there are many categories of tokens with name attributes, which means that there are many different doers in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement. Firstly, from the category of occupation, it can be seen that police appear very frequently and in two forms: "police" (警察, jingcha) as a general title, while "police" (警方, jingfang) is a written title. The police and the students can be described as occupying opposing roles, so supporters on both sides have been known to refer to the opposing side as the "doer." The media, on the other hand, is a third party, but it is also a "doer." This shows that in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, voices are criticising the media, and there are quite a lot of them. Apart from occupations, other types of tokens are politically charged. For example, "China," "government," "KMT," "CCP" and even "Ma" (i.e., Ma Ying-jeou). Other more neutral tokens are people and netizens.

Since police officers were quite central to the discourse of the movement, the KWIC analysis of police officers is presented in Table 3 below:

Table 3. The KWIC analysis of "被 (bei)＋police (警察, jingcha)

34	WS_text all...	折磨 著 我！我 拿出 家中 的 錄影 證明	被 警察	暴力 毆打，更 證明 警察 完全 無 任何
35	WS_text all...	)5.111.36（03/26 01:17)推 Douglas T: 這些	被 警察	暴力 對待 的 應該 要 集體 用 刑事告
36	WS_text all...	三 那 晚 大部分 民眾 只是 去 行政院 靜坐，卻	被 警察	暴力 對待，還 被 扣上「暴民」的 大
37	WS_text all...	。」陳 先生 強調，他 三次 回到 現場，都	被 警察	暴力 對待，「第一 次 警察 揮拳 打 我
38	WS_text all...	非常 抱歉 台聯 立委 周倪安 在 佔領 行政院 當天	被 警察	毆打 受傷，送醫 治療。（資料 照，記者 王
39	WS_text all...	報導）台聯 立委 周倪安 在 佔領 行政院 當天	被 警察	毆打 受傷，警政署長 王卓鈞 3月 25日 時 曾
40	WS_text all...	李恩惠 再 也 受不了 從 網路 轉播 上 看到 學生	被 警察	毆打 流血 的 尖叫 與 畫面，她 衝到
41	WS_text all...	李恩惠 再 也 受不了 從 網路 轉播 上 看到 學生	被 警察	毆打 流血 的 尖叫 與 畫面，她 衝到
42	WS_text all...	，遭遇 知 多少」文章，描述 自己 親身 經歷	被 警察	毆打 的 過程，指 警察 先 把 媒體
43	WS_text all...	眾，沒有 像 大人 拿起 槍枝 拿起 刀子 砍 人，	被 警察	毆打 還 被 稱做 為 " 暴民 "...? 爸 媽 以前
44	WS_text all...	00:36→ litt lechili : 怎麼 看到 躺 在 那邊 的 人	被 警察	用 盾牌 打 . 223 . 142.94.83 03/ 24 00:36→
45	WS_text all...	回覆 · 7 年楊雅珍我 兩 位 學姊 剛 在 行政院 那	被 警察	用 盾牌 敲頭...我 好 難過...拿 手機
46	WS_text all...	學生 沒有 激烈 反抗，只是 蹲坐 在 現場，卻	被 警察	用 無情 棍棒 對待、甚至 打到 滿 頭

BJ36.「那晚大部分民眾只是去行政院靜坐，卻**被警察**暴力對待，還要扣上『暴民』的大 … …」

*"That night, most of the people just went to the Executive Yuan for a sit-in, but <u>were treated violently **by the police**</u> and even labelled as 'mobs'..."*

BJ40. 「... ... 再也受不了從網路轉播上看到學生**被警察**毆打流血的尖叫與畫面，… …」

*"...couldn't stand to see the screams and images of bleeding students <u>being beaten **by the police**</u> on internet broadcasts anymore..."*

BJ46.「學生沒有激烈反抗，只是蹲坐在現場，卻**被警察**用無情的棍棒對待、甚至打到滿頭 … …」

*"The students did not put up a fight, but just sat on the spot and <u>were mercilessly beaten **by the police**</u> with clubs and even beaten all over their heads..."*

(Note: "BJ" is the code created for the KWIC list *of "被" (bei) + police (警察, jingcha)* in the corpus.)

