

VIETNAM ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
**GRADUATE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF  
KAMALA HARRIS' IDEOLOGY IN HER  
SPEECH AT THE 2020 DEMOCRATIC  
NATIONAL CONVENTION**

**MA THESIS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

HANOI, 2021

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**Field: English Language**

**Code: 8220201**

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**HANOI, 2021**

## **DECLARATION BY AUTHOR**

I hereby state that this minor thesis entitled ‘A critical discourse analysis of Kamala Harris’ ideology in her speech at the 2020 Democratic National Convention’ is the result of my own research. This work is original and all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged. Moreover, I confirm that this M.A thesis has not been submitted or published for any degree to any other universities or institutions.

Author’s Signature

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*I would love to acknowledge my advisor, PhD. Nguyễn Thị Việt Nga, for her assistance in completing my thesis. I am deeply thankful for her patience and the time she has spent on me.*

*Thanks to Prof. Võ Đại Quang introduced the whole new realm of Critical Discourse Analysis to me.*

*I would also like to express my gratitude to Mr. Đặng Nguyên Giang and Department of Foreign Languages, Graduate Academy of Social Sciences, the professors, teachers and staff for providing various opportunities in developing myself.*

*I want to acknowledge my classmates for encouraging me and sharing joy with me at difficult moments. Then I also want to thank my rector for giving me a chance to improve my knowledge.*

*Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude for my family, my parents and my spouse. I would be the same without you. Thank you for putting your faith in me and giving me this opportunity.*

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study attempts to discover the ideologies and how those ideologies are realized linguistically in the speech delivered by the elected vice president Kamala Harris at the 2020 Democratic National Convention using the CDA framework suggested by Norman Fairclough (2013). The study targets to learn more about the relationships between discourse and ideology to promote the awareness of CDA in an appropriate way in social studies. Moreover, the study intended to contribute to the development of English language education, particularly in studying CDA by giving some suggestions for learners. The objectives are to investigate Kamala's ideologies embedded in her speech and analyze how ideas are represented in the speech using linguistics components. The findings show that the ideologies embedded in the selected speech are the ideology of inspiration to women, the ideology of racist condemnation, and the ideology as a power of persuasion. Research shows that Harris' ideas are expressed through vocabulary strategies, flexible use of personal pronouns 'we', 'I' and 'you', and the use of voice. According to the results, Harris' purpose is to introduce herself, inspire women and show her support to Joe Biden. Additionally, she denounced the Trump racist administration.





## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CL: Critical Linguistics

DA: Discourse Analysis

DHA: Discourse-Historical Approach

DNC: Democratic National Convention

US: United States

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## **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Rationale of the study**

There is no doubt that language is one of the most noteworthy inventions that people have ever made which is used as a means of communication, the foremost viable way to precise the wills, sentiments, and states of mind toward the world. It obviously becomes a social phenomenon, and it has been taken advantage of by many specialists from various fields, includes politics. Language is supposed to be the most powerful tool for politicians to realize their goals. Generally, power and ideology are always enclosed in their discourses once uttered. Speeches have implications, so sometimes listeners struggle to grasp the meaning behind words. The quest for gaining a profound understanding of the meaning behind some speeches, both written and spoken, is the mission of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA provides an honest framework to capture the connotation of the spoken and written language.

According to Fairclough (2012), ‘critical discourse analysis (CDA) brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and relations between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth). Critical social analysis can be understood as normative and explanatory critique.’ (p.9)

Despite the Covid-19 pandemic, the U.S. presidential elections in 2020 were processed as planned. Former Democrat candidate Joe Biden and Sen. Kamala Harris defeated the Republican coalition of the current president, Donald Trump, and the vice-presidents - Mike Pence. On August 11, 2020, Senator Kamala Harris gave her victory speech by paying tribute to the national

women and history, who made this moment possible and gave hope to many people. Kamala Harris became the first woman, and the first black and Asian American, to be the vice president-elect of the United States.

For all these reasons, I have decided to choose the CDA as the area of my study and to take ‘A critical discourse analysis of Kamala Harris’ ideology in her speech at the 2020 Democratic National Convention’ for my MA thesis, using Norman Fairclough's views as the theoretical framework.

### **1.2. Aims of the Study**

The study targets to learn more about the relationships between discourse and ideology to promote the awareness of CDA in an appropriate way in social studies. Moreover, the study intended to contribute to the development of English language education, particularly in studying CDA by giving some suggestions for learners.

To achieve the above aims, the objectives are specified to:

- Investigate Kamala Harris' ideologies embedded in her speech at 2020 Democratic National Convention.
- Analyze how ideas are represented in the speech using linguistics components.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

To fulfill the aim and the objective of the investigation, the researcher is going to answer the following questions:

- What ideologies are conveyed by Kamala in her speech at 2020 Democratic National Convention?
- How are those ideologies realized linguistically?

#### **1.4. Scope of the Study**

In this paper, I choose to analyze only Kamala Harris' speech during the third night of the Democratic National Convention (DNC), where she officially accepted the nomination as the Democratic vice presidential nominee.

I focus primarily on the transcription of the speech. Hence, we do not include the spoken version, such as non-linguistic features: gestures, stress, so forth. The thesis is a linguistic and not a political study, which means that we do not explore all the information surrounding politics.

The thesis only tries to identify first the use of language and, above all, explain its ideology in the speech. Moreover, this is a CDA investigation, and 'critical' could be understood here as 'having a distance from the data... and focusing on self-reflection as scholars doing research' (Wodak, 2002, p.9).

I will analyze the speech from a social standpoint. Because the main themes of the discourse related to international social matters. As mentioned above, the main objective of this study is always linguistics, not a socio-political issue.

#### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

Theoretically, this study reinforces CDA theories, particularly in terms of political discourse. CDA analysts can uncover ideology hidden behind words by examining texts objectively.

Practically, the study also provides insights for those interested in discourse analysis in general and political discourse analysis in particular. Moreover, as previously said, this research aims to find some practical applications of CDA in English teaching and language education in general. The author hopes it will be highly beneficial in teaching and learning English, especially the translation aspect. It also aids the reader in understanding the coded message in political speeches.

Political and social-matter-related discourses are considered to be the targets of CDA. Plenty of speeches on these issues by George Bush, Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, etc., have been critically analyzed. However, there is no CDA of speeches delivered by Kamala Harris, the first colour woman in history who becomes vice-president-elect of the USA.

Besides, she inspired women and pointed out the failure of the Trump administration, she also called for solidarity and stressed the need to elect Joe Biden as the 46th President of the United States in her speech. Therefore, the thesis hopes to discover and demonstrate how effective language is used to transfer ideas that affect people's perceptions.

## **1.6. Methodology**

### ***1.6.1. Research approach***

The Critical Discourse Analytical framework, introduced by Fairclough (2001), is used in this paper. The three stages include description, interpretation, and explanation will be employed. Yet, it is worth noting that this study does not address all of Fairclough's questions. Only the most notable features of the speech are highlighted to clarify the declaration of ideology.

This decision is based on CDA's, concern about the social context, that is used. Texts are viewed as products of a socially or politically certain context. Language elements can be chosen at random or for the luxury of different options, but they can also be chosen to reflect the world in a way that is biased toward one's point of view or ideology. The analysis of a text is beyond the scope of textual analysis because it requires researching the processes of text production, interpretation, and explanation on the social and cognitive conditions that give them meaning.



In the first stage, a natural textual description of the speech, in terms of lexis and syntax, will be done to find out the ideologies in Kamala Harris' utterance.

In the second stage, questions relating to the situational context will be explored to define the ideologies embedded in the speech.

Finally, in the third stage, the text is interpreted as part of the social process.

The author is well aware of the subjectivity of this framework when selecting to use it. As the term 'critical' implies, doing CDA entails having a political stance when analyzing facts, which inevitably leads to personal judgments. 'Unlike much other scholarship, CDA does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own socio-political position. That is, CDA is biased - and proud of it' (van Dijk, 2003, p.96).

To preserve imparality, parallel the author's analysis, we also use linguists' perspectives and views on the problem. Furthermore, to access objective outcomes, both qualitative and quantitative data processing approaches are applied.

#### ***1.6.2. Methods of the study***

The primary method employed in this study is descriptive, a qualitative content analysis method which, as Hsieh and Shannon (2005) claim, is a research method for subjective interpretation of the context of the text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying patterns. This method is more than simply counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, structures that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner.

It is impossible to clarify which ideology is used in every single sentence. When analyzing the vocabulary of the speech, an indication of an utterance being influenced by a certain ideology can be found. To identify the ideology underlying Kamala's speech we rely on the in-group-outgroup distinctions and differences. Typical of such distinction is ingroup favouring and outgroup disparagement, positive self-presentation and the involvement of our group with all good things and their group with all bad things.

The three-stage practical framework of CDA given by Fairclough (2013) will be employed. The three stages include description, interpretation, and explanation. However, it is notable that not all the questions suggested by Fairclough are covered in this study. Only the outstanding features of the speech are focused on in order to enlighten the assertion of ideology.

Initially, in the first stage named description, the speech's lexicalization, grammar, and macro-structure are placed under analysis. For vocabulary, the in-group positive and out-group negative lexicalizations are examined. Besides, the lexical choice regarding formality is inspected. In terms of grammar, the use of voice, personal pronouns are the main focus of an investigation. The macro-structure of the text is also analyzed in this stage.

In the next phase, questions relating to the situational context will be discussed to make lucid the ideologies embedded in the text. Finally, in the last step, explanation, the text is portrayed as part of social process, part of social practice for analysis at both situational and societal levels.

### ***1.6.3. Data collection and data analysis***

The study is attached to the CDA approach and carried out with the following stages:

In the first stage, the whole course of the research conducts a literature review to gain and present an understanding of the issues relevant to the

research topic. A host of reference books, materials, studies, and articles related to the field of CDA and the theme of the thesis will be collected, read, classified, and interpreted.

In the second stage, we will select the needed information from Harris speech at the 2020 Democratic National Convention. These data are thoroughly analysed by appropriate tools.

In the last stage, we will have a careful analysis is to unveil the embedded ideology and cover the hidden meanings intended in the speech.

The method in this study is the Quantitative method which stresses more on the collection and analysis of numerical data and statistics. The study uses utterances in Kamala's speech on night three at the 2020 DNC as the data source, thus counting and measuring are commonly used. The research findings are presented in tables and charts or figures.

The CDA is the main approach to this study, which primarily uses Fairclough's analytical framework. This framework consists of three stages of discourse analysis: description, interrelation, and explanation. This frame is described in detail below.

About the CDA, three stages are taken into consideration.

First, the description stage (textual analysis) examines the fundamental formal properties of the discourse: vocabulary (word choice, word meaning, wording, metaphor), grammar (the voice, the modes, personal pronouns and sentence linking) and textual structure (interactional convention and large scale structure).

Second, the interpretation stage views the discourse as a result of a process of production (situation context) and also as a resource in the act of interpretation (intertextual context and presupposition).

Finally, the explanation stage, most vital, attempts to find the

relationship between interaction and the social context.

Quantitative and qualitative methods are also employed through three stages, with the dominance of the latter.

### *Quantitative Research*

The quantitative method is used to analyze linguistic features (vocabulary, processes, etc.) to find the most frequent and remarkable words - key words in each corpus and to find the most frequent collocates of the keywords.

### *Qualitative Research*

The qualitative method is used to choose keywords and collocates for analysis. In the critical investigation of the sentences where the keywords and the collocates figure.

The study data are collected on

<https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/19/politics/kamala-harris-speech-transcript/index.html>

To understand more about her speech, there will be an overview in the next part.

In conclusion, the speech will be analyzed in detail, by using the three-stage practical framework of CDA given by Fairclough (2013). However, only the outstanding features of the speech are focused on enlightening the assertion of ideology. After that, the research data introduces the origin and context of speech. The whole discourse is divided into lines and then numbered for analysis. Finally, the study procedure describes the sequence of steps to research.

## **1.7. Structure of the Study**

This paper consists of:

**Chapter 1:** Introduction: This part contains the rationale, aims, scope, significance, methodology and structure of the study. We present the approach

and the method of the study. And we also show the data and the procedure of the research.

**Chapter 2:** The literature review consists of 2 sections

- Section 1: Theoretical background gives an overview of discourse, the origin of critical discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, ideology, the relations between language and ideology.

- Section 2: is the central approach to CDA on the ideology from the view of Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough; This section also introduces Fairclough's framework.

**Chapter 3:** presents ideologies of Kamala in the speech at the 2020 DNC

**Chapter 4:** Linguistic realization of Kamala's ideologies in the speech: This chapter consists of the analysis of the address in three stages: description, interpretation and explanation.

**Chapter 5:** Conclusion. This part summarises the results of the study, presents conclusions and implications. It also indicates some limitations and offers some suggestions for further research.

## **1.8. Summary**

The targets of this section, firstly, affirm the research questions and secondly, we also use prestigious scholars' perspectives and views on the problem. Furthermore, to access objective outcomes, both qualitative and quantitative data processing approaches are applied.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Theoretical background

#### 2.1.1. *Discourse analysis*

Discourse analysis (DA) is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used. In other words, discourse analysis studies language in use: written texts of all kinds, and spoken language.

Harris (1952) was interested in the distribution of linguistic elements in extended texts and the links between the texts and their social situation. Though, his paper is quite distinct from the discourse analysis that we are used to nowadays.

The eminent linguists such as Austin (1962), Searle (1969), and Grice (1975) also have influenced the study of language as social action, along with the development of pragmatics, which studies the meaning of language in context (see Levinson 1983; Leech 1983).

British discourse analysis was greatly influenced by Halliday's functional approach of language (e.g. Halliday, 1973), whose framework emphasizes the social function of language and the thematic and informational structure of speech and writing. The British work has principally followed structural linguistics criteria, on the basis of the isolation of units, and sets of rules defining well-formed sequences of discourse.

American discourse analysis has been dominated by work within the ethnomethodological tradition, which emphasizes the research method of close observation of a group of people communicating in natural settings. The general heading of discourse analysis includes conversation analysis from the American traditional view. In the conversational analysis, the emphasis is not upon building structural models but on the close observation of the behavior of

participants in talk and on patterns that recur over a wide range of natural data. The findings of Goffman (1976,1979), and Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) are imperative in the study of conversational norms, turn-taking, and other features of spoken interaction.

Dijk (1972), Beaugrande (1980), Halliday and Hasan (1976) are linguists who have made great impacts in findings of identifying the relationship between language elements.

DA has grown into a wide-ranging and heterogeneous discipline that finds its unity in the description of language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences that affect language in use.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that texts are the only evidence for the existence of discourses, one kind of concrete realization of abstract forms of knowledge; at the same tune, they are interactive and influenced by sociolinguistic factors.

Moreover, Jager and Maier (2009), quoted in Wodak & Meyer (2009) noted that discourse is the manifestation of ideologies; hence, forms individual and collective awareness that impacts people's actions. Through the repetition of ideas and statements, discourse solidifies knowledge and reflects shapes and enables social reality. Moreover, discourse can be defined by the activities participants engage in, and the power enacted and reproduced through them.

In Fairclough's view (2001) language and society have an internal and dialectical relationship. Language phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort in the sense that people communicate in ways that are determined socially, even when people are most conscious of their individuality. On the other hand, social phenomena are linguistic in the sense that language activity that goes on in social contexts is not merely a reflection or expression of social processes and practices but also a part of those processes and practices.

When regarding language as social practice or a social process, Fairclough (2001) uses the term ‘discourse’ to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part. This process includes the process of production and the process of interpretation.

As a result, discourse can affect parts of society as well as be conditioned by parts of society and obviously a sort of social practice. Therefore, seeing language as discourse and as social practice, one does not only analyze texts or processes of production and interpretation, but also analyze the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the social context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures. We will discuss deeply this in the next part - Critical Discourse Analysis.

### ***2.1.2. The origin of Critical Discourse Analysis***

Critical Linguistics (CL) originated in the mid-1970s as a requirement for an academic linguistic branch that would explore the relationship between language and ideology, social structure. It is supposed that the need for linguistics is ‘critical’, which fully reflects the hidden cause of the phenomena it studies and the nature of the language. CL is believed to be capable of uncovering implications in language and suggests some significant tools for a do-it-yourself analysis of language and ideology.

