Univerza v Mariboru
Filozofska fakulteta
Oddelek za anglistiko in amerikanistiko

Natalija Kocijan

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN INAUGURAL SPEECHES

MAGISTRSKO DELO

Maribor, marec 2012
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Mentorica: red. prof. dr. Nada Šabec

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PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA AMERIŠKIH INAGURALNIH GOVOROV

MAGISTRSKO DELO

Mentorica: red. prof. dr. Nada Šabec

Maribor, marec 2012
Magistrsko delo je nastalo na Oddelku za anglistiko in amerikanistiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Mariboru s sofinanciranjem Ministrstva za visoko školstvo, znanost in tehnologijo.
Writing a thesis is an enormous undertaking and above all, I would like to thank my knowledgeable and persistent thesis mentor Dr. Nada Šabec. Thank you for inspiring me to do better, keeping me motivated and teaching me so much about the English language.

There are many people who have helped me on my journey. I appreciate all the wonderful people who have supported me in reaching this point in my life.
Abstract

The thesis analyzes nine American Inaugural addresses delivered in the period from 1789 to 2009 from phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic perspectives.

Belonging to the genre of presidential rhetoric, Inaugural addresses are a fusion of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. The structure of the Inaugural addresses is not fixed, though some elements at the beginning and at the end of the addresses are firm in their position. The content corresponds to the context of the speech.

The nine Inaugurals share similar features and similar strategies. Certain stylistic and linguistic elements such as repetitions, parallelisms, metaphors, contrasts, three-part lists and sound patterns recur. Ethos, logos, pathos have been used consistently throughout time regardless of historical, social and cultural circumstances. The persuasive strategies utilized overlap and support the main message and theme.

Inaugurals emphasize particular social, political and economic challenges. Thus they reflect certain period of time. The presidential persona is enacted appropriately through the address. Therefore, each address is somehow unique.

The general complexity of the Inaugurals has decreased and the style has gradually become more communicative. The Inaugurals have changed from being formal and indirect to less formal and less complex, which is in line with the intention of the presidents to convey their message to broader masses.

Key words: inaugural addresses, stylistic analysis, presidential rhetoric, means of persuasion, figures of speech

UDK: ______________________________
Povzetek


Ključne besede: inavguralni govor, stilistična analiza, predsedniška retorika, retorične figure, sredstva retoričnega prepričevanja

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1. Introduction

Some Presidential quotes, such as "...and so my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country" (Kennedy, 1961), still capture our attention. So does the language of politicians in general. It is fascinating how Presidents manage to unite and inspire people through their use of rhetoric, even in times of hardship. Rhetoric is a tool for exercising their Presidency. Through their speeches, Presidents can maintain or lose their power.

This thesis focuses on Inaugural speeches delivered by U.S. Presidents at the beginning of their term of office. The Inaugural address is the first speech delivered by the U.S. President and it outlines the intended course of the new Administration. The President has just been elected, thus he does not have to fight for votes and for the first time the President is not speaking for himself, he speaks for his people (Trosborg, 2000: 139). The speech describes the national conditions of the time and proposes an agenda for further political action. The citizens often focus on the Inaugural address in order to gain a sense of the tone the President will set for the Administration and the nation (Mio et al., 2005: 287-94). The Inauguration allows the President to anticipate his place in history.

The Inaugural address is a part of the American institutional ritual of the Inauguration carried out every four years. It is a legal and commemorative ritual. However, the Constitution of the United States does not stipulate, in explicit terms, that the newly elected President must deliver an Inaugural address.

1.1 Review of literature

The literature regarding Inaugural addresses is extensive. McDiarmid (1937) studied the "official vocabulary" of the United States in the Inaugural addresses from 1789 to 1937, whereby he systematically categorized words and phrases into four groups.

In 1965 Kittler described each Presidential Inauguration day against a background, the state of the country and the reactions of friends and political rivals. Campbell & Jamieson, 1985; Ericson, 1997; Beasley, 2001 examined Inaugural addresses to identify themes that pervade Inaugural addresses. Campbell & Jamieson (1990) explored the relationship between the mass media and politics. Korzi (2004) examined Inaugural addresses to gain a perspective on the changing relationship between the people and the Presidency throughout American political history. Kinnier et. al (2004) examined the values extolled in the Inaugural addresses. Stein (1997) analyzed how the dynamics of the tone of Inaugural addresses changed over time and categorized the Inaugurals into three distinct phases: 1.) Washington through Buchanan, the modest, classic public servant; 2.) Lincoln through Taft, the prosaic government executive; and 3.) Wilson to present, assertive, theatrical, leader-preacher.
Scholars from various fields have analyzed what Inaugural addresses reveal about the Presidents and whether they are predictive of Presidential behavior (Whissell & Sigelman, 2001). Chester, 1998; Hinckley, 1990; Ryan, 1993; Tulis, 1987 used Inaugurals to demonstrate how the political system has changed over time. Lim (2002) identified and explored five significant changes in 20th century Presidential rhetoric. He used the corpora of U.S. Inaugural addresses and State of the Union addresses to identify rhetorical change in Presidential speeches. He argued that Presidential speeches have become more anti-intellectual, as well as more abstract, democratic, assertive, and conversational. Kowal et al. [1997] examined the interaction between literacy and orality in Presidential speeches. Charteris-Black [2004, 2005] examined the use of metaphor and rhetorical devices in U.S. Presidential speeches. The style of Inaugural addresses was analyzed using statistical information or quantitative descriptions by Kowal et al., 1996; Miller & Stiles, 1986; Whissell, 1998. Literary style in Inaugural addresses was examined by Hart, 1984; McDevitt, 1986; Sigelman, 1996.

Particular Inaugurals have been analyzed from the rhetorical perspective, e.g., Kennedy's (Muller, 1993; Wolfarth, 1961) and both of Reagan's (Schulz, 1993; Chester,1981). Bellah (2005) identified the Presidential Inaugural address as a central ritual of American civil religion using President Kennedy’s to demonstrate the themes and presentation of America’s national religious thought and myth. Bellah focused on the religious aspect and tone.

1.2 The purpose of the paper

Scholars from many different fields have examined Inaugural addresses, be it from political science, history or communication perspectives. So why not analyze them from a linguistic perspective?

Unlike the previous studies that included the extensive corpus, this paper examines only nine selected speeches, yet they are examined from numerous different perspectives – phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic. The paper does not focus merely on analysis of one aspect within each Inaugural.

Each Inaugural will be framed within the historical, political and cultural context of the time period. Three Aristotelian means of persuasion - appeals to ethos, logos and pathos - will be examined within each Inaugural address. An in-depth look into the linguistic aspects of each Inaugural will be undertaken.