From the above examples, it can be seen that the word 'police' as 'doer' was used with many different perpetrating verbs. However, regardless of the verb, it demonstrates a tendency for their power to be far greater than that of the protesting students. This power may be the public authority given by the position, the fact that they are older than the students, or a gender issue (i.e., most of the police officers on duty in the Executive Yuan at that time were male). All of these reasons may be the core factors that contributed to the power of the police officers to oppress the protesting students, which ultimately led to the outbreak of a bloody conflict. For example, in BJ36, the speaker emphasised that the people were just going to sit in, emphasising

that the word "just" (只是, zhishi) is used to show innocence, and then uses "but" (卻, que) at the beginning of the next clause to create a power gap. Finally, the speaker added "even" (還要, haiyao)' to the next clause: the protesting public was labelled as a mob. Another example is BJ40, where the speaker used the phrase "can't take it/stand anymore" (再也受不了, zai ye shoubulaio liao) followed by the student being beaten by the police to emphasise the continuous nature of the police's use of power, reinforcing the inequality of power. This is followed by a description of the extent of the beating: bleeding and screaming. This description reinforces the unequal power relationship between the police and the protesting students. Finally, in BJ46, the word "but: (卻, que) is also used to create an inequality of power between the first clause (i.e., students) and the second clause (i.e., police). These texts use a great deal of contrasting and descriptive text to present the unequal power relationship, fully demonstrating the state of the recipient "be" (被, bei) subjected to the doer's power action.

Table 4. The token of the cluster token + "被" (bei)

The token of the cluster *token + "被" (bei)*	
Verb	**a. Structural verbs in Chinese grammar (affirmative):** will會 (freq. 958), be是 (freq. 535), want要 (freq. 214), have有 (freq. 102), want想 (freq. 94), can可以 (freq. 59) **b. Structural verbs in Chinese grammar (negation):** don't不要 (freq. 181), don't不 (freq. 180), won't不會 (freq. 134), don't別 (freq. 99), can't不能 (freq. 56) **c. Structural verbs in Chinese grammar (doubt):** 會不會 (freq. 50) **d. Internal feeling:** afraid怕 (freq. 119)
Noun	**a. Occupation:** student(s) 學生 (freq. 174) **b. Name of country:** Taiwan台灣 (freq. 82), **c. National Executive:** Executive Yuan行政院 (freq. 64) **d. People:** people人 (freq. 144)

In Table 4, it is obvious that the categories and tokens of verbs are completely different from Table 1, and it can be seen that there is a difference in the collocations before and after the word "被" (bei). In Table 4, the discussion is about the recipient, which is the party with weak power. Due to the constraints of Chinese grammatical structures, most of the tokens in the structure

token + "被" (bei) are basic and important structural verbs. Most of these verbs are neutral and can only be categorised in terms of affirmative, negative and doubtful sentence types to identify power issues. In this study, the highest ranked "will" (會, hui) is used as an example for text analysis:

Table 5. The KWIC analysis of "will" (會, hui) + "被" (bei)

18	WS_text all...	比較 難 抬 ， 掙扎 的 話 有 施力點 一下子 就	會 被	抬走 。 不要 正面 被 抬 ， 請 大家 被
19	WS_text all...	因為 他們 知道 「 斤斤計較 於 太陽餅 和 蛋糕 」	會 被	媒體 放大 播送 、 報導 ， 甚至 轉移 焦點 ； 這
20	WS_text all...	是 能 理解 的 ， 畢竟 可能 出 一點 亂子 就	會 被	媒體 放大 檢視 . . . 希望 你們 都 能 互相
21	WS_text all...	被 記者 問 問題 的 時候 回答 不 出來 更	會 被	媒體 利用說 現場 學生 根本 不 知道 自己
22	WS_text all...	運動 與 議題 04/08 10:54→ cloud wolf : 最後 都	會 被	媒體 刻意 導向 藍 綠 對決 意識 形態
23	WS_text all...	人 太少 . . . 沒 氣勢 沒 聲勢 " . . . . " 場面 很 難看	會 被	媒體 寫 得 很 難看 "人 夠 多"
24	WS_text all...	Neo: 大家 在意 的 不是 媒體 ， 在意 的 是	會 被	媒體 影響 的 群體 04/04 01:57推 Gal Le 5566 : 打
25	WS_text all...	在 學生 反而 回頭 擔心 衝 行政院 等 行動 危險 、	會 被	媒體 抹黑 ， 回頭 提出 彈劾 等 「 出路 」 ， 「 在
26	WS_text all...	養家活口 感恩回覆 8 年孫建巧一定 要 付錢 ， 否則	會 被	媒體 拿來 作 文章回覆 8 年李尹祧不 ， 彼此 的 信任
27	WS_text all...	ng【注意】「 千萬 不要 」 喊 警察 打人 ！ 否則	會 被	媒體 操作 有 「 雙方 」 衝突 ！ 警察 若 進場 ，
28	WS_text all...	04/08 06:48推 dreackles : 他們 的 任何 行動 都	會 被	媒體 洗成 藍 綠 惡鬥 這樣 還 有
29	WS_text all...	始自終 都 在 議場 外 ， 想當然 爾 ， 不消 幾日 就	會 被	媒體 淡化 處理掉 ， 對 人們 來 說 也
30	WS_text all...	回覆 · 7 年黃子 覺不要 接受 黨團 提供 的 物資 ，	會 被	媒體 炒作· 回覆 · 7 年Happy Melody政府 不要 抹黑