CL was theoretically influenced by the Western-Marxist philosophy, Critical Theory. The pioneers of CL were Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress. They argued that ‘the world-view comes to language-users from their relation to institutions and the socio-economic structure of their society. It is facilitated and confined for them by a language use which has society’s ideological impress. Similarly, ideology is linguistically mediated and habitual for an



acquiescent, uncritical reader who has already been socialized into sensitivity to the significance of patterns of language.’ (p.185)

The framework which CL based on was Systemic Functional Linguistics of Halliday. The concepts which were given in his books *Language as Social Semiotic* (1978), and *Functional Grammar* (1985) became imperative for understanding grammar and interpreting texts.

In the early 1990s, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak were the first scholars with distinctly different approaches: theories and methodologies, congregated and made significant changes but maintained relevance in many features. Theories and methodologies in Discourse Analysis were peculiar, but the similarity was approach principles and the common interests in explicating ideologies and power through the organized investigation of semiotical information (written, spoken, or visual). Since then, the term CDA has been used to denote CL.

Fairclough (2013, pp.10-11) suggested that CDA must have all the following characteristics:

1. It is not just analysis of discourse (or more concretely texts), it is part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process.
2. It is not just general commentary on discourse, it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts.
3. It is not just descriptive it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them.

In conclusion, CDA is a progression from CL but CDA analysts take outstanding advance: ‘CDA sees itself not as a dispassionate and objective social science, but as engaged and committed; it is a form of intervention in

social practice and social relationships' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). More specifically, CDA is to reveal the ideological assumptions hidden in the structures of language.

### ***2.1.3. Critical Discourse Analysis***

Each CDA researcher has his own way to define what CDA means. However, they all agreed that CDA as a branch of linguistic targets 'to systematically explore the often opaque relationship of causality and determination between discursive practices, events, texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by the relation of power and struggles overpower' (Fairclough, 1995, p.132).

CDA is a growing research movement composed of multiple distinct theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of language, in other words, CDA has no unitary theory or set of methods. Furthermore, CDA focuses on discourse and on relations between language and other social elements, such as power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth. Dijk (2011) states that 'we might best see CDA as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agendas.' (p. 357)

According to Wodak & Meyer (2009), CDA is a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting, and explaining the ways in which discourses construct, maintain, and legitimize social inequalities.

Moreover, CDA is considered as part of critical social analysis. While social analysis focuses on describing existing realities and explaining the existence of that realities. This is necessary but not enough to change the realities of society for the better. Critical discourse analysis, on the other hand, is not only descriptive but also evaluates them, assesses to which values they

match up, and seeks to explain them. Besides, CDA does not pay attention to examining an etymological unit, it considers social phenomena which require involving of a transdisciplinary and multi-methodical approach. Wodak (2008, p.2) states that: ‘The significant difference between DS and CDS (or CDA) lies in the constitutive problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach of the latter, apart from endorsing all of the above points. CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach.’

Dijk (1995) states that ‘CDA has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics, and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse, and communication. As is the case for many fields, approaches, and subdisciplines in language and discourse studies, however, it is not easy to precisely delimit the special principles, practices, aims, theories, or methods of CDA.’ (p.1)

CDA describes language use in speech and writing form as ‘social practice’ and its aims are to unveil hidden power and ideology behind discourses. There are several reasons why CDA is often chosen as the main approach to political discourse. Firstly, the central objective of discourse analysis is ‘to perceive language use as ‘social practice’ because social, cultural, and psychological frameworks are reflected in discourse, thus, language cannot naturally be separated from them. Furthermore, CDA studies the connections among textual structures and takes social context into account, and explores the links between textual structures and their function in interaction within the society. Secondly, there is a close and dependent connection between the interpretation and the listener the reader. The

interpretation emerges from the listener reader's understanding of the text that is affected by the listeners' experience of the world.

CDA should explicit the relations between the structures and strategies of the personal and social mind, discourse and society should be integrated.

Wodak & Meyer (2009, p. 95) has summarised ten of the most paramount principles:

1. The approach is interdisciplinary. Interdisciplinarity involves theory, methods, methodology, research practice, and practical application.
2. The approach is problem-oriented.
3. Various theories and methods are combined, wherever integration leads to an adequate understanding and explanation of the research object.
4. The research incorporates fieldwork and ethnography (study from 'inside'), where required for a thorough analysis and theorizing of the object under investigation.
5. The research necessarily moves recursively between theory and empirical data.
6. Numerous genres and public spaces as well as intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are studied.
7. The historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time.
8. Categories and tools are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation.
9. 'Grand theories' often serve as a foundation. In the specific analyses, however, 'middle-range theories' frequently supply a better theoretical basis.
10. The application of results is an important target. Results should be made available to and applied by experts and be communicated to the public.

#### ***2.1.4. Ideology***

The term ideology was instituted by Antoine Destutt de Tracy in 1776 as ‘the science of ideas’ which focused on the significance of human sensations in the formation of knowledge.

‘Ideology’ is a dominant element of CDA, because the functioning of ideologies in daily life attracts CDA researchers. They frequently target unveiling structures of power and uncovering ideologies.

Simpson (1993, p. 5) defines ideology as ‘assumptions, beliefs, value-systems which are shared collectively by social groups.’ This means any individual of any social group regardless of culture, religion, and political affiliation may share common beliefs and cognitive values.

Marx (1970) believed that ideology is a general term that indicates all those mental superstructures by which humans become aware of their economic, political, social, and mental existence.

In Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, Hornby (1995) defines ‘ideology’ is ‘a set of ideas or beliefs that form the basis of an economic or political theory or that are held by a particular group or person’(p.589). Ideology is the consciousness of an individual, a community. It is thoughtful thoughts, orientations, analyzes, assessments, or conclusions for actions in our mind. Ideology can be born and generated during communication.

‘It is, however, not that type of ideology on the surface of culture that interests CDA, it is rather the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphor and analogies’ (Wodak 2009, p.8). CDA research on discourse-ideology link goes beyond both classical perspectives and other contemporary views. Fairclough noted that ‘This ‘critical’ view of ideology, seeing it as a modality of power, contrasts with various ‘descriptive’ views of ideology as positions, attitudes, beliefs,

perspectives, etc. of social groups without reference to relations of power and domination between such groups.’ (p.9)

Van Dijk argued that ideologies not only have general social functions but also social cognitive functions aimed at maintaining group interests. Ideologies, therefore, drive the social activities of the group and dominates the structures of text and utterances of members.

Van Dijk (1998) noted ideology ‘that serves as the interface between social structure and social cognition. In that framework, ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group’.

Van Dijk (2011) informally defined ideologies are ‘general systems of basic ideas shared by the members of a social group, ideas that will influence their interpretation of social events and situations and control their discourse and other social practices as group members’ (p.380)

Van Dijk (1998, p.68) said that ‘ideologies have a normative dimension, and summarize what group members should do or not do.’

According to van Dijk (2006), ideologies are not only expressed by discourse but also may be conveyed and enacted by other social practices. In addition, ideologies relate to knowledge, discursive acquisition, and context. Hence, Fairclough (1995) states that ‘if the concept of ideology is to be used, it should be used critically’(p. 17). CDA takes a critical, rather than a descriptive, approach to ideology. Textual ideological representations must be examined in light of social power.

Ideologies can be ‘enacted’ in our ways of social interaction, in addition to being represented in texts (institutional organisation). Ideologies can also be ‘inculcated’ in our personalities (our identities, our social roles). Fairclough (2013, p.2) also stated that ‘Ideologies are closely linked to language, because using

language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on 'commonsense' assumptions.'

In the textual and cognitive analysis of ideology CDA ties to the insights from social psychological theories and political science in order to establish interpretative links between social cognition, action, and linguistic structures, and determine 'how exactly ideology shapes to text and talk, and conversely, how it is formed, acquired or changed by discourse and communication' (Van Dijk, 1998a).

Van Dijk (1998a) locates his theory of ideology 'in a joint psychological sociological account of the social mind in its social (political, cultural) context' (p.6) and argues that it is through the interface of personal and social cognition that social structures influence discourse structures and that they are enacted, instituted, legitimized, sustained, or challenged in text and talk.

For Fairclough (2003, p.9) ideologies are both socially 'enacted' and 'inculcated' in the identities of social agents. Transcending the individual texts, they can be associated with discourses (as representations), with genres (as enactments), and with styles (as inculcations), which Fairclough calls 'orders of discourse'.

Although ideology can be expressed both in the form and content of discourse, ideological meaning can only be reproduced through the interpretation and explanation of the text.

When individuals or groups in society truly believe that their ideology can give the right answer to challenges and problems, they take for granted that it enables them to achieve their goals. Since they have access to various types of discourse, they can control the creation and content of discourse, to persuade and control public opinion to their beliefs. Language, therefore, proves to be

very important in persuading and manipulating and one of the most important means of domination and control.

#### ***2.1.5. The relations between CDA and Ideology***

In the field of linguistic applications, the CDA has been chiefly used in different styles analyzing critically the expression of ideology.

It is supposed that ideologies - which manage the thoughts of social groups, are composed of different varieties of action and interaction, and the outcome is often embedded in the meaning of an utterance. Van Dijk believed that ideologies would be expressed and reproduced by discourse. According to van Dijk (1995, p. 248), 'Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. Besides their social function of sustaining the interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of members.'

In other words, ideologies are associated with the social structures and mind structures of all the members. Hence, their social properties are easily detected by their experiences and beliefs. However he emphasized the ideological properties are always accompanied by the experiences of a person.

Van Dijk (2006) states that a discourse analytical approach is the most relevant approach to study ideology, an issue of controversy, and he explains that finding out ideology from a discourse analytical approach perspective is a multidisciplinary approach that is critical to the ideology from the traditional viewpoint. Moreover, he provides the framework of his research on the analysis



of the connections between ideology and discourse which is based on the 3 fundamental elements: discourse, cognition, and society (p.1).

Moreover, Fairclough (2013, p.59) asserted that 'language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology'. While it is true that ideological processes and structures are imprinted in the forms and substance of writings, ideologies cannot be 'read off' of texts. Therefore, only should we analysis specifically texts, which requires the view of systematic interdisciplinary analysis of the dialectical relationship between discourse and other elements of the social process.

The familiar approach to ideology is to review its effects on discourse forms and meanings, and how discursive structures may in turn support the formation and transformation of ideologies. Nonetheless, ideologies also work once language users have interaction within the construction of context as subjective, similarly, group-sensitive, interpretations of the social situation.

Ideologies may influence the expression of social attitudes in discourse structures. In alternative words, ideology may directly affect the production (or interpretation) of discourse, as in the initial case, or this may happen indirectly.

Ideology, according to Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (2009), is often a one-sided viewpoint or world view made up of similar mental representations, beliefs, thoughts, behaviors, and evaluations held by members of a specific social community. Ideologies are a powerful tool for defining and sustaining unequal power relations through discourse. In addition, ideologies are considered to have a function as a means of transforming power relations. Because one of the objectives of the Discourse-Historical Approach is to interpret the ideologies that establish, preserve, or resist dominance.

Fairclough's (1995, 2013) CDA model consists of three interconnected analysis processes linked to three interrelated discourse dimensions.

- 1- The object of analysis (including verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts).
- 2- The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking/ designing and reading/ listening /viewing) by human subjects.
- 3- The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

He comments, every of the three dimensions needs a reasonable kind of analysis:

- 1- text analysis (description),
- 2- processing analysis (interpretation),
- 3- social analysis (explanation).

Fairclough, in his book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1997), refers discourse analysis to be considered as a research tactic rather than a model of analysis. CDA, in his viewpoints, is an approach that tends to investigate the relationships between discursive practices and social structures. It is also interpretative and explanatory that oftentimes is historical in the form of social action.

Van Dijk (2006) confirms that CDA ‘provides a sociological account of language use because of its interest in ideology, social relations, and the relationship between text and context’ (p. 37). In the research study, CDA centered on sociopolitical issues while not neglecting the linguistic aspect. As a result, CDA deals with language use as a social practice that shapes ideologies inside discourse.

In conclusion, the ideology of any individual is basically transmitted and acquired through his language use in spoken or in written forms. CDA clarifies how ideologies influence our utterances, and the way discourse is concerned within the reproduction of ideology in society.

## **2.2. Central approaches to CDA on the ideology**

### **2.2.1. *Teun Van Dijk's***

Integrates numerous linguistic theories and approaches in developing social and discursive processes to focus on the research of ideological expression. Hence, his socio-cognitive approach pursues to link cognitive theories and approaches with linguistics. He demonstrates that critical discourse analysis is a perspective, position, or critical attitude in a multidisciplinary approach because it targets to explain the mystery ideology in social practice. Van Dijk (2006, p.125) formulates two elements that play an important role in the analysis of ideological expression as follow:

- Emphasize Our good things, and Their bad things, and
- De-emphasize Our bad things, and Their good things.

Van Dijk (2006) regards that the direct relationship between social structures and discourse structures does not exist and they almost are connected to each other through individual and social cognition. He confirms 'the relationship between ideologies and discourse is complex and often quite indirect.' (p.124)

Besides, he pays great attention to cognition, he affirms that since the nature of discourse is language in context, saying 'ideological discourse is always personally and contextually variable' (p.124). CDA, thus, requires merely linguistic foundations as well as cognitive foundations.

However, he does not suppose that CDA should confine its restriction to cognitive and social analysis; rather, due to the real-world issues, its complexities, and people's desires CDA should always presuppose the intervening mental models, goals and general social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values).

In sum, van Dijk's approach to ideology has been summarized by the triangle formed by the concepts of Cognition, Society, and Discourse.

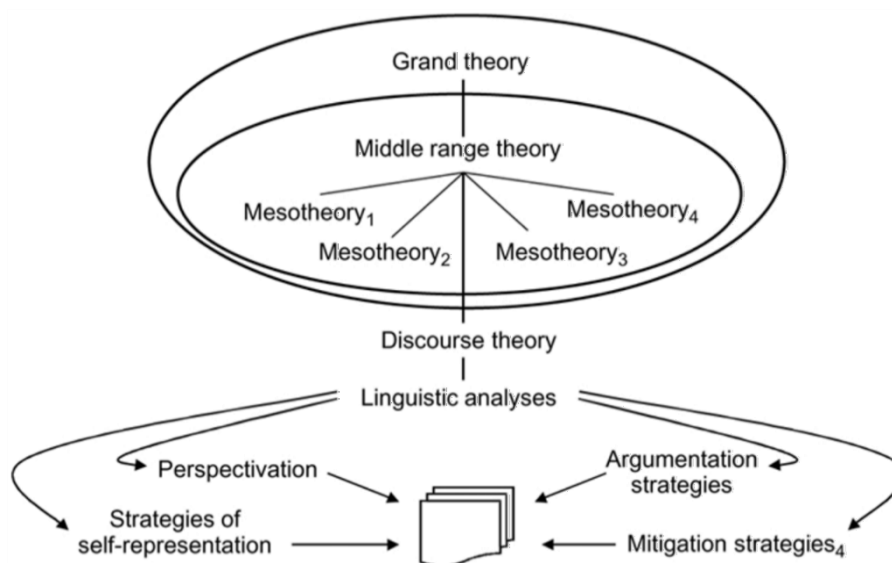
### ***2.2.2. The Discourse-Historical Approach of Ruth Wodak***

Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) of Wodak views discourse as a form of social practice, which is firmly affected by the critical theory of the Frankfurt School because the theory highlights the crucial political discourse in society while expressing ideology in language and discourse.

The overall framework of their approach based on a concept of 'context', apart from the first level is descriptive Wodak & Meyer (2001, p. 67) shown it in the four degrees as follow:

1. The immediate language or text internal co-text;
2. The inter-textual and inter-discursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres, and discourse;
3. The extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of specific 'context of situation' (middle range theories);
4. The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to ('grand' theories).