The focus of my attention will be on the use of rhetorical devices, diction and syntax within a particular Inaugural address and the way in which they produce certain effects and evoke certain responses. Vocabulary will be explored from
different perspectives. Figures of speech, as used in each individual address, will be presented. Metaphors will be examined.

The comparative analysis part will examine themes, strategies and the appeal of each Inaugural address. It will be shown how each of the nine Presidents presented himself through the address and how America and its people were described. The length of the speeches will be presented. The use of pronouns, tenses, passive verb forms, contracted and imperative verb forms will be analyzed. Modality and expressions of epistemic modality will be considered. Religious references will be explored. Intertextuality will be reviewed. Discourse markers will be dealt with.

Some other research questions the paper addresses are:

*What is the structure of Presidential Inaugural addresses?*
*How does the President stir up emotions and set the proper atmosphere?*
*What themes are covered in the Inaugurals? Are there any themes that recur throughout history?*
*What are the most frequently discussed issues?*
*What values are promoted?*
*Has the Presidential Inaugural rhetoric from Washington to Obama been progressing or deteriorating?*
*Have the Inaugurals become more complicated or simplified?*
*Have long, subordinate sentences been replaced with shorter ones? Has the syntactic complexity changed?*
*How have the American Inaugural addresses changed in style, approach, and delivery over their history?*
*Have Inaugural addresses become more oriented toward ordinary citizens?*

I hope that I will gain insight into American culture by examining this genre of political speeches. Analyzing Inaugural addresses can contribute to my understanding of American rhetorical heritage, American culture and the values of American people.

Hopefully, the answers provided by the thesis bring insight into the understanding of American Presidential Inaugurals and stimulate further discussion on Inaugurals in general. The study might lead to a better appreciation of American Presidential speeches and can benefit Slovene-American intercultural communication.

### 1.3 The Corpus

The corpus of this thesis is not extensive. The Presidents whose first Inaugural addresses I intend to study are: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham
Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Ronald Wilson Reagan, William Jefferson Clinton, George Walker Bush and Barack Hussein Obama. The reason I chose American Presidents and their Inaugural addresses lies in the fact that the tradition of Presidential Inaugural address in the United States is well established, thus making it more interesting to analyze. The fact that these are the first Inaugurals in their Presidential career makes them suitable for comparison and analysis. Another reason is that all nine Presidents are labelled as charismatic Presidents. It has been suggested that the President needs rhetorical eloquence to be considered charismatic. (Conger, 1989).

It was only logical to start the analysis with George Washington's Inaugural speech since he set the 'prototype' for the American tradition of Presidential oratory and to conclude it with Barack Obama, the current American President. From George Washington to Barack Obama, the addresses should indicate the direction of the American nation from its earliest days to the present.

2. Methodology
The texts selected for this study are available for downloading from internet sites.

Delivering speeches is one of the important functions of the modern American President.¹ The circumstances, purpose, form, content and effect of Presidential speeches vary widely, as do the methods for analyzing them.

Each address will be analyzed stylistically. The term “style”, as used in this paper, refers to the way language is used in a given context (the context within which a particular address is delivered), by a given person (the particular President-elect of the USA), for a given purpose (for celebrating the commencement of the term of Presidency) following Leech & Short (1984:10 -11). The whole idea is to capture the content/matter and the form/manner of each individual address. The inquiry into the choice of form relies selectively on Leech and Short’s checklist of linguistic and stylistic categories such as: lexical categories, grammatical categories, figures of speech, and context and cohesion (Leech & Short, 1984:74 -118).

¹ It has to be mentioned that the President does not necessarily compose his speeches. We talk about the elaborate speechwriting process in several steps. (Muir, 2003) Starting with George Washington’s farewell address, which was drafted by James Madison with ideas added by Alexander Hamilton, many Presidents have sought advice on speeches. Judson Welliver, “literary clerk” during the Harding administration, from 1921 to 1923, is generally considered the first Presidential speechwriter in the modern sense - someone whose job is to help compose speeches. Emmet J. Hughes, who wrote speeches for President Dwight D. Eisenhower during the first year of his first term was the first staffer to officially be called “speechwriter.” (Schlesinger, R. 2008)
Style is often aligned with pathos since it is often employed to persuade through emotional appeals. However, style has just as much to do with ethos, for one establishes style or mitigates authority and credibility. Furthermore, style is very much part of the logos appeal, especially considering the fact that schemes of repetition serve to produce coherence and clarity, obvious attributes of the appeal to reason. Style also concerns the choices one makes of tropes and schemes.

In addition, selected theories from Aristotle’s *Classical Rhetoric* will be used, because they provide an opportunity to make a relatively detailed analysis of the address. Even though Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is an ancient theory, it is still applicable to modern political communication. Classical rhetoric’s three appeal forms *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* will be explained and utilized in the analysis. The rhetorical devices were mostly retrieved through personal search since the retrieval of these relies on the recognition of metaphorical language use and its interpretation. The genre theory by Campbell and Jamieson will be the foundation for the analysis of themes and strategies.

The paper combines a quantitative and qualitative analysis of Presidential Inaugural addresses. Qualitative analysis is concerned with a complete and detailed description and interpretation of each Inaugural address, whereas quantitative analysis covers the frequency of linguistic features occurring in the addresses.

The data was partly retrieved through manual search and by using the functions of Microsoft Office Word.

### 2.1 Hypotheses

The aim of the thesis is to confirm or refute the following hypotheses:

- Though created for the same purpose and delivered by the official persona, it is assumed that the Inaugural address delivered in 1789 somehow differs from the one delivered in 2009. Yet, it is hypothesized that all nine Inaugural addresses share some similar features.
- The means of persuasion must have changed as the audience naturally outgrows certain values, opinions or beliefs and forces the speaker to employ new persuasion strategies.
- Presumably, some of the appeals towards conscience, morals and ethics have stayed more or less constantly present over time. I hypothesize that ethos, logos and pathos have kept a consistent presence in the addresses throughout time. The same hypothesis goes for the presence of figures of speech.
- Final hypothesis supposes that the style of the Inaugurals has changed from highly elaborate and complex to simple and conversational.
2.2 The limitations of the paper

A bigger corpus might provide more deeply layered and quantitative conclusions. Apart from that, the thesis deals with the content of the nine Inaugural addresses and therefore utilizes only three of the five canons of classical rhetoric\(^2\), *dispositio* (composition, structuring of ideas), *elocutio* (linguistic presentation, style) and *actio* (presentation, delivery). The two other canons – *inventio*, and *memoria* – are almost intact since they do not significantly apply to the paper. Both *dispositio* and *elocutio* deal with the written content of the speech, which is why they are essential in an analysis of Inaugural address and will be given the most attention. Regarding *elocutio*, the main focus will be on the fourth speech virtue *ornatus* because it deals with the choice of words and rhetorical strategies.