HB18.「掙扎的話有施力點一下子就**會被**抬走。不要正面被抬， ⋯ ⋯ 」

*"If you struggle, (you) **will be** lifted in a second if there's a point of application. Don't be lifted head-on..."*

HB27.「『千萬不要』喊警察打人！否則**會被**媒體操作有『雙方』衝突！」

*"Don't ever yell 'the police is beating people'! Otherwise, it **will be** made to look like there was a 'two-way' confrontation by the media!"*

HB28.「他們的任何行動都**會被**媒體洗成藍綠惡鬥 ⋯ ⋯ 」

*"Any action they take **will be** labelled by the media as a fight between blue and green..."*

(Note: "HB" is the code created for the KWIC list *of "will"(會, hui) + "被" (bei)* in the corpus.)

In the cluster of *"will" (會, hui) + "被" (bei),* it is obvious that what is to be followed is the action that the recipient is going to do. For example, in HB18, the students were discussing

what kind of posture should be used when being carried away by the police. Another finding of the study was that 'media' appeared in this sentence structure a lot, and was often accompanied by negative words: magnifying, deliberately orientating, manipulating, discrediting and so on. Such a result shows that the media is often in the position of a doer in the role of the Sunflower Movement. In other words, the media is also a party with power. For example, in sentence HB27, the speaker used "don't" (千萬不要, qianwan bu yao) when appealing to his/her peers, indicating a strong and intentional emphasis. The speaker further said, "Otherwise, it will be made to look like there was a 'two-way' confrontation by the media!" This statement suggests that media manipulation was a common practice in the Sunflower Movement or other events in Taiwanese society, and the speaker has to call out and warn his peers to avoid such a situation. Another example is HB28, in which the speaker emphasises the media's tendency to manipulate the event into a blue-green struggle (i.e., a political struggle between the KMT and the DPP). Interestingly, instead of directly talking about manipulation, the word "wash" (洗, xi) is used here to emphasise the media's ability to shift the focus of news, which is a form of irony. Here, the power of the media is even more obvious, as the resources at their disposal give them the power to manipulate the information received by the public. This is a demonstration of power inequality, causing the protesting students to loudly urge their peers to be wary of the media because they have the power to manipulate the focus of public opinion.

In addition to the difference in verbs, the noun categories in Table 4 are not quite the same as in Table 1, and the number of times the word frequency exceeds a token has been sharply reduced. Basically, there is only one token for each category, the noun group. Among the noun categories, "student(s)" has the highest frequency of 174 times, while "people" has 144 times, which is also a relatively high amount. Below the 100-frequency mark is "Taiwan" with 84 occurrences, and the "Executive Yuan" with 64 occurrences. Interestingly, in the cluster *token + "被" (bei)* results, "Taiwan" is the only country with more than 50 occurrences. While in the cluster *token + "被" (bei)*, the most frequent are "China" and "Mainland (China)." From this comparison, we can see that Taiwan plays the role of the recipient in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, while China plays the role of the doer. The power relationship between the two is directly demonstrated in the discourse position.

Regarding the analysis of example sentences of nouns, this study analyses the most frequent noun: "student(s)." Table 6 details the results.