The DHA obeys the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory, it accepts a concept of critique which integrates three related aspects: (1) the 'text or discourse-immanent critique' which targets to detect the internal inequality and contradictions in text or discourse; (2) socio-diagnostic criticism aims at demystifying the convincing or 'manipulative' nature of discursive practices, whether explicit or implicit. To interpret the discursive events, Wodak and his colleague use their contextual experience as well as social theory and other theoretical frameworks from different disciplines. Then, (3) future-related prospective critique aims to heal communication gaps, for example, they offer guidelines against sexist language use or lowering 'language barriers' in hospitals, colleges, and other settings. In sum, the aim of Wodak and Meyer is to put research into practice. (Wodak&Meyer 2009, p.88)



**Figure 2.1: Levels of theories and linguistic analysis**

(Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 69, Fig. 4.3)

Moreover, intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses, as well as extralinguistic social/sociological factors, the history of an organization or institution, and situational frames, are all taken into account by the DHA. ‘The DHA is three-dimensional: after (1) having identified the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) discursive strategies are investigated. Then (3), linguistic means (as types), and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as tokens) are examined.’ (Wodak&Meyer 2009, p.93)

### **2.2.3. Norman Fairclough's approach**

Fairclough’s approach (called ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’) believes that language and other elements of social life have a dialectical relationship.

Textually-Oriented Discourse Analysis and non-Textually-Oriented Discourse Analysis are the two primary types of discourse analysis, and Fairclough's methodology attempts to blend the two.

Fairclough's approach is based on a number of previous approaches. The new point is that it is founded on a variety of new sociological theories and the relationship between language, discourse, and society. Norman Fairclough's method of text analysis is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Michael Halliday is the most prominent scholar in SFL, and the field is sometimes referred to as 'Hallidayan Linguistics.' Because SFL highlights the relationships between texts and (social) settings, SFL is a good fit for CDA. SFL, on the other hand, is very linguistic in nature, with many specialist language words.

SFL is deeply concerned with the relationship between language and other attributes and aspects of social life, and its approach to text linguistic analysis is often socially focused. This makes it a valuable foundation for critical discourse analysis, and SFL has made significant contributions to critical discourse analysis.

However, because of their various purposes, CDA and SFL viewpoints do not strongly resemble. CDA is a more multidisciplinary approach than SFL. CDA attempts to integrate SFL with a variety of social theories. In order to improve the ability to analyze texts as factors in social processes, we need to establish approaches to text analysis through an interdisciplinary dialogue with perspectives on language and discourse within social theory and science.

Fairclough's model of detailed text analysis is a form of 'qualitative' social analysis. In particular, critical discourse analysis may use a variety of approaches to text analysis. Fairclough's objective in the social analysis of discourse is to make the analytical categories as clear as possible.

In conclusion, Fairclough's work paid much attention to language as a social practice dealing with the social conditions of discourse production and its concealed power, ideology, and domination dimensions. His critical

language approach's vitality and effectiveness originate from its ability to merge complex, wide-ranging interpretative social theories and insights with a critical linguistic analysis of individual discursive exchanges. It is hence more than a supplement to other scholars' approaches; it is not a branch or sub-discipline of linguistics, but an alternative orientation to language study in and of itself-and such a critical approach to language analysis must be fundamental to linguistic or social theory studies, not addition.

#### ***2.2.4. Norman Fairclough's framework***

It is imperative to notify at the outset of this segment that it is difficult to exactly specific principles, practices, aims, theories, or methods of CDA (van Dijk, 1995). Despite that, any analysis work which announces to be of the CDA framework should have some typically basic criteria. Those criteria, originally summarized by Kress (1990), are developed by Fairclough & Wodak (1997) who establish some basic principles of a CDA process.

My analysis bases on Norman Fairclough's assumptions in CDA, claiming about the location of ideology that 'ideologies reside in texts'. Because ideological processes apply to discourses as a whole social event - interactions between people - rather than to the texts that are generated, circulated and evaluated as moments of such events. And that 'texts are open to diverse interpretations' (Fairclough, 1995, p.71).

Among different approaches of CDA, Fairclough's analytical framework is chosen for it is one of the most comprehensive ones. Moreover, it is based on a linguistic foundation - Halliday's Systematic Functional Grammar, which makes the discourse analysis not only 'running commentary'.

Fairclough (1995) urged CDA research should shift between descriptive, interpretive, and explanatory stages.

## **Description**

In this stage formal prosperities of the text will he analyzed, according to Fairclough (2013) states that ‘the set of formal features we find in a specific text can be regarded as particular choices from among the options (e.g. of vocabulary and grammar) available in the discourse types which the texts are drawn upon’. He also proposes ten main questions the analysis should answer in this stage. (pp. 92 - 93)

### ***A. Vocabulary:***

1. What experiential values do words have?
  - What classification schemes are drawn upon?
  - Are there words that are ideologically contested?
  - Is there rewording or overwording?
  - What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonym, hyponym, antonym) are there between words?
2. What relational values do words have?
  - Are there euphemistic expressions?
  - Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What expressive values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

### ***B. Grammar:***

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
  - What types of process and participant predominate?
  - Is the agency unclear?
  - Are processes what they seem?
  - Are nominalization active/ passive sentences, and positive/ negative sentences used?
6. What relation values do grammatical features have?



- What modes (declarative, grammatical questions, imperative) are used?
- Are there important features of relational modality?
- Are the pronouns 'we' and 'you' used? And if so, how?
- 7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
- Are there important features of expressive modality?
- 8. How are sentences linked together?
- What logical connectors are used?
- Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination?
- What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

### ***C. Textual structure:***

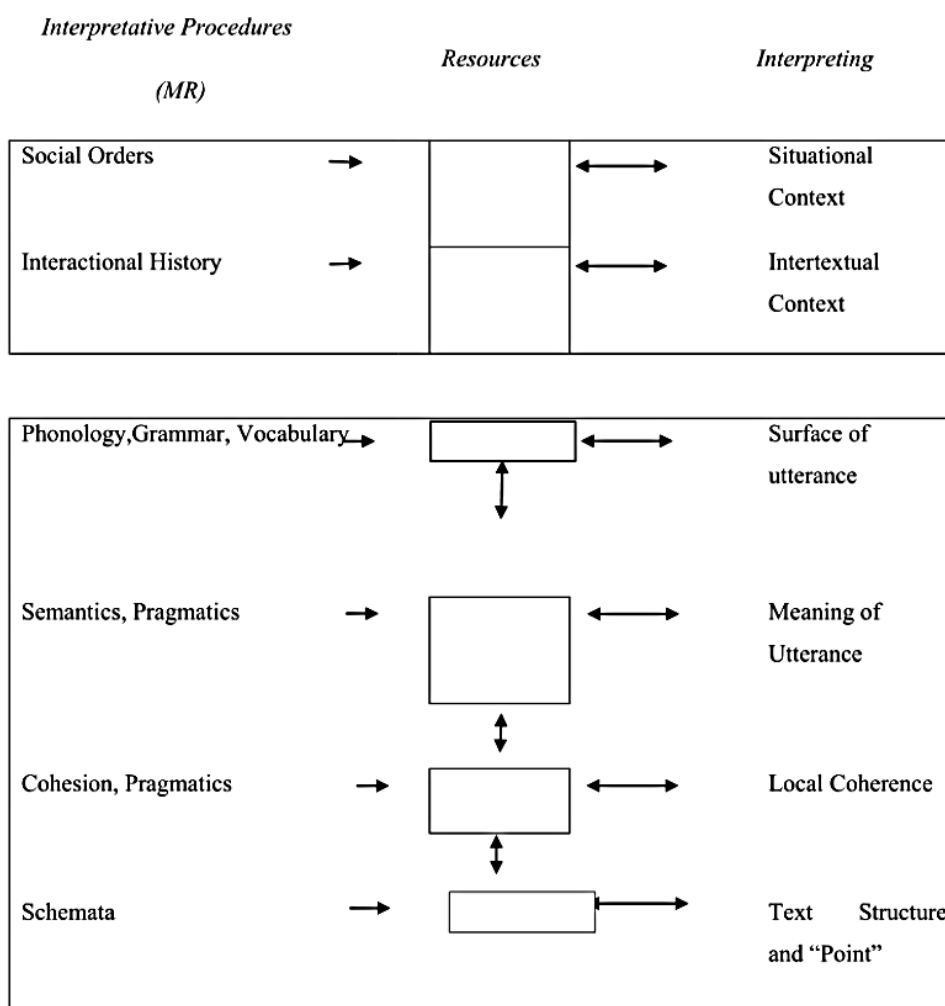
- 9. What interactional conventions are used?
- Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?
- 10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

## **Interpretation**

Fairclough (2013) explained the term interpretation is used both in the descriptive stage in the procedure and the interpretation of texts by discourse participants. 'The stage of interpretation is concerned with participants' processes of text production as well as text interpretation.' (p.118) He has listed six major domains of interpretation:

Situational context, intertextual context, surface of utterance, meaning of the utterance, local coherence, and text structure and 'point'.

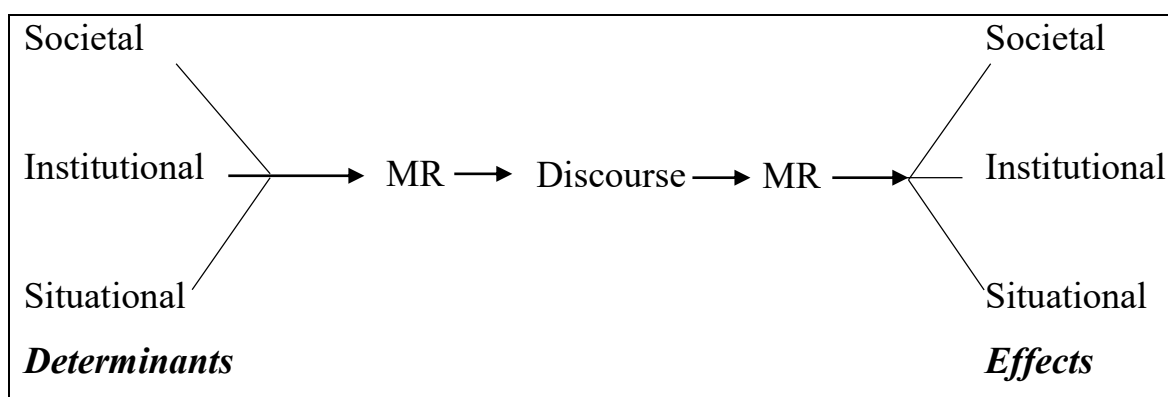
The production process and the interpretation process are at the same time, except that instead of interpreting texts, the interpretative procedures associated with the four levels of text interpretation are used to produce surface structures of utterances, utterance meanings, locally coherent groups of utterances, and globally coherent texts.



**Figure 2.2: Interpretation** (Fairclough, 2013, p.119, Fig. 6.1)

### Explanation

Fairclough (2013) noted that ‘Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context - with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects’ (p. 22). He added ‘the objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structure, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them’.



**Figure 2.3: Explanation** ((Fairclough, 1989, p.164, Fig. 6.4)

Fairclough (2013, p.138) also summarizes what can be asked of a particular discourse under investigation into the form of three questions:

1. Social determinants: What power relations at situational, institutional, and societal levels help shape this discourse?
2. Ideologies: What elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. Effects: How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional, and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?

The target of the explanation stage is to represent a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, demonstrating how it is shaped by social structures and what reproductive impacts discourses can have on those structures, whether they are maintained or changed.

In short, Fairclough's analytical framework includes three stages description, interpretation, and explanation. Besides, this framework uses Halliday's SFG as a base, so more details of this grammar approach and its role in CDA will be discussed in the below part.

We decided to choose Fairclough's framework for the study with the idea that it would be the perfect way to identify the use of ideologies in the language and provide analyses from a social context to show how written language could influence attitudes and social behaviour.

Moreover, in performing analyses using this framework, the social context and texts background and the connection between the internal discourse characteristics and the external social practices and structures are wholly inspected. Thus, the framework can recognize the discourse features that portrait ideological and social distinctions among social variables. Besides, from the perspective of the social practices, the framework also helps evaluate whether the texts sustain institutional identities.

### **2.3. Review of previous studies**

This study is not the first one on the CDA ideology in the speech of politicians. Power and ideology embedded in the utterance of presidents and influenced people have analyzed in many pieces of research. All of the studies I referred to in my paper are works based on the Fairclough framework.

The ‘Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's 2012 Speeches: Views from Systemic Functional Linguistics and Rhetoric’ of Bahram in 2014 grasped the efficient and dominant principles and tropes utilized in political discourse.

‘Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's First Inaugural Speech.’ was given by Gary Stobbs in 2012. The author investigated the methods and lexis used by Barack Obama to build a spirit of inclusiveness among the American people in his inaugural speech.

In 2013, Muhamad A. S. presented the ‘Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King’s Speech in Socio-Political Perspective’. He explicated

equalities in the terms like social, cultural and political by applying Fairclough's CDA.

'A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Barack Hussein Obama's Speeches regarding the Middle East and North Africa' by Alelign Aschale (2013) revealed the governing West's political ideology to safeguard the interests of America and allies and to sustain their world power in outland countries and to suppress target on the young generation.

'A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Language Use in US Presidential Campaign: A New Analytical Framework for Reading Journalistic Texts' was presented by Javady Javad in 2019. The researcher attempted to compare Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's speeches, which they made in their presidential campaigns based on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework to equip the students with the critical ability and analytical skills to achieve a depth-understanding of the texts.

'Transitivity Analysis of Kamala Harris' 2020 Presidential Victory Speech Concerning covid-19' of Alfath Eka Liani et. al. published by Atlantis Press SARL. Their research aims to investigate the ideology in the USA 2020 vice president-elect Kamala Harris' victory speech concerning her plans to build back the USA during the COVID19 pandemic. The research method used in this study is qualitative content analysis, utilizing Halliday's transitivity system as the framework for data analysis. The result shows that Kamala Harris plans to build back the USA by enforcing liberty for people.

Zainal published 'Presupposition and Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Joe Biden's Inaugural Speech' The goal of this study targeted Biden's ideology manifested in his inaugural speech on January 20, 2021. The researcher studied the assumption given by van Dijk at the microstructure level

to identify the ideology, which manifests itself in regards to immigrants, healthcare, racism, democracy, and climate change, according to the examination of the assumption.

Quách Hải Yến performed ‘A critical Discourse Analysis of American Ideologies Embedded in Some American Online News on the Conflicts in the South China Sea from 2014 -2015’ in 2017 to identify and explain American ideologies are portrayed and represented in online American news.

Vi Thị Bảo Thoa presented ‘A critical Discourse Analysis of George Bush’s speech on September 11 Attacks’ which was based on Fairclough’s framework. The author found that President Bush aroused national pride and heroism through the language he used.

‘A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Speeches of Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May’ by Lê Thị Thùy Dương tried to compare the ideologies of Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May.

The author decided to choose the speech of Kamala Harris at the 2020 DNC to perform the research for the following reasons:

Firstly, this is the first study to focus on Kamala Harris' ideologies analysis based on Fairclough's theoretical framework. Furthermore, her speech was a historical phenomenon and a unique acceptance in modern American history, which may be one of the most significant remarks in her career. Her speech was boldly Democratic. She paid tribute to generations of women before and encourage women across the nation. She accused the Trump administration of racism and injustice, and inequality in American society. Harris outlined a vision that did not ignore the challenges with racism and the covid-19 epidemic.

Secondly, Kamala Harris won the Democrat Party's historic nomination to become the first Black woman and Asian American to become elected vice-president of the United States.

Finally, despite the virtual conference in cyberspace and her social position, she made the audience feel close and intimate during her address.

#### **2.4. Chapter summary**

The purpose of this chapter is to examine several ways to understanding political speeches and to demonstrate how it relates to ideology. The SFL principle addressed how patterns in the representation of processes and participants relate to each other. These principles served as a starting point for a discussion about how ideology embedded in the utterance. The next chapter will present the data set to be analyzed.

## **CHAPTER 3: IDEOLOGIES OF KAMALA IN THE SPEECH**

In this part, Kamala Harris' speech will be critically analyzed basing on Fairclough's framework. What is encoded in sentences and its interaction with context will be figured out by analyzing lexical and grammatical choice. The clues found are interpreted, and some explanation is expected about them.

### **3.1. The background of the speech**

The data is the hidden ideologies embedded in the utterance of Harris at the 2020 Democratic National Convention. The author would like to outline some of the main features of her background and career.

Kamala was born in Oakland, California, on 20 October 1964. She is the elder child of Shyamala Gopalan -an Indian cancer researcher, and Donald Harris - a Jamaica economist. The University of California, Hastings College of the Law - a public school was where she earned her degrees. She began her political career at the Alameda County District Attorney's Office. She was elected the position of District Attorney for San Francisco in 2003. In 2010, she was elected Attorney General of California, and in 2014, she was re-elected. As a senator, she pushed for healthcare reform, de-scheduling of cannabis of federal government, advocated a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants, the DREAM Act, and applied an assault weapons prohibition, and progressive tax reform as well.