\(^2\) When analyzing a speech, classical rhetoric uses five basic canons called *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio* and *memoria*. *Inventio* is about finding material for the speech and coming up with ideas. *Dispositio* consists of ordering the ideas and thoughts from *inventio*. *Elocutio* means style and deals with how to express the thoughts succinctly. *Memoria* is about the techniques to memorize the speech and *actio* deals with the presentation of the speech, the use of voice and body language.
3. Rhetoric

Rhetoric has been an a field of study for more than 2,500 years. The origins of rhetoric, as a distinct art, can be traced back to before 467 BC when Corax of Sicily wrote the handbook *Techne*, which taught citizens how to speak in a courtroom environment (Brent & Stewart, 1998; Ryan, 1995). Aristotle, as well as other scholars, for instance Plato and Sophocles, further developed Corax’s ideas and rhetoric became a widely studied field. (Brent & Stewart, 1998; Black, 1993). Yet, it must be pointed out, rhetoric was not created by one person with a single stroke but was continuously evolving. The following statement by Enos supports the argument, “Rhetoric did not originate at a single moment in history. Rather, it was an evolving, developing consciousness about the relationship between thought and expression” (Enos, 1993: ix).

The Old Romans followed in the footsteps of the Greeks, and they too became skilled speakers. They developed and adapted rhetoric according to their needs. (Cassirer, 1997:51-2). Among the famous Roman rhetoricians were Cicero and Quintilian.

Since the ancient Greeks, rhetoric has become a sought-after skill associated with politics and government. It is intertwined with many fields, for instance politics, media studies, philosophy, education, linguistics and literary studies, with the aim of convincing, pleasing, actuating and stimulating the audience.

Rhetoric is commonly defined as the art of speaking, the “*ars bene dicendi*” and is a discipline that deals with the use of written or spoken language that informs, persuades or motivates an audience. However, this is a very broad definition of rhetoric and there are some narrower ones as it follows.

Plato defined rhetoric as the "*art of enchanting the soul*”. (Plato, 360 B.C.: 135) In *Rhetoric* (translated by W.R. Roberts, 1954, 1984; G.A. Kennedy, 1991), the most significant treatment of the subject and the masterpiece from antiquity to present times, Aristotle described rhetoric as an ability for seeing the available means of persuasion. He defined it as “The faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion.” (Roberts, 1984: 24) Rhetoric was perceived as the art of persuasion associated with the philosophical, political and ethical domains. He believes that a person needs rhetorical knowledge to be able to capture attention and to convince the audience. However, it can not be claimed that the rhetorician will be able to convince under all circumstances. Aristotle believed that a rhetorician should be able to offer a viewpoint that is morally

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1. The art of speaking well in public (Quintilian)
2. The *Rhetoric* is comprised of three books combining sophistic Platonic rhetoric, defining rhetorical terms, elaborating rhetorical concepts, and analyzing human emotions.
virtuous (*ethos*), has adequate reasoning to construct an argument (*logos*) and should be able to arouse emotions to alter the hearers’ decisions (*pathos*). These three appeal forms will be utilised in the course of my analysis.

Aristotle divided rhetoric into three kinds of oratorical genres: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. Deliberative rhetoric seeks to persuade someone to do something he otherwise would not do or to accept a point of view he otherwise would not hold, it concerns the future. Forensic rhetoric seeks to defend or condemn one’s actions, it is concerned with the past. Ceremonial rhetoric celebrates or denounces and is usually associated with the present.

Furthermore, Aristotle links rhetoric to the kind of political system by which the society was governed. He argues that humans are “political beings [who] alone of the animals [are] furnished with the faculty of language.” (Aristotle. In Barker. 1970: 5) Through this statement he confirms that rhetoric and politics concur as they are both essentials of human nature.

Aristotle’s definition of rhetoric is extended by Kennedy to the “art of effective expression”. (1963: 3) Rhetorical techniques are used to give joy to an audience or to demonstrate the imaginative and linguistic skills of the author (ibid.). If the speaker is not capable of expressing what he has to communicate in a way that the audience understands, then communication fails.

G. Kennedy argues, “Rhetoric is a natural phenomenon: the potential for it exists in all life forms that can give signals, it is practiced in limited forms by nonhuman animals, and it contributed to the evolution of human speech and language from animal communication” (1998: 4). According to this argument, rhetoric is a natural practice prevailing among humans and non-humans. It is a universal practice of human beings and animals alike.

Kennedy believes that rhetoric is something abstract, such as energy, which becomes manifested through language, but also through other signs, “Rhetoric, in the most general sense, is the energy inherent in emotion and thought, transmitted through a system of signs, including language, to others to influence their decisions or actions” (Kennedy, 1991: 7).

According to Hart, rhetoric is understood as a special kind of verbal action meant for affecting the audience to gain its support for one’s own cause. It is “the art of using language to help people narrow their choices among specifiable, if not specified, policy options.” (Hart, 1997: 2)
Rhetoric tries to involve the receiver of the message to ideally becomes an accomplice of the speaker. At a certain point the audience becomes active, adopting the message of the orator and in doing so, helping him to enforce his ideas and plans (Nash, 1989:1&197).

Rhetoric can thus be viewed as a kind of energy, academic discipline, a skill in language use or an effective use of language adapted to its purpose.

A President uses his rhetorical skills for many different purposes and for many different ends. After all, “a President who wishes to lead a nation rather than only the executive branch must be a loquacious President...speeches are the core of the modern Presidency”. (Gelderman, 1997: 8-9).

“The President’s ultimate task is to express the unspoken desires of the people...the skill needed by a President is the rhetorical skill...The President, as head of the embodiment of expertise, the executive branch, can supply what the people lack” (Thurow, 1996: 24).

Presidents use rhetoric to perform important roles - Chief of the Country, Chief Executive, Chief Diplomat, Commander-in-Chief, Chief Legislator, Chief of their Political Party, and Manager of the Economy. (Bunch 2000; Ginsberg 2001). Thus, Presidential rhetoric is a tool that embraces all the roles.

3.1 Presidential rhetoric

According to Denton and Woodward, “The Presidency is an office, a role, a persona, constructing a position of power, myth, legend, and persuasion.” (1998: 185) The various roles of the Presidency and to an extent the characteristics of an effective leader, rely more and more on the President’s ability to interact with, communicate to and articulate for the public he serves. As Denton and Woodward point out, “Everything a President does or says has implications and communicates something.” (1998: 184)

Tulis explains that “all Presidents are rhetorical Presidents. All Presidents exercise their office through the medium of language, written and spoken” (Tulis,1996: 3). He illuminates the role and expectations for the President, “Today it is taken for granted that Presidents have a duty constantly to defend themselves publicly, to promote policy initiatives nationwide and to inspire the population.” (Tulis, 1996: 4)

Rhetoric is undoubtedly one of the tools by which the President performs the various duties of the office. According to Neustadt, “Presidential power is the
power to persuade”. (Neustadt, 1961: 10) Everything that the President states, whether written or publicly delivered, holds a significance that, in itself, is power.