Table 6. The KWIC analysis of "student(s)"(學生, xuesheng) + "被" (bei)

50	WS_text all...	人 至少 研究 了 服貿 一 年 多 ， 她 不 忍	學生 被	抹黑 ， 才 在 臉書 po文 ， 同時 也 暗喻
51	WS_text all...	占領 國會 的 " 大人 們 " 難道 不用 負責 嗎 ？ ？	學生 被	逼到 轉而 占領 行政院 被 無情 的 暴力
52	WS_text all...	占領 國會 的 " 大人 們 " 難道 不用 負責 嗎 ？ ？ :	學生 被	逼到 轉而 占領 行政院 被 無情 的 暴力
53	WS_text all...	圖 一舉 殲滅 學運 ， 將 不是 這些 手無寸鐵 的	學生 被	逼到 牆角 ， 反而 是 他們 被 全 國
54	WS_text all...	10號 被 佔 ， 到底 會 發生 什麼 事 呢 ？ 看到	學生 被	鎮暴 警察 打 ， 畫面 當然 憐 怵 目驚心 ， 但是
55	WS_text all...	了 。 。 。 回覆 8 年Mandy Tang已經 有 一 位	學生 被	鎮暴 警察 打 流血 了 ！ 臉部 流血 ！ 剛才
56	WS_text all...	力 鎮壓 。 透過 現場 錄影 的 還原 ， 我們 看到	學生 被	鎮暴 警察 用 警棍 瘋狂 追打 ， 一個
57	WS_text all...	紀錄片 導演 李惠仁 到場 拍攝 ， 與 其他 三名	學生 被	依 妨害 公務 現行犯 逮捕 ， 四人 成為
58	WS_text all...	紀錄片 導演 李惠仁 到場 拍攝 ， 與 其他 三名	學生 被	依 妨害 公務 現行犯 逮捕 ， 四人 成為
59	WS_text all...	嗎 ？（ 不過 沒 有 那麼 傻 要 霸工 ， 只有 少數	學生 被	利用 了 ）六 . 成立 網路 軍隊 – 對 有
60	WS_text all...	與 媒體 批露 之下 ， 更 堅決 相信 這是 場	學生 被	利用 在 反對 政策 的 戲碼 和 培養
61	WS_text all...	社會 人 會 同情 受 壓迫 的 那 方 ， 但 現在	學生 被	媒體 呈現出 " 強勢 批鬥 "" 造反 有 理" 的
62	WS_text all...	是 「 暴民 之歌 一 聞 318 佔領 立法院 反 服貿	學生 被	媒體 與 立委 指為 暴民 」 ， 並且 親自 到

XB53.「將不是這些手無寸鐵的**學生被**逼到牆角，反而是他們被全國……」

*"It is not these unarmed students who will be pushed into a corner, but rather **they** will **be** pushed into a corner by the whole country ..."*

XB60. 　　「與媒體的披露之下，更堅決相信這是一場**學生被**利用在反對政策的戲碼……」

*"With the revelations in the media, it is even more strongly believed that this is a charade in which the **students are** being used to oppose the policy ..."*

(Note: "XB" is the code created for the KWIC list *of* **"student(s)"(學生, xuesheng)** + **"被" (bei)** in the corpus.)

XB50 and XB60 portray the perspective of the student as a recipient, whether it is "will be pushed into a corner" or "are being used to oppose the policy," reflecting that the student is in a very vulnerable role. However, it is also worth thinking about how students are in a very vulnerable role. However, it is also worthwhile for us to think about this: are students completely powerless? Is it a reversal of power that the students succeeded in securing the government's commitment at the end of the Sunflower Movement? Is it true that the flow of power in the Sunflower Movement was not unidirectional, but has always been bidirectional?

5. Conclusion
This study has undertaken a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of the discourses of the Sunflower Movement. Among other outcomes, a key finding indicates that there was indeed a clear demonstration of top-down power in the Sunflower Movement, and the body of evidence is quite large. However, it is worth thinking about what kind of power motivated the students to successfully reach an agreement with the government in the Sunflower Movement, which also accomplished the flow of power from the bottom to the top. In the discourse, we can feel the power of the government and the media, which have considerable resources, but it should

not be underestimated that the unity of the students behind the Sunflower Movement and the public is an even stronger force, which also displays the power of democracy. The students' call to their peers and the public's support can be seen in the discourse, and it is this force that has helped to complete the flow of power in Taiwanese society. The significance of this study lies in (1) using corpus CDA to analyse the relationship between power and ideology as exhibited in Taiwanese Mandarin discourse within Taiwanese social movement, with a focus on the word "被" to discuss the power dynamics in society, and (2) analysing power dynamics and highlighting the characteristics of democratic discourse in Taiwanese Mandarin that resist social injustice. However, this study was slightly constrained by a few conditions. For instance, the study did not use a comprehensive corpus for comparative analysis; therefore, the results may only reflect the usage of the word "被" during the period of the Sunflower Movement.

Further analysis is, therefore, required to explore the usage of "被" in the wider Taiwanese society.

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