Kamala Devi Harris is a Democratic Party candidate, one of the two major political parties in the United States- the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The stance of the Democratic Party is considered to be liberal (since the 30s of the twentieth century) and they support civil liberties and social freedom. According to the Rules of the Democratic Party, in fact, the Democratic National Committee must be the highest authority of the Democratic Party. The



DNC is held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the President of United States and the Vice President of United States celebrate.

Democratic Party set out to swing the political situation and the political decisively action to them. It not only had to generate new policies, but it also had to try to reconstruct the political map, and reconsolidate its political image. Democrats' ideology is to support civil liberties, social freedom, equality, equal opportunity, a free business system regulated by government intervention, and opportunity for all. Democrats believe that the government should play a role in the effort to reduce poverty and eliminate social injustices, even if it means giving the government more power and increasing taxes to pay for social services.

She served as the attorney general of California from 2011 to 2017 and represented California as the United States Senator from 2017 to 2021. Harris ran for the Democratic presidential candidate in 2020 but dropped out before the primaries. Kamala has also been faced with problems of racism, and efficient solutions to the covid-19 pandemic. On 11 August 2020, Joe Biden announced Senator Kamala Harris as his running mate. When Democrats held an all-virtual presidential nominating convention on 17-20 August in Wisconsin Center, Milwaukee using streaming media technologies, she gave her vice-presidential official acceptance speech. Mrs Kamala's attempts are to some extent evident in the speech.

Harris is a public safety and civil rights leader, and she makes history as the first Black woman and first Asian American elected as a vice-presidential. She was the first Indian American trailblazing prosecutor turned senator. Besides, Kamala Harris is also quite popular in the US mass media after participating in the 2020 Democratic Party presidential primaries. At that time, she is considered to fully converge the qualities of becoming a symbol of the Democratic Party. The DNC 2020 took place online from August 17 to 20,

2020, at the Wisconsin Center in Milwaukee. The first time such an event in the presidential election process has been held online. Many activities have changed compared to the previous traditional convention to ensure public health in the context of the complicated Covid-19 pandemic in the US. Joseph Robinette Biden chose Kamala Harris because of 'her record of accomplishment', and he explained his selection in an announcement that: 'There is no door Kamala won't knock on, no stone she'll leave unturned if it means making life better - for the people.' (<https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/511641-biden-releases-first-ad-touting-harris-as-his-running-mate>). The speech a politician gives on the day they announce her acceptance for an important position of a country, vice president, could be a massive deal. Not because the result of her speech can help make or break a campaign but because her speech helps effectively set out Joe Biden's autumn presidential campaign, and a part of the radical nature of Kamala - a flexible political style that does not back away from attacking political opponents; this is reflected, though only to a very limited extent in her inaugurate speech.

Mixed-race peoples have historically encountered the challenges of being racial prejudiced and split. They have to face double discrimination, from both communities they are members of. In this case of Harris, it is South Asian, Black and American communities. She has knowledge of different regions of the world - different customs, practices, values and beliefs, which provided Harris with the ability to have her own perspective. All those things make her ascendant all the more remarkable.

Kamala Harris spoke on her own experiences as a multiracial woman throughout the speech, bringing all of her identities in full. Harris thanked the people and communities that worked to form such coalitions, with Harris

expressing her thanks in particular to Black women for their efforts. Being a mixed person, she had to work harder to assert herself. Thus, Harris' victory is a beacon of light and hope for further racial justice and healing. Kamala Harris' ascension symbolizes the American dream. The daughter of immigrants became the vice president-elect of the United States.

Harris was inaugurated as Vice President with President Joe Biden in January 2021, after defeating former President Donald Trump and Vice President Mike Pence in the 2020 election. This study focuses on the critical analysis of the speech to unveil intentions and ideology hidden in Kamala's acceptance speech. This speech lasts about 18 minutes, with 223 lines, including the greeting at the beginning. The whole text is counted by lines and then numbered for analysis. (See Appendix 1)

### **3.2. Ideology of inspiration to women**

Obviously, ideologies need not be complicated systems, such as those of socialism or communism. Depending on its belief, each group will select from the general culture and social norms and values those that optimally realize its goals and interests and will use these values as building blocks for its group ideologies. Moreover, in 2020, for the first time since the Great Recession, women outnumber men in the American workforce. Since group relations and interests are involved, we may also assume that ideologies show a polarizing structure between "in-group" and "out-group". Thus, the value of inspiration for women is the affirmation of their crucial role in society.

Kamala Harris inspired women across the country. She recognized women had faced the long battle for the right to vote and break into the highest ranks of American politics - and said that "Yet so many of the Black women, who helped secure that victory, were still prohibited from voting, long after its ratification." (lines 8 - 9)

The acceptance speech as an elected vice president at the 2020 DNC had the familiar tone of a political speech, but it contained entirely new words. The declaration did not begin with gratefulness, nor did she praise the strength and prosperity of America. At the very beginning of the speech, related words are employed to describe the values of women in general. She started her speech with the respect of generations of women who struggled to have their voices heard. 'That I am here tonight is a testament to the dedication of generations before me.' (lines 3 - 4).

The speech at the 2020 DNC of Kamala the first colour woman in history to become vice-president-elect of the US captures the hearts of voters because she has inspired them, especially women.

'Women and men who believed so fiercely in the promise of equality, liberty, and justice for all.' (lines 4 - 5)

'These women and the generations that followed worked to make democracy and opportunity real in the lives of all of us who followed.' (lines 13-16)

The word that is immediately noticeable as being ideologically contested is 'the Black women' which tends to dispute the Republican Party (non-male, non-white). It was powerful and graceful to open a speech to look backwards and tribute the black women who fought historically for the right to vote and 'for a seat at the table'. Harris said, "But as Americans, we all stand on their shoulders". It helped her cleverly sketch her biography to introduce herself to the massive convention audience watching at home. It was also a clever trick for Democrats just how distinctive the new vice-presidential nominee is from the other party leaders - and how effectively she might help lead the party in the future.

Praising her mother, Harris said: "She raised us to be proud, strong Black women.' (lines 41-42).

Kamala inspired women across the US by praising the role of women in public life with an outstanding line-up of leaders. She told examples of pioneering women throughout history who famously fought for rights to vote proving women should also hold high leadership roles in politics. They are Hillary Clinton, a US senator from New York, the first woman to be nominated by a major political party for President of the United States, Mary Church Terrell, a civil rights activist who helped to found the National Association of Coloured Women, Mary McCleod Bethune, another civil rights activist, who push to set up the historically black college system; Fannie Lou Hamer, fought for the right to vote in Mississippi; Diane Nash, a leader and strategist of the Civil Rights Movement; Constance Baker Motley - the first African American woman to serve as a federal judge, and Shirley Chisholm - the first Black woman elected to Congress. In her mind, these women like giants who 'we all stand on their shoulders'.

Not only did she think that the audiences should 'celebrate the women' who fought for 'equality, liberty, and justice', but also celebrate 'the Black women, who helped secure that victory' and the right of voting.

Furthermore, she mentioned the landmark legislation in her speech, without forgetting highly regarded to Black women who would have to fight for nearly half a century for their access to the right to vote.

'They organized, testified, rallied, marched, and fought -not just for their vote, but for a seat at the table,' (lines 11-12).

Kamala Harris paid homage to women's significant contribution to American democracy and political pioneers. Every time she expressed women she attached the term '*women*' with a positive word to depict their importance, which we can easily find a scheme for inspiring women: 'celebrate', 'victory', 'equality, liberty, and justice', 'inspired':

‘That I am here tonight is a testament to the dedication of generations before me. Women and men who believed so fiercely in the promise of equality, liberty, and justice for all’ (lines 3-5); or she told us about female with hortatory words ‘proud’, ‘strong’, ‘stand on’, ‘first’. By utilizing such positive words and expressions, the speaker communicated her appreciation and admiration for her deceased mother. She additionally emphasizes that her mother's life is one like many other mothers, but it is still a great life from which we can learn so much. The influence her mother has on her political career is not only encouraging her tireless struggle or her outstanding triumph but also her energy and motivation for her to fight for women's rights, equality.

Kamala Harris also paid tribute to her deceased mother. She considers her mother as a giant that the world has never known.

‘Another woman whose shoulders I stand on. And that's my mother - Shyamala Gopalan Harris’. (lines 24 - 25)

She is tactful when clarifying her identity in public by talking about family. Because this makes it easy for listeners to accept her background.

“She came here from India at age 19 to pursue her dream of curing cancer. At the University of California Berkeley, she met my father, Donald Harris - who had come from Jamaica to study economics.” (lines 26 - 28)

She also persuaded voters by her personal story as an immigrant's daughter. She shared at length about her family, especially her mother's particular role in her life before she passed away from cancer. Maybe many women in US have seen themselves through the description of her mother, ‘she worked around the clock to make it work - packing lunches before we woke up - and paying bills after we went to bed. Helping us with homework at the kitchen table - and shuttling us to church for choir practice.’ (lines 34 - 37) ‘She made it look easy’ (line 38).

She introduced herself by sharing her family story and how she was brought up. “My mother taught me that service to others give life purpose and meaning” (lines 67 - 68)

Kamala gives the impression of a future leader who always puts the family first, especially the mother's nurturing care for the future success of her children.

“She taught us to put family first.”

For Kamala, family is more than just parents and children. The family includes friends, people who share and help you, like-minded people.

‘She taught us to put **family** first - **the family** ....

**Family** is the friends I turned to when my mother - the most important person in my life - passed away from cancer.’ (lines 43 - 53)

With these words, Kamala thrived on driving the audience into her feelings and the purposes of her speech from which the agreement and support from the hearers may be acquired. Because her words also made the listener feel that she is familiar and close. Her family story makes her trustworthy and closer to the audience.

Moreover, there is a high appearance of keyword in her speech from line 1 to 84 which is used to emphasize the thought and concern that the author wants to draw the attention of the hearers.

*Table 3.1: Occurrences of lexical items*

Lexical items	Occurrences	Lexical items	Occurrences
family	14	she	14
mother	6	women	8
woman	3	fought	4

It was smart to begin a speech that was usually used to give brief biographical profiles to introduce candidates to the large convention audiences watching at home. It also did a fantastic job of emphasizing to Democrats how different she is from other party leaders - and how effectively she may lead the party of the future.

### **3.3. Ideology ties to condemning racism**

Mrs Harris pointed out the failure of the Donald Trump administration and she called for uprooting racism and upheld the spirit of solidarity. She has shown her full self in the speech, creating the case for endeavour confrontation general racism, stating the coronavirus pandemic. Kamala Harris accused Trump of failing to protect Americans from the coronavirus pandemic. He has failed miserably at the most fundamental and paramount duty of a president of the United States which is his obligation to protect the people. ‘Donald Trump’s failure of leadership has cost lives and livelihoods.’ (line 86)

The Americans are experiencing loss and suffer due to the unfair and racial policies of Trump's administration.

This is not a coincidence. It is the effect of structural racism.” (lines 93 - 96)

Racism does not have a vaccination. This is an issue from Harris's speech that has gotten a lot of attention. It ties two of the country's big crises: the coronavirus and racial injustice protests. She may be signaling to the hearers, particularly Black Americans, that she intends to fight for Black Lives Matter in the White House.

“there is no vaccine for racism” (line 103)

“And while this virus touches us all, let's be honest, it is not an equal opportunity offender.” (lines 93 - 94)

It is a brilliant way to address racial justice, immigration and gender equality in her speech while talking about “Donald Trump’s failure of leadership”, she warned, “This virus has no eyes, and yet it knows exactly how we see each other - and how we treat each other.” (lines 101 - 102)

The failure of the Donald Trump administration has resulted in incalculable, irreparable losses and the cost of the American people with their



own livelihoods and lives. The losses that people suffer originate from 'structural racism', inequities and injustice.

“Black, Latino and Indigenous people are suffering and dying disproportionately.” (lines 94 - 95)

“This is not a coincidence. It is the effect of structural racism.

Of inequities in education and technology, health care and housing, job security and transportation.

The injustice in reproductive and maternal health care. In the excessive use of force by police.” (lines 96-100)

### **3.4. Ideology as a power of persuasion**

According to Thompson (1990, p.56), ideologies inform and influence political parties behaviour and modes of expression. As a result, ideologies may be proven to contribute to the establishment, maintenance, and change of power. This critical view of ideology, seeing it as a modality of power. Fairclough (2013) links the ideology and power as follows: “Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted. Ideologies are closely linked to language because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on ‘commonsense’ assumptions.”

Fairclough emphasizes that the relation between ideology and power lies in the specific conventions which can be seen in society's ordinary ways of behaving. In addition to that, Mayr (2008) defined ideology as a meaning in the service of power. It means that ideology serves the interest of certain groups with social

power, ensuring that events, practices, and behaviours come to be regarded as legitimate and common-sense. To maintain such power and to secure powerful positions, politicians use language, therefore the ideology is then constructed. Hence inspiration to women/power of persuasion can be conceptualized as ideologies.

In contrast, Kamala Harris gave her support to Mr Joe Biden and said he was a leader who could unify the people. She urged the Americans to vote for Joe Biden, "We must elect Joe Biden". In the utterance, Harris' address focused on a message of unity, principally racial unity. It, however, also intended to introduce Harris to voters as well as what she stands for and how she would contribute to Biden-Harris targets. She talked about the vision of many generations of Americans. It is about sharing a nation 'as a Beloved Community - where all are welcome, no matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we love'. (lines 78-79)

‘Joe and I believe that we can build that Beloved Community, one that is strong and decent, just and kind. One in which we all can see ourselves.’ (lines 148-149)

Unlike Donald Trump, Joe Biden is completely different. Voting for Joe Biden is like ushering in a new day for America. The speaker provides the audience with information on what Joe Biden's administration would do concerning racial inequity and social injustice in the United States for everyone. It is an effective way to make a statement of confidence in fulfilling the Democrats' goals, which Joe Biden represents.

“We must elect a president who will bring something different, something better, and do the important work. A president who will bring all of us together - Black, White, Latino, Asian, Indigenous - to achieve the future we collectively want.” (lines 113 - 116)

Kamala Harris convinced the audiences that Biden is the one who holds the future of the country. This implicit ideology is usually considered a natural characteristic of language. The negotiation goes on explicitly that if the audience gives Joe Biden a chance of being the President.

'Joe will be a president who turns our challenges into purpose.

Joe will bring us together to build an economy that doesn't leave anyone behind. Where a good-paying job is the floor, not the ceiling.

Joe will bring us together to end this pandemic and make sure that we are prepared for the next one.

Joe will bring us together to squarely face and dismantle racial injustice, furthering the work of generations.' (lines 141-147)

Kamala Harris also explained why she believes in Joe Biden, "I knew Joe as Vice President. I knew Joe on the campaign trail. But I first got to know Joe as the father of my friend." (lines 118 - 119). She has shown a sense of personal responsibility that Joe Biden committed to fulfilling. The speaker portrays Biden as the people's servant who is willing to serve them. She assured the Americans that he had done many things for the people and the country. The implication is that the people should give her and Mr Joe their support.

Harris persuaded hearers on the necessity of electing Joe Biden. Harris said she and Biden share values and a vision 'of our nation as a beloved community where all are welcome, no matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we love.' (lines 78 - 79), and she meant Joe Biden would reform everything. Harris gave hope to the Americans and reminded them of the obligation to change the fate of their country, and one of the most crucial things they should do was vote for Joe. Then she argued that the success of America linked to why she gave her support to Joe Biden. From that, she described him as the solution for the United States problems.

‘Right now, we have a president who turns our tragedies into political weapons,’ Harris said. ‘Joe will be a president who turns our challenges into purpose.’ (lines 139 - 141)

Joe will be a president who turns our challenges into purpose.’ (line 141)

Furthermore, the use of 'will' in the extract further strengthens the sense of certainty and commitment to address the problems. Hewings (2005) noted that “We can use either will or be going to talk about something that is planned, or something that we think is likely to happen in the future.” He also added, “We use will when we make a decision at the moment of speaking.” (p. 18) Therefore, the audience assured that all the issues are solved shortly. What the speaker suggests is that she and Joe had planned for everything, but the people would not have them until they have voted Joe into power.