As Campbell and Jamieson note, “Presidential rhetoric is one source of institutional power, enhanced in the modern presidency by the ability of Presidents to speak when, where, and on whatever topic they choose, and to a national audience through coverage by the electronic media.” (1990: 3) The President addresses many audiences and must skillfully adapt. (1990: 7)

Presidential rhetoric is only one of the powers available to the President, but in a democracy it may well be the fundamental power upon which all others rest (Windt, 1987: xvi). Ceasar et al. argue that the President’s use of rhetoric is a cornerstone to the ability of the President to govern the nation and act effectively. (Ceasar et al.,1987) Gelderman asserts that “a President who wishes to lead a nation rather than only the executive branch must be a loquacious President... Speeches are the core of the modern presidency” (Gelderman, 1997: 8-9).

The American people generally seem to believe that the President can make a huge difference in their lives. Therefore, to retain power, “a President must continue to convince the public that he is fulfilling or on the verge of fulfilling what is expected of him.” (Zernicke, 1994:17) Rhetoric can fulfil this objective by either generating success or covering up failure. (Ibid.)

The President does not just define himself through his rhetoric. He also shapes American culture, sometimes only for the duration of his Presidency, but occasionally creating permanent shifts in American society. (Zarefsky, 2004) Beyond that, Presidents create reality through their rhetoric, at least in the political sense. (Shogan, 2006 & Zarefsky, 2004)

However, there are some scholars who suggest that the use of Presidential rhetoric does not add much to Presidential power. Edwards (2003, 2009) suggests that Presidential speech has little impact on public opinion about their proposed policies.

Scholars (Hart, 1987; Ryan, 1995; Zarefsky, 2004) have identified presidential rhetoric as its own genre because of the function the institution holds which is undeniably unique. “The American presidency, arguably the most unique political institution yet devised by any civilized polity, reaches directly into the lives of the American people on a daily basis largely through the efforts of a second great institution – the mass media” (Hart, 1987: 111).

Lucas declares that even the first President, George Washington, understood that "the presidency is a rhetorical institution in which effective leadership depends
not just upon the constitutional exercise of the duties of office but also upon the persuasive powers of the President vis-à-vis Congress, the people, foreign nations, the press and even the remainder of the executive branch.” (Lucas, 1996: 44)

Obviously, Washington was aware that popular opinion counts a great deal. Like the other leaders of his time, Washington “placed great faith in the power of language to surmount what John Adams called 'the difficulty of bringing millions to agree.'” (Ibid.: 65)

According to Tulis, the first Presidents intended to use rhetoric to communicate directly with the Congress and rarely to the masses. Tulis suggests that in the period after Woodrow Wilson, Presidents began to speak more directly to the public. “Woodrow Wilson dramatically broke precedent with his appearances before Congress.” (1987: 56) As a Presidential candidate, Wilson set the precedent for future candidates to appeal to the masses directly. As the President, he engaged in policy speeches rather than written addresses and letters to Congress. (Ceaser et al.,1981: 166).

Since the 1930’s, American political life has been dominated by the mass media. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the first highly visible public speaker, the first to hire a press secretary, the first to broadcast the State of the Union address over the radio and the first to establish the weekly Presidential radio address. (Boykin, 1963) Roosevelt took advantage of the radio and the ability to speak directly to the people. He introduced the current tradition of live addresses to both Congress and the American public (Murphy, 2008: 306).

Since the 1950’s and the beginning of the era of television everything has changed. Presidents today exploit a variety of media, addressing all types of audiences, on a great variety of topics, on different occasions. Today, Presidential rhetoric has become so critical to the success of a Presidency, that if a President fails to utilize it, then he will have much more difficulty garnering the public support he needs to get the policy he wants passed.

Obama was the first among the nine Presidents who utilized online social networking sites. His Facebook site has been in operation since May 2007. During the Presidential campaign Obama used everything from social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter, You Tube, MySpace) to podcasting and mobile messaging. Some have attributed Obama's victory to "the Facebook effect". Undoubtedly, he is a new era politician who understands the power of the Web.

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5 The 2008 election was the first in which all candidates attempted to connect directly with American voters via Facebook and MySpace. It has even been called the "Facebook election."
The frequency of Presidential addresses has increased enormously over the last forty years, which can be attributed to various reasons such as the changed attitude of Presidents themselves toward public speeches, changes in the official policy of the White House due to national and international pressure and rising awareness that speech-making is an effective advertising tool with consequent success in Congress (Hart, 1987: 11).

Ceaser et al. identify three reasons for the increase of the rhetorical presidency and the necessity for the President to speak to the mass public more than ever before. (Ceaser et al. 1981) First, Ceaser argues, the public has gradually placed more and more expectation on the President, as leader, over the past three centuries. The President is expected to set particular goals and solve the nation’s problems and to do so in a very open manner. Secondly, Ceaser establishes that mass media has greatly increased in size and availability, so audiences have immediate access to events and occurrences across the globe in a matter of seconds. The final reason, Ceaser adds, is the modern electoral campaign: “So formative has the campaign become of our tastes for oratory and of our conception of leadership that Presidential speech and governing have come more and more to imitate the model of the campaign.” (Ceaser et al. 1981: 167).

Campbell and Jamieson (1990) identified eight genres of presidential oratory that typify the institution of the Presidency and are the structural support for the edifice of the Presidency: inaugural addresses, State of the Union addresses, veto messages, war rhetoric, rhetoric to forestall impeachment, rhetoric of impeachment, pardoning rhetoric and farewell addresses.

Presidential messages would be defined by Aristotle as deliberative rhetoric because the topic of the message is political and advice about future action is usually discussed (Aristotle, in Kennedy, 2007). Inaugural addresses however, have been identified as epideictic rhetoric by some researchers. The paper provides insight into both.
4. Inauguration and the Inaugural Address

4.1 Introduction to the Inauguration

On January 20, 2009, the 56th Presidential Inauguration ceremony took place. The Presidential Inauguration is the official day on which the President of the United States is sworn into office. The purpose of the Inauguration is to honor the incoming President with formal ceremonies, including: the Inauguration Day worship service, the Procession to the Capitol, the Presidential Swearing-in Ceremony, the Inaugural Address, the Departure of the Outgoing President, the Inaugural Luncheon, Inaugural Parade and Inaugural Ball.