In addition, Harris wants to use his previous experience to define Biden. She talks about his achievements in US political history in recent years, including how he wrote the Violence Against Women Act and implemented the Assault Weapons Ban. Who launched The Recovery Act as Vice President, which helped our country recover from the Great Recession.

Kamala successfully guided the audience to understand her political message that she and Joe Biden share the same view on the US future, so did the hearers. She and Joe Biden saw the loss and suffering of the people because of the Covid-19 pandemic and the recession. They also saw their sacrifice.

‘Joe and I believe that we can build that Beloved Community, one that is strong and decent, just and kind.’ (lines 148 - 149)

‘But I pledge to you that we will act boldly and deal with our challenges honestly. We will speak truths. And we will act with the same faith in you that we ask you to place in us.’ (lines 155 -157)

Using the pronoun 'we', the distance between the speaker and audience is neutralized and brought to a sense of having a common destiny.

‘when we vote, we expand access to health care, expand access to the ballot box, and ensure that more working families can make a decent living.’  
(lines 201 - 202)

Contrary to the formal style commonly used in speeches, the announcement has a conversational tone that makes it easy for listeners to persuade and empathize with the speaker. Being the elected Vice-President, Kamala Harris has shown an equally social relation in her speech at the 2020 DNC. However, I think she aimed to introduce herself to the Americans and convince the audience to vote for the Democratic Party. Therefore, it is impossible to use formal words. Since such language creates distance between the speaker and the public, it is wiser to be close and friendly to the audience as it is easier to convince the audience. That is why her speech has few formal words.

Moreover, it appears that her selection of vocabulary is oriented to the hearers, the audience rather than the speech itself; and where this is so, Harris selects items that mark her willingness of fighting for justice for the people. In lines (75 - 82), she committed to performing her mission by the value she was taught and the vision of generations of Americans. She was specific about the 'value' in a sentence fragment (walk by faith, not by sight), and the vision 'passed on through generations of Americans' of making the US become a Beloved Community.

Interestingly, when she wanted to call for action, she did not use imperative. She used 'Let's structure', which makes her speech more persuasive. She has closed the power distance between the Vice President of the United States and the American people. The call for the entire US people to fight for justice is now just like making an offer between friends.

‘let's be honest’ (line 93)

‘let's be clear’ (line 103)

‘So, let’s fight with conviction. Let's fight with hope...’ (line 213)

Reality has proven, Harris played a significantly important role in Mr Joe Biden's victory, surpassing his rival, incumbent President Donald Trump's to become the 46th owner of the White House, while Kamala Harris becomes the Vice President of the United States elected.

Hence, the speaker creates credibility on the audience. The audience is not only the listener who participated in the convention but also everyone who was watching at home. Therefore, the audience may belong to a wide range of social groups of different ages, different jobs, different social positions, and different academic backgrounds, etc.

### **3.5. Chapter summary**

This section has discussed the analysis of Kamala Harris' ideologies throughout her acceptance speech. The author recognizes the heart of her utterance implicated the ideology of inspiration to women, the ideology ties to condemning racism, and the ideology as a power of persuasion.

## **CHAPTER 4. LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF KAMALA'S IDEOLOGIES IN THE SPEECH**

In this session, I will explore the values words and grammar, which are experiential, relational, expressive value and metaphor to reveal Kamala Harris' ideologies.

### **4.1. Vocabulary**

The analysis of the text is a necessary process for critical discourse analysis. According to Fairclough (1989), the description is the first stage of CDA, and the aim of this stage is to investigate lexical and grammatical features such as vocabulary, verb tenses, sentence modes, mood, modality, transitivity process, etc., to convey power relations and ideologies. In this part, qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis are utilized, with the assortment of information from the picked discourse and other CDA books and documents.

#### ***4.1.1. Experiential values of words***

Harris Kamala's speech at the 2020 DNC was the data collected for this study. I can assert that the target audience of this speech is all Americans. Thus, 'us - groups' include the United States, 'all Americans', 'Democrats', and 'We'. According to Kamala's viewpoint, this is an 'equality, liberty, and justice for all'. Van Dijk (2001) pointed out that the ideological semantics underlying lexical selection follows a coherent strategic structure in which 'in-groups' consists of their members, as well as friends, allies, or supporters, are sketched in positive terms, whereas 'out-groups,' includes enemies, or opponents, are described in negative terms. This can be seen in adjectives or nouns used to describe in-groups and out-groups, as well as their properties, he adds.

By associating women with positive vocabulary, Harris portrayed women like the heroine both in daily life and political activities. She asserted the role of women in every field of society. She compared women to giants, women

were considered as the discoverers, laying the foundation for the further advancements of our society. Women also faced challenges and brought about glorious victories. They are worth respecting and admiring.

***Table 4.1: Lexical items for ‘in-groups’ and positive terms on women***

Line	Lexical items	Line	Lexical items
3	dedication	55	Beyond
5	equality, liberty, and justice	56	conscious, compassionate
7	celebrate	57	noble,
8	secure, victory	58	Responsibility
10	undeterred	67	Purpose
11	organized, testified, rallied,	68	Meaning
12	marched, fought	76	Faith
14	democracy, opportunity	80	United
15	trailblazing	81	infinite worth
17	inspired	82	deserving, compassion, dignity, respect
41	proud, strong	84	challenges, triumphs

Secondly, Donald Trump and Joe Biden are ideologically different and therefore contested. ‘Donald Trump’ occurs once in the speech, whereas ‘Joe’ occurs eight times. It is not surprising that Trump is referred to negatively, and Joe Biden is named positively. I detect the collocation of the two men to be of significance and have referred them below.

Joe Biden (two occurrences) vs. Donald Trump (once)  
Joe (thirteen occurrences)

Interestingly, the occurrence of Donald Trump collocated with ‘failure’ and ‘loss’, whereas Joe Biden collocated with ‘father’, ‘leader’ and ‘president’, which carry positive associations. She indicated the failure of Donald Trump’s leadership by a scheme of negative words for Trump - represents ‘out-group’: ‘struggling’,



‘loss’, ‘grieving’, ‘racism’, ‘criminal’, ‘dying’, ‘suffering’, ‘inequities’, ‘injustice’, ‘chaos’, ‘incompetence’ ‘callousness’, ‘afraid’, and ‘alone’.

The repetition of the word ‘struggling’ in a sentence reflects the hardships of many families when the pandemic breaks out.

‘If you're a parent **struggling** with your child's remote learning, or you're a teacher **struggling** on the other side of that screen, you know that what we're doing right now isn't working.’ (lines 87 - 89).

*Table 4.2: Lexical items for ‘out-groups’ and negative terms*

Line	Lexical items	Line	Lexical items
85	distant	97	Inequities
86	failure	99	Injustice
87	struggling	100	Criminal
90	loss	103	Racism
95	suffering, dying, disproportionately	109	chaos, incompetence
96	racism	110	afraid, callousness, alone

The word ‘loss’ five times appearance reflects the suffering of American people across the US due to the failure of President Donald Trump’s administration. ‘And we are a nation that's grieving. Grieving the **loss** of life, the **loss** of jobs, the **loss** of opportunities, the **loss** of normalcy. And yes, the **loss** of certainty.’ (lines 90 - 92)

With chosen vocabulary, the image of Joe Biden was portrayed with admiration and trust in the speech. In the first place, Biden was described as a devoted and loving father. She said, “as a single father, Joe would spend 4 hours every day riding the train back and forth from Wilmington to Washington. Beau and Hunter got to have breakfast every morning with their dad. They went to sleep every night with the sound of his voice reading bedtime stories. And while they

endured an unspeakable loss, these two little boys always knew that they were deeply, unconditionally loved.” (lines 125 - 130)

He was a great proponent of the Affordable Care Act, which safeguarded millions of Americans with ‘pre-existing conditions’. He has overcome barriers and spent decades championing American principles and interests throughout the world against their foes.

***Table 4.3: Lexical items for ‘in-groups’ on Joe Biden***

<b>Line</b>	<b>Lexical items</b>	<b>Line</b>	<b>Lexical items</b>
112	better, deserve	165	Safety
113	important	167	Better
116	collectively	199	family, rallying
130	loved	200	Organizing
131	moved	202	Ensure
134	implemented	203	Decent
135	championed	204	inspired, pushing
136	protecting	205	ideals, values
137	promoting, values, interest	206	decency, fairness, justice, love
142	together	207	patriots, love
143	good-paying	211	Together
148	beloved	212	awesome, responsibility, privilege
149	strong	213	conviction, hope
156	honestly, truths	214	confidence, commitment
157	faith	215	possible, love

Although we all know that all politicians use the same rhetoric techniques to persuade people, Harris shares common perspectives with Joe Biden and the country issues.

On her vision of the country, Harris says it is of a place ‘where we may not agree on every detail, but we are united by the fundamental belief that every human being is of infinite worth, deserving of compassion, dignity, and

respect.’ (lines 80-82). She showed her wish to make the USA an ideal place to live: ‘infinite worth’, ‘deserving of compassion, dignity, and respect.’

In summary, Harris wants to reinforce Biden's as a valuable candidate by using a wide range of sources and descriptions in the speech. In her utterance, Kamala Harris highlighted the perspective that Joe Biden is the best candidate for United States President. Joe Biden is the president who turns 'tragedies into political weapons' and ends the pandemic, and dismantles racial injustice, unifies all Americans to fight for a better future.

### **\* *Synonyms***

Norman Fairclough (2001, p. 96) noted that: “It is difficult to find many instances of absolute synonyms, so in reality, one is looking for relations of near synonymy between words.”

- fight (lines 57) - struggles (line 56)

I think the synonymy is used in these sentences to express Harris' determination to fight for justice for all Americans, which follows the spirit of the previous generations pushing the people to fight for a better America.

- failure (line 86) - loss (line 90, 91, 92)

In this case, 'failure' and 'loss' are used in lines 86, 90, 91 and 92 to emphasize the incompetence of the Trump administration, which blamed for causing their current crises and show her deep disagreement.

- collectively (line 116) - together (lines 29, 84, 115, 122, 142, 144, 146, 158, 211)

In my viewpoint, Kamala used ‘*collectively*’ once and ‘*together*’ nine times to highlighted her desire to unify all people to face challenges, overcome the pandemic, and only by fighting together can they build a compassionate and fair, equal and loving America.

- risking their lives (line 161) - putting their own safety on the line (line 165)

After accusing the Trump administration of causing loss and suffering to the people, Harris did not hesitate to share her understanding of the silent sacrifices of so many frontline workers from many different professions nationwide.

*\* Antonyms*

- fought for children (line 62) >< fought against transnational gangs (line 63)

It is subtler of Kamala Harris when talking about her contributions in fighting for justice for the weak in society against the transnational criminals. The synonymy made the listeners feel the passion of persistently fighting for the right to bring justice and love to everyone. It was dangerous work, but a woman like her has done it successfully, and that is what she and the Democrats have done and will do for the American people.

- racism (lines 96, 103) >< fairness (line 207)

- injustice (lines 99,147) >< justice (lines 5, 30, 57, 100, 106, 207)

I think two pairs of antonymy, 'racism' - 'fairness' and 'injustice' - 'justice', have been used in the speech to highlight the contrast between Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Racism and social injustice are even more evident when the covid 19 pandemics cost the lives and livelihoods of people of colour in the US. That is ordinary people like George Floyd and Breonna Taylor.

- floor (line 143) >< ceiling (line 143)

Parallel three times of repetition of the phrase 'Joe will bring us together...' to arouse hopes for a better future for America. The use of the opposite pair of words ' floor' - 'ceiling' clearly depicts a nation where no one is left behind with well-paid work that is not a ceiling but a floor - a dream of anyone if Joe Biden is elected president.

‘Joe will bring us together to build an economy that doesn't leave anyone behind. Where a good-paying job is the floor, not the ceiling’ (lines142 - 143)

#### ***4.1.2. Relational values of words***

According to Fairclough (2001), relational value ‘focuses on how a text’s choices of wording depends on, and help create, social relationships between participants.’ This value of words is worth noticing because the speaker creates a close connection with the audience with the language she uses.

It is easy to see that in Kamala’s speech, she uses informal pattern to make her talk less formal, but likely to be a conversation: ‘gotta’, ‘let’s’.

‘We've **gotta** do the work.’ (line 103)

‘We've **gotta** do the work to fulfill...’ (line 106)

‘**Let's** fight with hope. **Let's** fight with confidence...’ (lines 213 - 214).

Moreover, informal connecting words and, but, so are used as following:

‘**And** at every step of the way...’ (line 61)

‘**And, oh**, how I wish...’ (line 68)

‘**So, let's** fight with conviction.’ (line 213)

Moreover, Kamala made her speech much more friendly by mentioning **Joe** instead of Joe Biden or Mr Biden, which tightens the space between the voters and Joe Biden. This is the way she increases her credibility.

‘I knew **Joe** as Vice President...’ (line 118)

‘**Joe** will be a president...’ (line 141)

Besides, she included sharing emotions in the speech. She said, “How, as a single father” (line 125) or “And what also moved me about Joe...” (line 131)

In conclusion, she used informal language with a casual style. This is commonly used with people we know well as our family and friends. In her speech, she shared her personal thoughts and told her family story, therefore, the use of language was appropriate to the scenario. Her speech had a more conversational tone, frequently using personal pronouns, informal expressions, sentences are shorter, and the feelings are more personal.

#### **4.1.3. Expressive values of words**

According to Fairclough (2011, p. 98), ‘differences between discourse types in the expressive values of words are again ideologically significant’ and ‘the expressive value of words has always been a central concern for those interested in persuasive language’.

The aims of these talks are ideas that worth spreading to voters. The speaker, therefore, tactically employs contrastive schemes to transmit her ideas.

Kamala Harris created a contrastive scheme when she mentioned the right of women in voting by using coordinating conjunction ‘*but/yet*’:

‘Yet so many of the Black women, ...’ (lines 8 - 9)

‘But they were undeterred.’ (line 10)

‘..., but we are united by the fundamental belief’ (lines 80 - 81)

‘We may fall short. But I pledge to you that we will act boldly’ (lines 80 - 81)

#### **4.1.4. Metaphor**

Fairclough (2006, p. 120) stated that ‘metaphor is a means of representing one aspect of experience’ and ‘for different metaphors have different ideological attachments’.

‘... stand on their shoulders’ - a common metaphor - was coined by Sir Isaac Newton while writing a letter in 1675. ‘If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants.’

It is the most familiar expression in English that refers to the benefit from the previous experience. In my opinion, the ideological significance of this metaphor is that Kamala wanted the Americans to grate the black women activists, who ‘inspired us to pick up the torch, and fight on’.

‘...there is no vaccine for racism’ is another metaphor in Harris’ speech. Racism like a fatal virus that the American people must face, and there is no way to rescue them from it. It is the most effective symbolic comparison in the

Covid-19 pandemic period. Kamala wanted to convince the American people that racism is a crime that must eliminate from their community to build an America of humanity and justice.

## 4.2. Grammar

### 4.2.1. *Experiential values of grammatical features*

Fairclough (2006, p. 100) said that ‘The experiential aspects of grammar have to do with the ways in which the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world’. He also offered that: ‘when one wishes to represent textually some real or imaginary action, event, state of affairs or relationship, there is often a choice between different grammatical process and participant types, and the selection that is made can be ideologically significant’.

#### \* *The use of voice*

Sheryl (2010) stated that “speak in active voice unless there’s a reason to speak in the passive voice”. She also explained “the active voice makes your words come alive.” (p.51)

Malcolm (1996) “The passive voice is like a weed that creeps into your writing. You must keep pruning it out.” (p.155)

Remarkably, 8 passive voice sentences (5.52%) out of 145 in total in the speech means her utterance conveys a strong, clear tone.

***Table 4.4: Number of passive and active sentences***

<b><i>Voice</i></b>	<b><i>Times appeared</i></b>	<b><i>Percentage (%)</i></b>
<b><i>Passive</i></b>	8	5.52%
<b><i>Active</i></b>	137	94.48%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b><i>145</i></b>	<b><i>100%</i></b>

‘Yet so many of the Black women, who helped secure that victory, were still prohibited from voting, long after its ratification.’ (lines 8 - 9)

‘We're not often taught their stories.’ (line 21)

‘There's another woman, whose name isn't known, whose story isn't shared.’ (lines 23 - 24)

‘I've been guided by the words’ (line 61)

‘...but we are united...’ (line 80)

‘...they were deeply, unconditionally loved.’ (line 130)

‘...we are prepared for the next one.’ (lines 144 - 145)

‘I'm inspired by a new generation of leadership.’ (line 204)

By using active voice, Harris specified who contribute to the country; who is responsible for the current crises.

#### ***4.2.2. Relational values of grammatical features***

##### ***\* Modes of sentence***

In 2013, Fairclough noted that ‘There is a variety of grammatical features of texts which have relational values.’ (p. 104) He focused on the three main modes: declarative, grammatical question, and imperative. They are employed to serve the author's purpose of expressing ideas.

The speech at the 2020 DNC of Kamala targeted introducing herself to the voters, condemn racism, and persuade the Americans to elect Joe President of the US. Therefore, it is understandable that most of them are declarative.

***Table 4.5: Summary of modes of the sentences***

<b><i>Modes</i></b>	<b><i>Number</i></b>	<b><i>Percentage (%)</i></b>
Declarative	136	93.79%
Imperative	7	4.83%
Grammatical question	2	1.38%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b><i>145</i></b>	<b><i>100%</i></b>



Besides, the appearance of questions plays a very important role in Kamala's speech. This makes her speech have fewer monologues as well as helps to raise the issues: hence the audience is to think about these issues. The questions also appear in pattern; they often come to alter a statement.

‘And our children and our grandchildren will look in our eyes and ask us: Where were you when the stakes were so high?’ (lines 217 - 218)

‘They will ask us, what was it like?’ (line 219)

**\* *The use of personal pronoun***

According to Fairclough (2013), ‘pronouns in English do have relational values of different sorts’. (p. 106). He was particularly interested in the pronouns ‘*we*’ and ‘*you*’.

In 2001, Nicoletter claimed that ‘While the core meaning of ‘*we*’ is a collective identity or group membership, ... the politician to use ‘*we*’ to achieve different effects.’ (p. 76) Therefore, the collective pronoun ‘*we*’ is a significant one in political speeches because it conveys a group identity or when a person represents a group. ‘*We*’ is also used to distinguish ‘*us*’ from ‘*them*’, such as when two political organizations, such as political parties, are compared.

In this speech, Kamala used the pronoun ‘*we*’, an inclusive connotation because she wants to emphasize unity, and pointed out who should have the responsibility for constructing a better place for everyone. Besides, she wanted to encourage the listeners to participate in the struggles against racism, fight for equality and justice, and get through the Covid-19 pandemic.

‘We've gotta do the ...’ (line 106)

‘We're at an inflection point.’ (line 108)

‘We must elect a president who will bring something different, ...’ (line 113)

‘We must elect Joe Biden.’ (line 117)

‘We believe ....’ (line 158)

The number of ‘we’ and ‘you’ used by Kamala Harris in her address is shown in the table below.

**Table 4.6: Frequency of personal pronouns**

<b><i>Personal pronouns</i></b>	<b>We</b>	<b>You</b>
<b><i>Frequency of use (times)</i></b>	46	25

[1] ***We***. Mrs Harris uses the pronoun we mainly in lines (106) - (117), (155) - (167) and (201) - (230), both inclusively and exclusively. The word 'we' is frequently applied to convey the image of one political party as a team and thus a shared responsibility. 'We' is also used sometimes by politicians to avoid speaking about themselves as individuals. The inclusive use (e.g. we've gotta do the work to fulfil that promise of equal justice under law.) is relationally significant in that it represents Kamala and her audience and everyone else in the nation. It sounds like the leader and the people in the same position.

[2] ***You***. The pronoun ‘you’ is mostly used as an indefinite pronoun to refer to individuals in general. It is most often in lines (204) - (211). The relational value of you in the utterance is, in this sense, used to convey a common sense or widely accepted the truth in the hope of obtaining the audience agreement. ‘You’, on the other hand, is accustomed to expressing solidarity and shared experience (e.g. You, me, and Joe - together). When employing the indefinite form of the pronoun you, the audience must determine whether or not they consider themselves as a member of that group (e.g. You are pushing us to realize the ideals of our nation, ...)

Besides, the first singular pronoun ‘I’ is also employed in the speech with 25 occurrences.

***I*** - In political speeches, 'I' can be used by the speaker to convey her opinion, it makes the speech more subjective, it shows the authority of the

speaker and it can be a way to show compassion with the audience and to narrate a story. 'I' might be used, in her utterance, to show commitment to the audience and personal involvement in issues; 'I' can also be seen as an attempt of the individual speaker to place herself above or outside the shared responsibility of her colleagues. One of the most compelling reasons for a politician to use the pronoun *I* in his speech is to portray himself as trustworthy and accountable.

#### 4.2.3. Expressive values of grammatical features

Fairclough (2013) states that ‘The ideological interest is in the authenticity claims, or claims to knowledge, which are evidenced by modality forms.’ (p. 107) The following table shows the use of modal auxiliaries in the speech of Kamala Harris.

**Table 4.7: Summary of modal auxiliaries**

<i>Modal auxiliaries</i>	<i>Lines</i>
may	80, 156
must	113, 117
can	112, 148, 149, 203

When it comes to the negative issues of 'in-group', Kamala used the negative form of modal auxiliary 'may', associated with the meaning of impossibility. It is a very subtle use of language because the listeners feel it is not likely to happen a problem but acceptable.

‘A country where we **may** not agree on every detail, ...’ (line 80)

However, in the sentence ‘*We **may** fall short.*’ (line 156), ‘*may*’ is used in the ‘*possibility*’ sense. It means that ‘*fall*’ is something likely to happen but not sure.

Harris used the modal auxiliary 'must', associated with the meaning of certainty and obligation and repeated it twice at the beginning of two separate

sentences to emphasize the necessity of voting for Joe Biden president and to show her enthusiastic support for Joe.

‘We must elect a president...’ (line 113)

‘We must elect Joe Biden.’ (line 117)

The modal auxiliary 'can', associated with the meaning of ability, expressed her ideologies focusing on the ability to unite the nation to build a better future when Joe is elected president of the United States.

Fairclough (2013) also asserted modality is not just a matter of modal auxiliaries. (p. 107) Moreover, he claimed that the present tense is the proposition's truth.

Murphy (2012) in his English Grammar in Use said, “We use the present simple to talk about things in general. We use it to say that something happens all the time or repeatedly, or that something is true in general.” (p. 4)

Hence, the remarkable thing about Kamala Harris's speech is that from lines 84 to 111, she used non- modal present tense (has cost lives, ‘s grieving, touches, leaves, ...) forms to accuse the Trump administration of racism and failure in protecting the US people from the Covid-19 pandemic.

#### ***4.2.4. Sentences linking***

According to Fairclough (2013), the connective (rather than experiential, relational, or expressive) has qualities of textual formal. It has a partial internal character in the significance of formality in linking sections of texts together, which is cohesion. Additionally, ‘cohesion can involve vocabulary links between sentences - repetition of words, or use of related words’. (p. 108)

#### ***\* The coordinating conjunction ‘but’***

Fairclough (2013) concentrated on logical connectors since they might serve ideological assumptions. The conjunction ‘but’ connect two clauses of a contrastive relation.

‘We're not often taught their stories. But as Americans, we all stand on their shoulders’. (lines 21 - 22)

In this sentence, Harris explained to the US people why they should pay their tribute to the constant struggle of coloured women activists.

#### **\* *Repetition***

The repetition contributes much to the expression of Kamala's ideology. In her speech, there are some phrases and words that appeared with high occurrences. They unveil the crucial points that she wanted to convey.

She gratefully connected the part about social activists and her mother by repetition the word ‘*shoulders*’ and the singular form of ‘*woman*’.

‘But as Americans, we stand on their shoulders.’ (lines 21 - 22)

‘There's another woman, ... whose shoulders I stand on.’ (lines 23 - 24)

Moreover, when she wanted the voters to pay attention to the figure of the vigorous and resilient women, she also involved the listeners in a vitally important role of the family with a scheme of family-related words (parents, father, mother, sister, husband, children, sister, nieces, godchildren, uncles, aunts, brothers). Especially, beginning three sentences by the repetition of ‘Joe will bring us together...’ 3 times creates but also more emphasis and make a better rhythm in the speech.

‘Joe will bring us together...’ (lines 142, 144, 146)

‘Joe and I believe...’ (line 148)

#### **4.2.5. *Textual structures***

##### **- *Interactional conventions***

The first general purpose that Kamala had for giving the speech is to inform. Kamala Harris simply helped audience members acquire information that they may not already possess. ‘...whose name isn't known, whose story

isn't shared.' (lines 23 - 24) Audience members can then use this information to understand her identity and to inspired women across the US.

The most important thing was that she accepted the nomination of vice president to run and serve Joe Biden. The more important thing was that she denounced Trump racist administration. "... there is no vaccine for racism. We've gotta do the work." (line 103)

Then she gave good information about Joe Biden. 'I knew Joe as Vice President. ...I first got to know Joe as the father of my friend.' (lines 118 -119)

Finally, she persuaded people to elect Joe Biden as the US President.

She is experienced in public speaking because she made it clear the line between informing and persuading.

#### ***- Larger scale structures***

Courtland L. (2003) suggested that a speech usually divided into three sections: the introduction, the body, and the conclusion.

Speeches usually deliver during the day, where the massive can gather, but due to the covid-19 pandemic, Kamala gave her speech on the third night of DNC 2020 in a virtual meeting without applause, cheers of supporters.

On the term of number of words, research of more than six million English and Chinese political speeches of Kathleen (2018) showed that Inaugural Addresses contains 1789 to 2013 words in English. Therefore, Kamala's speech has 2011 words, was within the limitation.

On the term of the number of words, research of more than six million English and Chinese political speeches shows that Inaugural Addresses contains 1789 to 2013 words in English. Therefore, Kamala's speech has 2011 words, within the allowance limitation.

For instance, the acceptance speech of Mike Pence at the 2020 Republic National Convention began with a review of the Republican Party's heroic

heritage and sympathy with those caught in the tragic hurricane. However, he appeared to sidestep the reality of the pandemic, painting a bright picture of a recovered country in the body section. Besides, he paid thanks to President Trump and his family. The following paragraphs referred to Republican contributions to the nation's construction and defense. In the conclusion section, he suggested Donald Trump deserved to continue in the White House for another four years. Pence did not address by name any of the Black Americans.

Another example, Joe Biden's vice-presidential nomination acceptance speech at the 2008 DNC, for instance, opened with a quote from his father. Then he expressed pride in his family and friendship with the Clintons. Besides, he recalled his deceased mother, and he was grateful for her. The most important in the body part of his speech was the economic crisis in which the US is the starting point and the centre of the Great Recession. Then, Biden recommended Barack Obama as the president who could bring America out of the crises. He ended the speech with a message of solidarity of the nation to overcome challenges together.

Kamala Harris' speech did, however, follow some typical conventions of formal speech. Besides traditional greetings like the other political speeches, hers quite different from others. In the introduction section, she paid tribute to the previous generations, principally female black activists and her mother, present herself through her family story. And in the body section, she condemned Trump's racist administration. Moreover, she gave good information about Joe Biden, and showed her support, then, she persuaded the Americans to vote for Joe Biden. In conclusion section, she closed her speech with a strong message of hope. Kamala Harris' speech seems surprising for this kind of political speech, and there appears to be unique.

### **4.3. Interpretation**

#### ***4.3.1. Situation context and discourse type***

According to Fairclough (2013), there are four key elements of situational context to be investigated: what's going on, who's involved, what relationships are at issue, and what's the role of language in what's going on.

In term of 'what is going on', Fairclough subdivides it into activity and topic purpose. Therefore, we defined the activity of the speech delivered at the 2020 DNC as besides acceptance nomination, informing; and the topic purpose was persuading. She aimed to announce her ideas of changing perceptions about female dedication and criticizing racism in society, then persuading to vote for Joe Biden.

Kamala's political commitments and objectives drive her to the strategy of traditional Democrats discourse, such as justice, patriotism, devotion to the people and against racism in the rhetoric of conventional forms of Democratic Party about their target of justice and compassion. Furthermore, she has the right to claim solidarity with the people on government-people relations in the hopes that they embrace their plan.

To answer the questions of 'Who's involved', we had to consider the subject positions - Kamala's position. Fairclough (2013) noted that 'subject positions are multi-dimensional', and 'different situations have different speaking and listening positions associated with them...' (p. 123). Firstly, we should consider the organization of the 2020 DNC. It was the first time in modern US history such an inaugural meeting virtually arranged. There were no screaming hordes of delegates celebrating at the DNC when the party's nominees for president and vice president make their acceptance speeches. There were no covered balloons or confetti in red, white, and blue. Despite fears about the epidemic and postal delays, Harris made an urgent call to people of all races to unite behind Joe Biden and



find a way to vote in an empty arena near Joe Biden's Delaware home. Most viewers were at home watching on television. The speaker, Kamala Harris, and the viewers had virtual interaction during the speech was given. Secondly, Kamala is the first colour woman elected as vice presidential nominee in American history.

When giving a speech takes place on radio or television, these relations become more complex, because participant contributions are likely to be affected by the audience, or hearers. Given the diverse and indeterminable composition of mass-media audiences, the speaker necessarily has to postulate, and set up a subject position for, a typified 'ideal' hearer. For the moment, it will be sufficient to say that the ideal hearer is assumed by Mrs Harris to be ordinary citizens, a member of the people. We are concerned with here is what relationship Mrs Kamala places herself in with the ordinary people as represented by the radio audience or viewers. Noticeably that the hearers are not explicit about the text at all because the ideology constituted indirectly through the way in which Mrs Harris represents the experience, beliefs, and aspirations of all of the people.

#### *\* The role of language*

For the reasons outlined in the paragraph above, we found that language played an important role in capturing the audience attention. Keeping the audience watching a political speech through the screen is extremely difficult, but Kamala did it. There are many reasons for her success, in which spoken language plays the most significant factor.

Michael and Mark (2015) asserted that the "spoken language use often informal and simple in structure with information communicated rapidly. In contrast, written language is more formal and more complex". (p. 452)

**Table 4.8: List of informal lexical items**

<b><i>Lexical items</i></b>	<b><i>Occurrences</i></b>	<b><i>Lexical items</i></b>	<b><i>Occurrences</i></b>
deal with	1	we're	4
thinking about	1	there's	2
pick up	1	isn't	3
set up	1	that's	3
better	4	you're	3
can	4	let's	5
talk about	1	gotta	2
look like	1	I've	3
pave the way	1	she's	1
we've	2	they've	1

Kamala used 19 sentence fragments (13.10%) in her utterance. According to Dan, (2000), 'A sentence fragment is not a complete sentence. It does not have both a subject and a verb.' (p.25)

In addition, Howard and William (1940) said, 'We should use sentence fragments in speech or writing only if we are certain that by doing so we shall convey our intended meanings more economically, forcefully, and clearly than by complete sentences.' (p. 105)

Furthermore, the contraction (*I've, we've...*) found in her speech makes it sound more natural and fluent. Besides, most sentences in her speech are simple sentences (42.76%) and there are only two interrogative sentences (1.38%), the left are declarative (98.62%).

We found no filler in her speech. Filler words usually annoy the audience and offer no value to the speech. Moreover, the audience can be constrained to understand, causing the speaker's credibility to be further decaying. Jan (2011) explained that 'Filler are words that do not add meaning to what you are saying,

such as um, ah, so, well, like, you know, kind of, and sort of...basically, anyway' (p. 25).

In terms of '*relations*', we look at subject positions more dynamically, 'in terms of what relationships of power, social distance, and so forth are set up and enacted in the situation' (Fairclough, 2013, p.123).

The speaker here belongs to the authority system: so she has much power to impose on the audience. However, she wants to affect the audiences' minds through her ideas and the ways she delivered them. The audience here comes from everywhere and has a different social background. The speaker may not know them and she may also predict that so that she can make her speech more understandable and paint her purpose of transmitting ideas.

About the role of language, it can be used in an instrumental way to help the speaker obtain her purpose. The language here is ideologically made up to effectively explain, inform, persuade, request, advice, and inspire people.

#### **4.3.2. *Intertextual context and presupposition***

According to Fairclough (2013, p. 129), 'the concept of intertextual context requires us to view discourse and texts from it historical perspective' and 'the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants, or *presupposed*.' (p.127). Therefore, what can be taken as a common ground for participants, or presupposed.