The custom of delivering an address on Inauguration Day started with the very first Inauguration - George Washington's on April 30, 1789. After receiving the news that he had been elected, Washington reluctantly accepted the post and set out on a trip to New York which was, at the time, the nation’s capital. Supporters lined the roads to encourage him by cheering. When Washington arrived in New York City, after a long journey from his home in Mount Vernon, Virginia, he was forced to wait a week until his actual inauguration, as a congressional committee worked on the details of the ceremony. On April 30, after a week long wait, Washington was ushered into Federal Hall, whilst an enthusiastic crowd gathered outside. After taking the oath, Washington and the others returned to the Senate Chamber where he delivered an Inaugural address.

Every President since Washington has delivered an Inaugural address. The exception are those Presidents who assumed the office because of the death or resignation of the previous President. According to Lucas (1986: 354 - 371), the tradition of Inaugural addresses can be traced back to the 18th century British ceremonial accession speeches and to the Inaugurals of colonial American governors.

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7 The Inaugural oath - "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." – was first recited by George Washington on the balcony of New York City's Federal Hall on April 30, 1789. The 35-word oath is prescribed in the Constitution, but Washington added the phrase "So help me God," to the end of the oath, as have all Presidents ever since.
8 The Presidents who did not deliver an Inaugural address because they assumed the office when the previous President died are: John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, Chester Arthur, Theodore Roosevelt (once) Calvin Coolidge (once), Harry Truman (once), and Lyndon Johnson (once). Ford did not give an Inaugural address when he assumed the Presidency after Nixon resigned.
Presidential inaugurals were held on March 4 until, 1937 when it was changed to January 20 (at noon) in order to limit the span of time between the election and Inauguration⁹.

Presidents deliver the Inaugural address on the west front of the Capitol, but this has not always been the case. Until Andrew Jackson's first Inauguration in 1829, most Presidents spoke in either the House or the Senate chambers. Jackson became the first President to take his oath of office and deliver his address on the east front portico of the U.S. Capitol in 1829. With few exceptions, the next 37 Inaugurations took place there until 1981, when Ronald Reagan's swearing-in ceremony and the delivery of the Inaugural address occurred on the West front terrace of the Capitol, which has been used ever since.

Inauguration represents the culmination of a public constitutional process through which the newly-elected President obtains the full force of his constitutional powers. In Charles Krauthammer's terms, "... an Inauguration is more than just a transfer of power. It is a ritual re-enactment of the resilience, the suppleness of American life. Every four years, Americans remind themselves that (...) We have it in our power to start the world over again." (Krauthammer, 1989: 40)

The Inauguration is a ritual during which the executive power is peacefully transferred from one President to another. The Inauguration is a regularly scheduled event held every fourth year and is based on the outcome of a democratic election. The regularity of the Presidential Inauguration offers a sense of stability, continuity, and permanence to a political system that peacefully permits turnover in officeholders and change in policy agendas. (Kennon, & Boller Jr. 2004: 5) For Americans, Inauguration Day symbolizes both the continuity and the renewal of the American political system.

4.2 The Inaugural Address

The Inaugural Address is the first speech delivered by the U.S. President on Inauguration Day. It is a distinctive speech emerging out of the Presidential candidate's original announcement, nomination acceptance address and campaign speeches. It marks a kind of transition associated with the transfer of authority – one personal and the other constitutional. The personal transfer is from campaigning to governing and the constitutional transfer is from one Presidency to the next. (Nelson & Riley, 2010: 87)

⁹ In accordance with the 20th Amendment
However the address is delivered by tradition, not by law. Inaugural addresses are not obligatory under the Constitution, or by any legal document produced in the United States for that matter. They are simply expected to be performed by a President immediately following their swearing of the oath of office. Campbell and Jamieson establish that the Inaugural address is an “extension of the oath of office”. (1990: 18) The oath is constitutionally mandated, however the speech is not.

The Inaugural address provides the newly elected President with the “first official opportunity to wield the power of language”. (Sigelman, 1996: 81)

The Inaugurals possess a ceremonial tone:

“Inaugurals …..establish the President’s suitability by noting the awe in which they hold the office, the potential for power excesses, and their personal humility and responsibility in the face of this role...They provide the President with a highly symbolic moment in which to address history as well as a nation” (Campbell and Jamieson in Smith and Smith, 1990: 238).

The address is delivered to the American nation and to the world community, as people across the globe are interested in the ideas and vision of the new leader because a new path may influence their future. The reason why people listen to the Inaugural address is to perceive the tone the President will set for the Administration and the nation. As claimed by Campbell and Jamieson, “The inaugural lays down the principles that will govern a presidency while demonstrating Presidential commitment to the country’s basic principles.” (1990: 73)

The Inaugurals are designed not just to state the President’s political vision and mission, but also to win as much support as possible. (Wilson, 1994: 5-6). To persuade the people to support him, the President will employ a variety of strategies.

The President addresses different parts of society - from the very poor who can barely make a living to the most prominent, affluent and influential people. The audience for the Inaugural address therefore embraces a wide variety of people with different backgrounds. The President must thus adapt his address to topics with which all people can identify.

Whereas a pre-election speech has its motive to persuade voters to vote for the candidate or to support a particular policy, it is different with the Inaugural
address. The President has just been elected, thus he\textsuperscript{10} does not have to fight for votes and his speech can thus be, in Trosborg's words, "somewhat more subtle" (2000: 121). It is the first time the President does not speak wholly for himself, he speaks for his people (Ibid.: 139). However, the community has to be unified after a politically divisive election. (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990: 15); Schlessinger notes that during the Inaugural address "the nation listens for a moment as one people to the words they have chosen for the highest office in the land." (Schlessinger, 1965: vii)

Ray Price, a speechwriter for R. Nixon once said, "For a new President – a first inaugural – one key goal is to set a tone, introducing himself a) to the people of the nation for the first time actually as their President, not as a candidate, and b) to the other world leaders, watching to see what directions he charts for America’s role in the world and its relations with friends and adversaries. To that world audience, he needs to demonstrate understanding but also firmness, resolve and leadership." (NewsHour Forum, January 17, 1997)

Campbell and Jamieson argue that the two ultimate goals of a President in an Inaugural address are to reconstitute the community and complete the investment of Constitutional authority that began with the oath of office. The Inaugural address serves the purpose of introducing the public to the newly elected President. It is the first time that the President officially speaks to his people after taking the oath. In addition, the purpose of the address is to communicate with the public and reach out to them and gain their support.

The Inaugural address is a speech unique to democracy - the newly elected President celebrates the democratic processes that empower them. This particular genre of political speeches functions to celebrate Americans’ shared values. (Beasley, 2004, Campbell & Jamieson, 1990).