Kamala Harris is well-known for making history as the first woman and first Black and South Asian person to be elected as Vice President. Harris ushered in a new chapter for the United States with a speech that left many people feeling incredibly emotional. Her words resonated with millions of Americans who were following along at home. Some turned to social media to

express the absolute power of representation, and what it means to have a leader who shares their identity.

Moreover, she must have assumed that the audience must have known about this topic through the mass media and somehow have knowledge about it. Hence, at the beginning of her speech, she mentioned the many moments that led to victory. To connect the ideas from the first eighty-four line to part of inspiring to women then the blaming of Trump's leadership failure.

A political speech usually contains presuppositions, Fairclough states that 'presuppositions are not properties of texts, they are on aspect of text producers' interpretations of intertextual context' but 'presuppositions are anti in texts, by quite a considerable range of formal features' (2013, p.127). He added presuppositions are triggered in a text by a wide range of formal characteristics. The definite article and subordinate clauses are two of the most essential. WH-questions and that-clauses following specific verbs and adjectives are examples of others (regret, realize, point out, aware, angry, etc.). The ultimate goal of most presuppositions is to make a piece of information that the speaker believes appears to be what the listeners should believe (Yule, 1996, p.29)

We found that she made presupposition by using series of noun phrases in her speech such as 'Donald Trump's failure of leadership, the Great Recession, Assault Weapons Ban, The Recovery Act, our Divine 9, your child's remote learning, our current crises....' which convince the audience the existence of those issues and all are true.

Besides, she made presupposition by using the verb '*know*' and possessive construction 'Joe's' this make Joe Biden become familiar to listeners.

'I knew Joe as Vice President. I knew Joe on the campaign trail. But I first got to know Joe as the father of my friend.' 'Joe's son ...' (lines 118 -119-120)

#### **4.4. Explanation**

According to Fairclough (2013), the objective of the explanation stage is to show discourse as an element in social processes at the institutional and societal levels and show how it is ideologically determined by power relations and power struggle at these levels.

The institutional processes which this discourse belongs to are the struggle between political parties (in the media and other institutions) for political support and political power, and, more specifically, the struggle of Kamala Harris for the ascendancy of the Democratic Party; then governmental power; then the building of a new political consensus. Recall the general discussion of her speech above. The discourse of Kamala has been an important factor on the way to the White House of Joe Biden, and perhaps a good example of the capacity of discourse to the outcome of struggles, through its shaping and determining effect on ideologies.

Kamala has brought to the institutions of politics a new sort of leader who combines traditional properties of authoritativeness with a new style, and with being a black woman. In so far as she has established a strong style of leadership, she has strengthened the position of the Democratic Party and she has also strengthened the position of women; no doubt women will find it easier to hold leading political positions thanks to the ground Kamala has broken.

In the capitalist society, the dominant bloc exercises economic and political domination over the working class and other intermediate strata of the population. Harris's discourse is characterized by a relationship of containment between what is ideologically creative and what is ideologically determining, the former developing only within limits set down by the latter. Individual creativity, in discourse, is never the willful and extra-social business it is commonly portrayed

as being; there are always particular social circumstances that enable it and constrain it, and which may even partially vitiate it.

At the situational level, Senator Kamala Harris made her address accepting the nomination as the Democratic nominee for vice president of the United States at the DNC on night 3. She began her speech with a tribute to her mother and previous generations, which is always an expert affair. Her utterance may recall the acceptance speech from Barack Obama where he talked about his father. Remarkably, how her family story starts from personal promptly lead to the audience makes her credible. Besides, Harris used the phrase 'structural racism' to explain why black, Latino and indigenous people are 'suffering and dying disproportionately' from Covid-19. She called out 'the injustice in reproductive and maternal healthcare.' She concluded with a potent message and a promise for a better future. It is a secure way to craft an efficient talk.

At the social level, her speech symbolized the American dream. As the daughter of Jamaican and South Indian immigrants, she has experienced as a Bay Area prosecutor in Alameda and San Francisco counties. Harris shot to political fame as the first woman of colour to be elected San Francisco district attorney and then state attorney general. She was the second Black woman elected to the United States Senate in 2016. As a result, her thoughts reached many people.

Harris's remarkable political career highlights her biracial, multicultural roots that cannot hinder her path to the vice presidency. Mrs Harris, who served as the first black Attorney General in California, is no stranger to forging new ground in American politics. In addition, she is the second black woman elected to the United States Senate - the first was Illinois Democrat Carol Moseley Braun, who served from 1993 to 1999.

Vice president Harris is a citizen of the world, much like the other mixed-race Black person to ascend to the highest office of the U.S., former President Barack Obama. Throughout her address, Kamala Harris spoke about her personal experiences as a multiracial woman and openly embracing her identities. Harris and Biden acknowledged the people and communities who did the work to build those coalitions, and Harris specifically expressed her gratitude to Black women for their efforts because this fight is far from over.

#### **4.5. Chapter summary**

In this chapter, I have taken an overview of discourse, the relations between language and ideology, and critical discourse analysis from different scholars' viewpoints to make a background for the process of analyzing Kamala Harris' speech at the 2020 DNC. The discourse was critically analyzed using the framework suggested by Fairclough. The framework worked well, and the findings serve as the answer to the research questions. Vocabulary use, repetition, the use of the pronouns 'we, you, and I,' the use of voice, and sentence styles were among the techniques identified in Kamala's speeches. The speaker not only conveys her message to the audience but also keeps them involved in her discussions.

Through a critical analysis of the speech, it is evident that language can be a powerful instrument for transferring ideas, calling for action, and ultimately effecting change in society, even if you do not hold a position of authority like Vice President-elect Kamala Harris.

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION**

This chapter presents the recapitulation and concluding remarks. And then is a discussion of the implication and limitations of this study and conclude with suggestions for future research.

### **5.1. Recapitulation**

As previously stated, this study aims at discovering the way ideology is embedded in the speech made by vice-president elected Kamala Harris at the 2020 DNC as well as demystifying how Kamala employs linguistic devices to win public supports. In order to realize this aim, the two following research questions are proposed.

- What ideologies are conveyed by Kamala in her speech at the 2020 Democratic National Convention?
- How are those ideologies realized linguistically?

The study employs the CDA framework suggested by Fairclough (2013) with three main stages: Description, Interpretation and Explanation. The acceptance speech of Democratic vice presidential nominee Kamala Harris at the 2020 DNC was chosen for analysis. The discourse of this speech was an opportunity for Kamala Harris to present her ideologies. Through a thorough analysis based on the concerned theoretical background, the relationship between ideology and language has revealed.

We identified three ideologies in Kamala Harris' speech: The ideology of inspiration to women, ideology ties to condemning racism and ideology as a power of persuasion.

The findings support the hypothesis that the language strategy might create visions and imaginations that can alter reality and interpret it ideologically. This research goes beyond linguistic or general discourse



analysis to further discursive tactics for the relationship between language and ideology. The target of the investigation is to portray various ideological methods as inspiration, condemnation, and persuasive.

In terms of vocabulary, the discourse has a detailed classification presented by the speaker's knowledge about the dedication of women as well as challenges to their country and the speaker's efforts to protect social justice for individual Americans. To establish a good relationship with the audience whom she may not know before, she uses more informal words and common ground with the audience by sharing her personal information involving her background. The speaker so tactically includes plenty of issues in focusing failure of Donald Trump and assure the public.

Obviously, the role of her pass away mother in her victory brings an emotional atmosphere as well as illustrates the speaker's standpoints in the most comprehensive way.

The linguistic choice revealed Harris's advocacy for women, racism condemnation and persuaded the people to unite to fulfil their nation's vision of building a Beloved Community.

Grammatical characteristics such as the usage of the pronouns 'we' and 'you', and the use of voice encode the speaker's ideas. Harris uses the pronoun "I" to stress that she is prepared to deal with national concerns as long as Joe and her gain the people's consensus. Besides, the pronoun 'we' expresses her hope of solidarity among the American people in fighting for justice and equality.

Repetition is one of the appropriate means of communicating a crucial point. Kamala used multiple repetitive statements. She repeated a similar phrase at the beginning of each sentence to make a powerful impact on the minds of the audience.

Likewise, Marco-structures play an essential part in exhibiting ideologies Harris embedded in the discourse. The development of the speech is organized in the structure of inspiring women and introduce personal information and experience, then highlight the failure of the Trump administration, finally, the persuasion of election Joe Biden as the president of America.

## **5.2. Concluding Remarks**

Language is an efficient means to embed ideology. Thus, it creates significant influences upon the way people think and act. The research is conducted based on the theoretical framework suggested by Norman Fairclough. His framework in doing CDA is of great value for those taking the first steps in this field. Utilizing Fairclough's (2013) CDA framework is possible to identify impacts that probably influence in some manner the thinking and actions of voters without their awareness of it. In the form of acceptance, the vice presidential nominee speech appears to have components that might perpetuate and influence the thoughts and behaviours of the public. Controlling language, and therefore likely people minds exposes to be an efficient means to replicate domination and hegemony and is a source of concern for both voters and political parties.

Turning to CDA in general, the analysis of the speech also helps the author to figure out the benefits of CDA.

First, CDA helps people be aware of what they read or listen to and what they are going to say because language is used ideologically. In short, the language impacts the audience's belief and attitude then it can make a change in society. By analyzing the speech, we can find out the speaker's ideology.

Second, CDA helps improve language learners' linguistic competence. By doing a CDA, the language learners are not only to understand the lexical

meanings and grammatical structure on the surface of language but also to be able to grasp and explain the speaker's/ writer's choice of linguistic features. In addition, competence in CDA deepens students' understanding of the topics they read and promote an ability to investigate the manoeuvring many writers often employ in composing texts. Therefore, in teaching and learning language, we should raise students' critical thinking through explicit teaching of some techniques of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

When students become aware of the functions of language in life, they can possess a critical mind, which helps them not only reach the ability to analyze the discourses around them to realize the traces of ideologies or biases, to find what is right or but they can also gain the ability of argumentation to defend their beliefs and ideologies. Moreover, students can be aware of the nature of language and its role in human life, and the relationship between language and social context. Last but not least they can become more assertive and confident in thinking.

### **5.3. Implications**

The first implication is that CDA plays an increasingly significant role in social life, as used by mass media to disseminate information in technologically social, political, and economic situations.

When studying political speech, readers' critical awareness and attitude would be beneficial in demystifying the speaker's implication, therefore facilitating and shortening the process of understanding the discourse.

Another implication is that performing a CDA implies having the authority to make decisions about one's connection to prevailing patterns of social practice, whether or not one chooses to comply.

The general grasp of critical language analysis and the ideology buried in the language may significantly contribute to a better informed, conscious awareness of the social order's reality, which lead to a more equitable society. Furthermore, as previously said, one of my goals in doing this research is to find some practical applications of CDA in English teaching and language education in general.

#### **5.4. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies**

The study serves as the initial exploration of the researcher in CDA of political speeches. Hence, limitations of the study are unavoidable, especially unavoidable subjectivity mentioned previously. Because of the limited time and proficiency, the study focuses only on some textual features of the speech, and many potential aspects of the utterance remain undercover.

For a thorough comprehension of the relationship between language and ideology, further studies on power hidden in speech are required.

Furthermore, the researchers also can seek analysis of two speeches on the same issue, at the same time, but made by two different speakers to find out similarities and differences in the way ideology is revealed. Other textual features of speech, such as transitivity and thematization, and nonverbal cues should be accounted for.

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## APPENDIX 1: Kamala Harris' Speech at the 2020 DNC

1	Greetings America.
2	It is truly an honor to be speaking with you.
3	That I am here tonight is a testament to the dedication of generations
4	before me. Women and men who believed so fiercely in the promise
5	of equality, liberty, and justice for all.
6	This week marks the 100th anniversary of the passage of the 19th
7	amendment. And we celebrate the women who fought for that right.
8	Yet so many of the Black women, who helped secure that victory, were
9	still prohibited from voting, long after its ratification.
10	But they were undeterred.
11	Without fanfare or recognition, they organized, testified, rallied,
12	marched, and fought - not just for their vote, but for a seat at the table.
13	These women and the generations that followed worked to make
14	democracy and opportunity real in the lives of all of us who followed.
15	They paved the way for the trailblazing leadership of Barack Obama
16	and Hillary Clinton.
17	And these women inspired us to pick up the torch, and fight on.
18	Women like Mary Church Terrell and Mary McCleod Bethune. Fannie
19	Lou Hamer and Diane Nash. Constance Baker Motley and Shirley
20	Chisholm.
21	We're not often taught their stories. But as Americans, we all stand on
22	their shoulders.
23	There's another woman, whose name isn't known, whose story isn't
24	shared. Another woman whose shoulders I stand on. And that's my
25	mother - Shyamala Gopalan Harris.
26	She came here from India at age 19 to pursue her dream of curing

27	cancer. At the University of California Berkeley, she met my father,
28	Donald Harris - who had come from Jamaica to study economics.
29	They fell in love in that most American way - while marching together
30	for justice in the civil rights movement of the 1960s.
31	In the streets of Oakland and Berkeley, I got a stroller's-eye view of
32	people getting into what the great John Lewis called 'good trouble.'
33	When I was 5, my parents split and my mother raised us mostly on her
34	own. Like so many mothers, she worked around the clock to make it
35	work - packing lunches before we woke up - and paying bills after we
36	went to bed. Helping us with homework at the kitchen table - and
37	shuttling us to church for choir practice.
38	She made it look easy, though I know it never was.
39	My mother instilled in my sister, Maya, and me the values that would
40	chart the course of our lives.
41	She raised us to be proud, strong Black women. And she raised us to
42	know and be proud of our Indian heritage.
43	She taught us to put family first - the family you're born into and the
44	family you choose.
45	Family, is my husband Doug, who I met on a blind date set up by my
46	best friend. Family is our beautiful children, Cole and Ella, who as you
47	just heard, call me Momala. Family is my sister. Family is my best
48	friend, my nieces and my godchildren. Family is my uncles, my aunts
49	- my chitthis. Family is Mrs. Shelton - my second mother who lived
50	two doors down and helped raise me. Family is my beloved Alpha
51	Kappa Alpha...our Divine 9...and my HBCU brothers and sisters.
52	Family is the friends I turned to when my mother - the most important
53	person in my life - passed away from cancer.

54	And even as she taught us to keep our family at the center of our world,
55	she also pushed us to see a world beyond ourselves.
56	She taught us to be conscious and compassionate about the struggles
57	of all people. To believe public service is a noble cause and the fight
58	for justice is a shared responsibility.
59	That led me to become a lawyer, a District Attorney, Attorney General,
60	and a United States Senator.
61	And at every step of the way, I've been guided by the words I spoke from
62	the first time I stood in a courtroom: Kamala Harris, For the People.
63	I've fought for children, and survivors of sexual assault. I've fought
64	against transnational gangs. I took on the biggest banks, and helped
65	take down one of the biggest for-profit colleges.
66	I know a predator when I see one.
67	My mother taught me that service to others gives life purpose and
68	meaning. And oh, how I wish she were here tonight but I know she's
69	looking down on me from above. I keep thinking about that 25-year-
70	old Indian woman - all of five feet tall - who gave birth to me at Kaiser
71	Hospital in Oakland, California.
72	On that day, she probably could have never imagined that I would be
73	standing before you now speaking these words: I accept your
74	nomination for Vice President of the United States of America.
75	I do so, committed to the values she taught me. To the Word that
76	teaches me to walk by faith, and not by sight. And to a vision passed
77	on through generations of Americans - one that Joe Biden shares. A
78	vision of our nation as a Beloved Community - where all are welcome,
79	no matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we love.
80	A country where we may not agree on every detail, but we are united

81	by the fundamental belief that every human being is of infinite worth,
82	deserving of compassion, dignity and respect.
83	A country where we look out for one another, where we rise and fall as
84	one, where we face our challenges, and celebrate our triumphs -together.
85	Today... that country feels distant.
86	Donald Trump's failure of leadership has cost lives and livelihoods.
87	If you're a parent struggling with your child's remote learning, or you're
88	a teacher struggling on the other side of that screen, you know that what
89	we're doing right now isn't working.
90	And we are a nation that's grieving. Grieving the loss of life, the loss
91	of jobs, the loss of opportunities, the loss of normalcy. And yes, the
92	loss of certainty.
93	And while this virus touches us all, let's be honest, it is not an equal
94	opportunity offender. Black, Latino and Indigenous people are
95	suffering and dying disproportionately.
96	This is not a coincidence. It is the effect of structural racism.
97	Of inequities in education and technology, health care and housing, job
98	security and transportation.
99	The injustice in reproductive and maternal health care. In the excessive
100	use of force by police. And in our broader criminal justice system.
101	This virus has no eyes, and yet it knows exactly how we see each other
102	- and how we treat each other.
103	And let's be clear - there is no vaccine for racism. We've gotta do the work.
104	For George Floyd. For Breonna Taylor. For the lives of too many
105	others to name. For our children. For all of us.
106	We've gotta do the work to fulfill that promise of equal justice under
107	law. Because, none of us are free...until all of us are free...