The Inaugurals are encouraging, inspiring and full of promises for a brighter future, even though some of them were given in the darkest days of America. The idea of restoring the country to its roots and the promise of a new beginning occurs rather frequently (Campbell and Kean, 1999: 27-29)

The Inaugural address is filled with hope, vision and the ideals of the American people. (Hart, and Sparrow, 2001: 7) The Inaugural address is expected to encourage the whole nation and reassure the American people that their new leader will be President to everyone and that he will oversee the nation’s interests no matter his political allegiance. The inaugural address “responds to the

\textsuperscript{10} As there were only male Presidents in the U.S. history, the pronoun “he” will be used.
attitudes, beliefs, and diversity of the American public” (Ibid.). By rehearsing communal values drawn from the collective memory of the American people, the President reminds the people who they are.

Partisanship and controversial matters are generally avoided. Domestic political issues are discussed, whereas foreign policy is in some cases discussed and in others not. Legislative proposals or specific policies are rarely a part of the Inaugural addresses.

Biblical allusions are included. In this manner, the President acknowledges that there is an Almighty Being more powerful than himself and calls upon the Almighty to help guide him and the nation. Religious ties however, are a strategy for establishing the President as the moral compass and moral leader of the nation. (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990: 26 & Bell & Assoc., 2008: 202-203)

The epideictic character of the Inaugural address is revealed by praising peoples traditional values The constitutional system of the American institution is praised also. Epideictic speeches typically include high style language with several linguistic features such as metaphors, allusions and quotable quotes (Bell et al 2008: 202-203).

The structure of the Inaugural address is not fixed; the beginning includes a short greeting such as “my fellow citizens” or “my countrymen” followed by the President’s expression of gratitude to the American people for having elected him their new President and a confirmation that the President has taken the oath and is officially sworn in.11 At the end of the address the President tends to ask God to support him in his effort to be a good President, able to lead the country in the right direction. Other structural elements within the address are not fixed. However, a number of features must always be recognizable in Inaugural addresses so it is possible to identify Inaugural addresses as a genre. (Bhatia, 1998: 13-14)

The Inaugural address represents an opportunity for the newly elected President to assert his understanding of constitutional prerogatives and limits. The President acknowledges that he can not succeed without Congressional help or the help of the people (Campbell, & Jamieson, 1990: 23 & Bell & Assoc., 2008: 202).

The identity of the President as a spokesperson, fulfilling constitutional roles and exercising the executive power, gives the discourse of the Inaugural a distinctive character. (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990: 7)

11The statistics are based on my own observations of inaugural addresses.
The delivery of an Inaugural address is based on a *pre-transcript*, i.e., a written text prepared ahead of time. But the provenance of the printed text available to the researcher is not as easily discernible. They may be pre-transcripts or they may be *post-transcripts*, i.e., written texts derived from an audio recording of the performance. In most cases, it is difficult to know precisely how a given text was derived (e.g. in a newspaper version), particularly before the advent of audio recordings when there were no post-transcripts.

An Inaugural address is prospective as well as retrospective. It contains prospective information on where the country is and where the President intends to guide it. In this sense it is a visionary speech. It is also retrospective because the President uses this opportunity to place himself, his actions and his Administration in a historical and constitutional context.

Campbell and Jamieson claim that inaugural addresses are a distinct rhetorical genre: “*Presidential inaugurals are epideictic rhetoric because they are delivered on ceremonial occasions, link past and future in present contemplation, affirm or praise the shared principles that will guide the incoming administration, ask the audience to gaze upon traditional values, employ elegant, literary language, and rely on heightening of effect by amplification and reaffirmation of what is already known and believed*” (1990: 15).

Celebratory or epideictic rhetoric is explored in the following subchapter.

Slovenia does not have as rich and diverse tradition of delivering Inaugural addresses as the USA. Since 1991, when Slovenia proclaimed its independence, only four Presidential elections have taken place and thus only four Inaugural addresses were delivered.

### 4.3 Epideictic and deliberative rhetoric

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* categorized three different types of oratory: forensic, deliberative, and epideictic.

Aristotle defined epideictic discourse as one of the three oratorical genres. It is a “*ceremonial oratory of display*” that “*either praises or censures somebody*” with the aim of “*proving him worthy of honour or the reverse*” (Aristotle, 1358b). Aristotle called upon the audience in epideictic rhetoric to spectate or observe. The nature of epideictic rhetoric is one-way. Epideictic rhetoric praises and

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blames on ceremonial occasions\(^{13}\), invites the audience to evaluate the speaker's performance, recalls the past and speculates about the future whilst focusing on the present, employs a noble, dignified literary style and amplifies or rehearses admitted facts. \((1358b2-13, 18-20; 1367b37-38; 1368a27; 1414a17-18)\(^{14}\)

Recollection of a shared past becomes an exceptionally important resource for epideictic speeches. This kind of speech is concerned with pleasing or inspiring an audience and not so much with persuading it. While epideictic rhetoric seeks to comment on things current, it may also remind us “of the past and [project] the course of the future.” \((Aristotle, 1358b/1359a)\(^{15}\)

Epideictic rhetoric means “any discourse, oral or written, that does not aim at specific action or decision but seek to enhance knowledge, understanding, or belief, often through praise and blame, whether of persons, things or values” \((Kennedy, 2001: 44)\).

According to Sullivan, in epideictic rhetoric the orator relies on the “amplification or heightening” \((1993: 117)\) of one’s presentation. This incites in the audience a like response of amplified or heightened emotions toward what is being said. The epideictic situation allows the rhetor to create a sense of community and shared values with their audience. Such a connection is vital as the epideictic rhetor is attempting to bring people fully into the same tradition of which he or she is a representative and because the listeners are considered, at least initiated members of that tradition, the rhetor treats them as though they are already within the pale and attempts to increase the intensity of their adherence to those values held in common. \((Sullivan, 1993: 126)\)

The overall goal of epideictic is to create shared interest with the audience and to allow the rhetor to create a persona with which the audience may identify. Sheard positions epideictic “as a vehicle through which communities can imagine and bring about change” \((1996: 771)\). Epideictic rhetoric allows the audience to realize their thoughts and beliefs, and indicates where they fit into the overall communal way of thinking.

Epideictic discourse appears in funeral orations, welcomes and farewells, introductions, commencement addresses, Fourth-of-July addresses, campaign rallies and Presidential Inaugural addresses.

\(^{13}\) For instance, Clinton praises the American values, “Not change for change’s sake, but change to preserve America’s ideals – life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.” Roosevelt praises American constitutional system as “the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced.”

\(^{14}\) Trans. W. Rhys Roberts. 1954.