108	We're at an inflection point.
109	The constant chaos leaves us adrift. The incompetence makes us feel
110	afraid. The callousness makes us feel alone.
111	It's a lot.
112	And here's the thing: We can do better and deserve so much more.
113	We must elect a president who will bring something different,
114	something better, and do the important work. A president who will
115	bring all of us together - Black, White, Latino, Asian, Indigenous—to
116	achieve the future we collectively want.
117	We must elect Joe Biden.
118	I knew Joe as Vice President. I knew Joe on the campaign trail. But I
119	first got to know Joe as the father of my friend.
120	Joe's son, Beau, and I served as Attorneys General of our states,
121	Delaware and California. During the Great Recession, we spoke on the
122	phone nearly every day, working together to win back billions of dollars
123	for homeowners from the big banks that foreclosed on people's homes.
124	And Beau and I would talk about his family.
125	How, as a single father, Joe would spend 4 hours every day riding the
126	train back and forth from Wilmington to Washington. Beau and Hunter
127	got to have breakfast every morning with their dad. They went to sleep
128	every night with the sound of his voice reading bedtime stories. And
129	while they endured an unspeakable loss, these two little boys always
130	knew that they were deeply, unconditionally loved.
131	And what also moved me about Joe is the work he did, as he went back
132	and forth. This is the leader who wrote the Violence Against Women
133	Act-and enacted the Assault Weapons Ban. Who, as Vice President,
134	implemented The Recovery Act, which brought our country back from



135	The Great Recession. He championed The Affordable Care Act,
136	protecting millions of Americans with pre-existing conditions. Who
137	spent decades promoting American values and interests around the
138	world, standing up with our allies and standing up to our adversaries.
139	Right now, we have a president who turns our tragedies into political
140	weapons.
141	Joe will be a president who turns our challenges into purpose.
142	Joe will bring us together to build an economy that doesn't leave
143	anyone behind. Where a good-paying job is the floor, not the ceiling.
144	Joe will bring us together to end this pandemic and make sure that we
145	are prepared for the next one.
146	Joe will bring us together to squarely face and dismantle racial
147	injustice, furthering the work of generations.
148	Joe and I believe that we can build that Beloved Community, one that is
149	strong and decent, just and kind. One in which we all can see ourselves.
150	That's the vision that our parents and grandparents fought for. The
151	vision that made my own life possible. The vision that makes the
152	American promise - for all its complexities and imperfections - a
153	promise worth fighting for.
154	Make no mistake, the road ahead will not be not easy. We will stumble.
155	We may fall short. But I pledge to you that we will act boldly and deal
156	with our challenges honestly. We will speak truths. And we will act
157	with the same faith in you that we ask you to place in us.
158	We believe that our country - all of us, will stand together for a better
159	future. We already are.
160	We see it in the doctors, the nurses, the home health care workers and
161	the frontline workers who are risking their lives to save people they've

162	never met.
163	We see it in the teachers and truck drivers, the factory workers and
164	farmers, the postal workers and the Poll workers, all putting their own
165	safety on the line to help us get through this pandemic.
166	And we see it in so many of you who are working, not just to get us
167	through our current crises, but to somewhere better.
168	There's something happening, all across the country.
196	It's not about Joe or me.
197	It's about you.
198	It's about us. People of all ages and colors and creeds who are, yes,
199	taking to the streets, and also persuading our family members, rallying
200	our friends, organizing our neighbors, and getting out the vote.
201	And we've shown that, when we vote, we expand access to health care,
202	expand access to the ballot box, and ensure that more working families
203	can make a decent living.
204	I'm inspired by a new generation of leadership. You are pushing us to
205	realize the ideals of our nation, pushing us to live the values we share:
206	decency and fairness, justice and love.
207	You are the patriots who remind us that to love our country is to fight
208	for the ideals of our country.
209	In this election, we have a chance to change the course of history. We're
210	all in this fight.
211	You, me, and Joe - together.
212	What an awesome responsibility. What an awesome privilege.
213	So, let's fight with conviction. Let's fight with hope. Let's fight with
214	confidence in ourselves, and a commitment to each other. To the
215	America we know is possible. The America, we love.

216	Years from now, this moment will have passed. And our children and
217	our grandchildren will look in our eyes and ask us: Where were you
218	when the stakes were so high?
219	They will ask us, what was it like?
220	And we will tell them. We will tell them, not just how we felt.
221	We will tell them what we did.
222	Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of
223	America.

## APPENDIX 2: Types of Sentence Structures

<i>No.</i>	<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Type</i>
1	Greetings America.	Fragment
2	It is truly an honor to be speaking with you.	Simple
3	That I am here tonight is a testament to the dedication of generations before me.	Complex
4	Women and men who believed so fiercely in the promise of equality, liberty, and justice for all.	Fragment
5	This week marks the 100th anniversary of the passage of the 19th amendment.	Simple
6	And we celebrate the women who fought for that right.	Complex
7	Yet so many of the Black women, who helped secure that victory, were still prohibited from voting, long after its ratification.	Complex
8	But they were undeterred.	Simple
9	Without fanfare or recognition, they organized, testified, rallied, marched, and fought - not just for their vote, but for a seat at the table.	Simple
10	These women and the generations that followed worked to make democracy and opportunity real in the lives of all of us who followed.	Complex
11	They paved the way for the trailblazing leadership of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.	Simple
12	And these women inspired us to pick up the torch, and fight on.	Simple

13	Women like Mary Church Terrell and Mary McCleod Bethune. Fannie Lou Hamer and Diane Nash. Constance Baker Motley and Shirley Chisholm.	Fragment
14	We're not often taught their stories.	Simple
15	But as Americans, we all stand on their shoulders.	Simple
16	There's another woman, whose name isn't known, whose story isn't shared.	Complex
17	Another woman whose shoulders I stand on.	Fragment
18	And that's my mother - Shyamala Gopalan Harris.	Simple
19	She came here from India at age 19 to pursue her dream of curing cancer.	Simple
20	At the University of California Berkeley, she met my father, Donald Harris - who had come from Jamaica to study economics.	Complex
21	They fell in love in that most American way - while marching together for justice in the civil rights movement of the 1960s.	Simple
22	In the streets of Oakland and Berkeley, I got a stroller's-eye view of people getting into what the great John Lewis called 'good trouble.'	Complex
23	When I was 5, my parents split and my mother raised us mostly on her own.	Compound -Complex
24	Like so many mothers, she worked around the clock to make it work - packing lunches before we woke up - and paying bills after we went to bed. Helping us with	Complex

	homework at the kitchen table - and shuttling us to church for choir practice.	
25	She made it look easy, though I know it never was.	Complex
26	My mother instilled in my sister, Maya, and me the values that would chart the course of our lives.	Complex
27	She raised us to be proud, strong Black women.	Simple
28	And she raised us to know and be proud of our Indian heritage.	Simple
29	She taught us to put family first	Simple
30	the family you're born into and the family you choose.	Compound
31	Family, is my husband Doug, who I met on a blind date set up by my best friend.	Complex
32	Family is our beautiful children, Cole and Ella, who as you just heard, call me Momala. Family is my sister..	Complex
33	Family is my best friend, my nieces and my godchildren.	Simple
34	Family is my uncles, my aunts - my chitthis.	Simple
35	Family is Mrs. Shelton my second mother who lived two doors down and helped raise me.	Complex
36	Family is my beloved Alpha Kappa Alpha...our Divine 9...and my HBCU brothers and sisters.	Simple
37	Family is the friends I turned to when my mother - the most important person in my life - passed away from cancer.	Complex
38	And even as she taught us to keep our family at the center of our world, she also pushed us to see a world beyond ourselves.	Complex

39	She taught us to be conscious and compassionate about the struggles of all people.	Simple
40	To believe public service is a noble cause and the fight for justice is a shared responsibility.	Compound -Complex
41	That led me to become a lawyer, a District Attorney, Attorney General, and a United States Senator.	Simple
42	And at every step of the way, I've been guided by the words I spoke from the first time I stood in a courtroom: Kamala Harris, For the People.	Complex
43	I've fought for children, and survivors of sexual assault.	Simple
44	I've fought against transnational gangs.	Simple
45	I took on the biggest banks, and helped take down one of the biggest for-profit colleges.	Simple
46	I know a predator when I see one.	Complex
47	My mother taught me that service to others gives life purpose and meaning.	
48	And oh, how I wish she were here tonight but I know she's looking down on me from above.	Complex
49	I keep thinking about that 25-year-old Indian woman - all of five feet tall - who gave birth to me at Kaiser Hospital in Oakland, California.	Complex
50	On that day, she probably could have never imagined that I would be standing before you now speaking these words: I accept your nomination for Vice President of the United States of America.	Complex
51	I do so, committed to the values she taught me.	Complex

52	To the Word that teaches me to walk by faith, and not by sight.	Fragment
53	And to a vision passed on through generations of Americans - one that Joe Biden shares.	Fragment
54	A vision of our nation as a Beloved Community - where all are welcome, no matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we love.	Fragment
55	A country where we may not agree on every detail, but we are united by the fundamental belief that every human being is of infinite worth, deserving of compassion, dignity and respect.	Fragment
56	A country where we look out for one another, where we rise and fall as one, where we face our challenges, and celebrate our triumphs -together.	Fragment
57	Today... that country feels distant.	Simple
58	Donald Trump's failure of leadership has cost lives and livelihoods.	Simple
59	If you're a parent struggling with your child's remote learning, or you're a teacher struggling on the other side of that screen, you know that what we're doing right now isn't working.	Compound -Complex
60	And we are a nation that's grieving. Grieving the loss of life, the loss of jobs, the loss of opportunities, the loss of normalcy.	Complex
61	And yes, the loss of certainty.	Fragment



62	And while this virus touches us all, let's be honest, it is not an equal opportunity offender.	
63	Black, Latino and Indigenous people are suffering and dying disproportionately.	Simple
64	This is not a coincidence.	Simple
65	It is the effect of structural racism. Of inequities in education and technology, health care and housing, job security and transportation. The injustice in reproductive and maternal health care. In the excessive use of force by police. And in our broader criminal justice system.	Compound
66	This virus has no eyes, and yet it knows exactly how we see each other - and how we treat each other.	Compound -Complex
67	And let's be clear - there is no vaccine for racism.	Complex
68	We've gotta do the work.	Simple
69	For George Floyd. For Breonna Taylor. For the lives of too many others to name. For our children. For all of us.	Fragment
70	We've gotta do the work to fulfill that promise of equal justice under law.	Simple
71	Because, none of us are free...until all of us are free...	Complex
72	We're at an inflection point.	Simple
73	The constant chaos leaves us adrift.	Simple
74	The incompetence makes us feel afraid.	Simple
75	The callousness makes us feel alone.	Simple
76	It's a lot.	Simple
77	And here's the thing: We can do better and deserve so much more.	Complex

78	We must elect a president who will bring something different, something better, and do the important work.	Complex
79	A president who will bring all of us together - Black, White, Latino, Asian, Indigenous—to achieve the future we collectively want.	Fragment
80	We must elect Joe Biden.	Simple
81	I knew Joe as Vice President.	Simple
82	I knew Joe on the campaign trail.	Simple
83	But I first got to know Joe as the father of my friend.	Simple
84	Joe's son, Beau, and I served as Attorneys General of our states, Delaware and California.	Fragment
85	During the Great Recession, we spoke on the phone nearly every day, working together to win back billions of dollars for homeowners from the big banks that foreclosed on people's homes.	Complex
86	And Beau and I would talk about his family.	Simple
87	How, as a single father, Joe would spend 4 hours every day riding the train back and forth from Wilmington to Washington.	Complex
88	Beau and Hunter got to have breakfast every morning with their dad.	Simple
89	They went to sleep every night with the sound of his voice reading bedtime stories.	Simple
90	And while they endured an unspeakable loss, these two little boys always knew that they were deeply, unconditionally loved.	Complex

91	And what also moved me about Joe is the work he did, as he went back and forth.	Complex
92	This is the leader who wrote the Violence Against Women Act-and enacted the Assault Weapons Ban. Who, as Vice President, implemented The Recovery Act, which brought our country back from The Great Recession.	Complex
93	He championed The Affordable Care Act, protecting millions of Americans with pre-existing conditions.	Complex
94	Who spent decades promoting American values and interests around the world, standing up with our allies and standing up to our adversaries.	Fragment
95	Right now, we have a president who turns our tragedies into political weapons.	Complex
96	Joe will be a president who turns our challenges into purpose.	Complex
97	Joe will bring us together to build an economy that doesn't leave anyone behind. Where a good-paying job is the floor, not the ceiling.	Complex
98	Joe will bring us together to end this pandemic and make sure that we are prepared for the next one.	Complex
99	Joe will bring us together to squarely face and dismantle racial injustice, furthering the work of generations.	Simple
100	Joe and I believe that we can build that Beloved Community, one that is strong and decent, just and kind.	Complex
101	One in which we all can see ourselves.	Fragment

102	That's the vision that our parents and grandparents fought for.	Complex
103	The vision that made my own life possible.	Complex
104	The vision that makes the American promise - for all its complexities and imperfections - a promise worth fighting for.	Fragment
105	Make no mistake, the road ahead will not be not easy.	Simple
106	We will stumble.	Simple
107	We may fall short.	Simple
108	But I pledge to you that we will act boldly and deal with our challenges honestly.s.	Complex
109	We will speak truths.	Simple
110	And we will act with the same faith in you that we ask you to place in us.	Complex
111	We believe that our country - all of us, will stand together for a better future.	Complex
112	We already are.	Simple
113	We see it in the doctors, the nurses, the home health care workers and the frontline workers who are risking their lives to save people they've never met.	Complex
114	We see it in the teachers and truck drivers, the factory workers and farmers, the postal workers and the Poll workers, all putting their own safety on the line to help us get through this pandemic.	Complex

115	And we see it in so many of you who are working, not just to get us through our current crises, but to somewhere better.	Complex
116	There's something happening, all across the country.	Simple
117	It's not about Joe or me.	Simple
118	It's about you.	Simple
119	It's about us.	Simple
120	People of all ages and colors and creeds who are, yes, taking to the streets, and also persuading our family members, rallying our friends, organizing our neighbors, and getting out the vote.	Complex
121	And we've shown that, when we vote, we expand access to health care, expand access to the ballot box, and ensure that more working families can make a decent living.	Complex
122	I'm inspired by a new generation of leadership.	Simple
123	You are pushing us to realize the ideals of our nation, pushing us to live the values we share: decency and fairness, justice and love.	Complex
124	You are the patriots who remind us that to love our country is to fight for the ideals of our country.	Complex
125	In this election, we have a chance to change the course of history.	Simple
126	We're all in this fight.	Simple
127	You, me, and Joe - together.	Fragment
128	What an awesome responsibility.	Fragment
129	What an awesome privilege.	Fragment

130	So, let's fight with conviction.	Imparative
131	Let's fight with hope.	Imparative
132	Let's fight with confidence in ourselves, and a commitment to each other.	Imparative
133	To the America we know is possible.	Simple
134	The America, we love.	Simple
135	Years from now, this moment will have passed.	Simple
136	And our children and our grandchildren will look in our eyes and ask us:	Simple
137	Where were you when the stakes were so high?	Interogative
138	They will ask us	Simple
139	what was it like?	Interogative
140	And we will tell them.	Simple
141	We will tell them, not just how we felt.	Complex
142	We will tell them what we did.	Complex
143	Thank you.	Simple
144	God bless you.	Simple
145	And God bless the United States of America.	Simple