\(^{15}\) Aristotle and Kennedy
Several researchers identify Inaugural address as a specific genre of epideictic rhetoric. Corbett (1971) maintains that the Inaugural address is a ceremonial event, complete with specific traditions and rituals. He explains that the President “will try to heal the wounds that may have been inflicted during the campaign.” (1971: 554) Corbett explains that the President will remind the audience of common heritage and purpose.

Inaugural addresses can be viewed as epideictic rhetoric as a result of being delivered on ceremonial occasion, speaking in the present context, praising the American people and American values, asking the audience to contemplate traditional values, relying on heightening, amplifying and finally because of the reaffirming of what was already known, or believed.

Epideictic oratory, whose listeners are observers, does not lead to identified action on the part of the audience, except perhaps applause. However, the Inaugural address is designed to elicit more than mere applause from the audience. Furthermore, in some cases, the President concentrates on the future and proposes future actions, where the President urges the people to adopt the particular course of action or when he inducts from past examples to future possibilities. These are manifestations of deliberative rhetoric.

As Corbett and Connors indicate, “ceremonial discourse sometimes shades off into deliberative discourse”, because praising someone implicitly suggests the audience do likewise (1999: 126). This means that the boundaries between types of oratory are not rigid.

Deliberative speech is related to politics and public affairs. This type of oratory is used to persuade someone to do something, or to get someone to accept the orator’s point of view, to encourage or discourage action. According to Aristotle, deliberative speeches are always concerned with the future (Aristotle, I. 1358b). Deliberative speech almost always either urges or dissuades the audience from adopting a particular course of action. Presidential messages would be defined as

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16 Clinton’s statement “We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt” was very deliberative oriented.
17 Kennedy’s calls to sacrifice and serve the country appealed to the people’s sense of duty and their willingness to serve the greater good and inspired many young Americans to dedicate their lives to public service. As a result, some 168,000 volunteers made a two-year commitment to serve in areas such as education, public health, infrastructure construction, and agriculture in 136 countries around the world, as a part of the Peace Corps - the national service programme established by JFK in 1961.
18 Clinton's historical analogy “From our revolution, the Civil War to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history.” provides an example that in the future, determination can again be mustered.
deliberative rhetoric because the topic of the messages is political and advice about future action is usually discussed (Aristotle in Kennedy, 2007).

The table below illuminates that both rhetorics manifest themselves in Inaugural Addresses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Epidetic or ceremonial rhetoric</th>
<th>Deliberative or political rhetoric</th>
<th>Forensic rhetoric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dominant discursive strategy</strong></td>
<td>display either praises or censures somebody; praise and blame ✔</td>
<td>urges either to do or not to do something; persuasion and dissuasion ✔</td>
<td>attacking or defending somebody; accusation and defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temporal orientation</strong></td>
<td>concerned with the present, recalls the past and makes guesses at the future ✔</td>
<td>concerned with the future, he advises, for or against ✔</td>
<td>concerned with the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject matter</strong></td>
<td>human character and habits ✔</td>
<td>public policy ✔</td>
<td>questions of guilt and innocence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>aimed at establishing what is noble/shameful and/or honorable/dishonorable ✔</td>
<td>aimed at establishing the expediency or the harmfulness of a proposed course of action, ✔</td>
<td>aimed at establishing the justice or injustice of some action, establishing what is legal or illegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ends</strong></td>
<td>the noble and the shameful ✔</td>
<td>the expedient and the inexpedient ✔</td>
<td>the just and the unjust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audience</strong></td>
<td>spectators ✔</td>
<td>decision makers ✔</td>
<td>decision makers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Types of Persuasive Discourse manifested in Inaugural addresses (adapted from Aristotle)

Therefore, Inaugural Addresses must be seen as a fusion of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric since they incorporate components of both types of oratory.
5. Devices of persuasion

5.1 Artistic proofs

In *The Rhetoric*, Aristotle elaborated and analyzed three artistic proofs – ethos, logos and pathos. (Aristotle, I. 1356a)\(^{19}\).

The three appeal forms - logos, pathos, and ethos - are completely different, yet, they all correlate. Ethos moves an audience by proving the credibility of the rhetor; pathos stimulates the feelings of the audience and seeks change in their attitudes and actions; the three appeals combined mobilize the powers of reasoning or logos (Covino & Jolliffe, 1195: 17). A rhetor must consider all three means of persuasion if he is to convince the audience.

5.1.1 Ethos

Aristotle believed that the orator’s character becomes a means of persuasion when the speech is delivered in such a way as to make the orator credible (Aristotle, I.1356a). Ethos refers to the speaker’s trustworthiness or credibility. Ethos involves making the speaker seem credible, by displaying practical intelligence (*phronesis*), a virtuous character (*areté*), and good will (*eunoia*).

The credibility of the speaker finds expression in the three elements *phronesis*, *areté*, and *eunoia*. *Phronesis* means common sense and refers to the speaker’s expertise in the field. Discussing the various viewpoints of a subject also exhibits a certain amount of intelligence. Furthermore, a speaker must have a healthy and fair discernment. Common sense combined with convincing and logical arguments is essential in demonstrating this quality.

*Areté* means virtue and refers to the human qualities of the speaker. Virtue and good character are further qualities by which the speaker gains credibility. Stating ones beliefs, values, and priorities in connection with the subject helps convince the audience of the argument. If these beliefs and values coincide with those of majority of the audience, the speaker is well on the way to success.

The last attribute essential to establishing credibility is *eunoria* meaning good will. This characteristic projects concerns for the audience's viewpoint and respects their intelligence, sincerity and common sense. *Eunoria* shows the audience that the speaker is serious and committed to the case. The speaker must show willingness to put aside his own advantages to please the audience.

A speaker with high *ethos* represents all three elements, but they cannot be pointed out by the speaker himself. They must be clear from the speech and the way it is presented. Ethos is often conveyed through the tone and style of the

\(^{19}\) Aristotle. In G. A. Kennedy. 2007
speech and the way the speaker refers to different views. The image of the speaker must not last only during the delivery of the speech, but must stay in the audience's mind after the speech is over. Therefore *ethos* can appeal to the feelings of long duration.

An important point is that the ethical appeal must be pervasive throughout the entire discourse or the orator risks having the appeal destroyed (Corbett, 1990: 82). It is important for an orator to work on his charisma and image to persuade his audience.

If the audience gets the impression that the speaker is lying, or withholding information, they will not believe him. The relationship between the speaker and the audience is ultimately based on trust. In other words, a credible politician needs to be sincere and authentic, or at least needs to give the impression of being such.

In order to identify ethos in discourse, it is necessary to search for words or expressions describing the speaker's integrity, intentions or character. Expressions such as *I believe, I'm convinced, let me assure you*, etc., indicate the speaker's stance and conviction. (Assmundson, 2008: 8)

Therefore, in order to gain trust it is essential for politicians to establish an ethos. The vital issue for any political candidate, whether he is an established politician or a relative newcomer, a conservative or a liberal, is how to exploit positive character images and deflect the negative ones. (Amossy, 2001: 1-21)

### 5.1.2 Logos

Logos is simply “*persuasion through reasoning*” (Beard, 2000: 37). Using *logos*, the speaker refers to the common sense and intellect of the audience and states the cause very objectively. He relates to facts and thereby tries to appear as unbiased as possible. The focus is on giving an objective and unbiased presentation of the evidence. According to Aristotle, persuasion is mainly achieved through logical argumentation since the appeal to logic is the most effective way of persuading, and because, if an argument appears to be logical, it would be illogical to oppose it. Aristotle distinguishes two types of arguments: deductions and inductions. Deductive reasoning begins with a generalization, cites a specific case related to the generalization and ends with a conclusion based on the above. Inductive reasoning: begins with several pieces of specific evidence and draws generalization and conclusions from this evidence.

This appeal is perhaps the easiest to detect within the discourse, as the speaker uses *if-then* expressions, concrete numbers, results and data or specific plans and theories that outline the speaker's ideas. (Assmundson, 2008: 8)
In a political context, logos will be reflected in objective arguments, often concerning specific key issues and actions, which the sender and receiver perceives to be indisputable.

Yet, it is not enough to try to persuade simply by using logos and ethos. It must include the pathos also.

5.1.3 Pathos

Pathos refers to the speaker's ability to move the audience emotionally. Aristotle states that “There is persuasion through the hearers when they are led to feel emotion by the speech; for we do not give the same judgment when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile.” (Aristotle, II.1378a).

Aristotle states that pathos can use the emotions of "anger and mildness; friendship and enmity; fear and boldness; shame and shamelessness; gratitude; pity and indignation; envy and emulation.” (O’Neil, 1922: 260)

Aristotle was of the opinion that the orator has to stir up emotions precisely because “emotions have the power to modify our judgments” (Rapp 2002). An appeal to pathos causes an audience not just to respond emotionally, but to identify with the speaker's point of view.

The pathos appeal can be realized in a number of different ways – by choosing a topic that evokes the emotions of the audience, by using words that are strongly emotionally charged, vivid descriptions, emotional exclamations, various forceful repetitions, the vigor with which one expresses himself etc. To affect the audience in the best possible way, the author must create internal pictures in the audience’s minds for them to feel, for example, happiness or sorrow within themselves and help them identify with the people involved. The choice of words is value-laden. (Cohen Bell, et al, 2008: 33-34)

It is quite likely that a positive suggestion will be more readily accepted by a listener than a message with a negative connotation. In order to identify the pathos appeals in a discourse, it is essential to look for positive, uplifting and energizing expressions, words and ideas, as well as any comments that make the listener feel good. For example, expressions of praise, encouraging plans, verbs such as achieve, success, accomplish, and words such as together, we, family generate a positive response and help maintain an optimistic mood. (Assmundson, 2008: 8).

In a political context, pathos can be used to arouse feelings of happiness by referring to a success for which the politician is credited. While ethos appeals to more solid feelings, pathos appeals to the spontaneous feelings of the specific
communication situation (Jørgensen & Onsberg, 1999: 64) The three artistic proofs and their roles in the Inaugural Addresses are analyzed in Chapter 6.

5.2 Stylistic devices to persuade

Communicating party policy and persuading people to go along with it are two vital assignments for any politician set for success. Wilson asserts that in order for politicians to persuade people to share their values and view the world in a way that favours their political agendas, they have to be able to master language as a means of representation (in Schiffrin et al, 2001: 401). Duranti writes that “The language of politics has been presented and studied in terms of its ability to persuade an audience (of peers, subjects, and superiors) to go along with the speaker’s view of the world and his or her proposal (Perrot 2000). In much of this literature, the successful political leader is seen as a skilful manipulator who controls a variety of linguistic resources – from elaborate metaphors to paralinguistic features like volume, intonation, and rhythm – through which listeners can be convinced to accept a course of action (including the action of voting for the speaker).” (Duranti 2006: 467)

Thomas et al. establish that “Politicians throughout the ages have owed much of their success to their skilful use of rhetoric, whereby they attempt to persuade their audience of the validity of their views by their subtle use of elegant and persuasive language” (Thomas et al: 2004: 39).

As Denton and Woodward point out, “Everything a President does or says has implications and communicates something.” (1998: 184) But how he says it depends on the linguistic tools he chooses.

It is important to note that these devices are used in political discourse on purpose and not by chance. By using all these devices a speaker encourages the audience to an action, makes the listeners see things, and helps them overcome the barriers of time and distance. Their combination contributes to rhetorical effectiveness.

Among the most frequently used rhetoric devices in politics are metaphors, metonymy, analogy, presuppositions, personifications, parallelisms, deixis and anaphora, the sophisticated use of personal pronouns and the ‘rule of the three’ (Thomas et al. 2004).

The central part of the canon of style are figures of speech. The Encyclopedia of Rhetoric defines them as “the smallest structural units of rhetorical stylistics” (Sloane, 2001: 324) or “an intended deviation of ordinary language” (Quinn 1982: 6). In classical rhetoric they were defined as “a form of speech artfully varied from common usage” (Quintilian, Inst. Orat. IX.i.2).
There are numerous types of figures of speech but only those relevant to my analysis will be discussed. However, these figures of speech serve as arguments of *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*.

One thing that makes a study on figures of speech difficult is that there is no comprehensive list of figures of speech. Every book on the topic orders the lists differently and uses different names. Nevertheless, figures of speech are broadly divided into two rhetorical devices known as tropes and schemes and they will be presented in the following subchapter.

### 5.2.1 Tropes

Tropes are figures which change the typical meaning of a word or words. The Greek word *trope* means *turn, twist*. For Quintilian, a trope is “*the artistic alteration of a word or phrase from its proper meaning to another.*” (8.6.1).

This subchapter briefly discusses the following tropes: metaphor, personification, metonymy, synecdoche, simile, analogy, antithesis, hyperbole, irony, oxymoron, paradox, allusion, litotes, meiosis, apostrophe, tricolon, rhetorical question, euphemism and epithet.

**A metaphor** is a trope that constructs an analogy between two things or ideas that share certain characteristics. Metaphors are abundant in everyday language, in literature and finally, in the language of politicians. So, they are not inherent just to poetic language. They have cognitive value, they rely on human perception. Lakoff and Johnson argue that: “*the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*” (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 5). However, they are discussed in detail in Chapter on Metaphors.

**Personification** is a kind of metaphor, which concerns giving inanimate entities and abstract ideas, human characteristics. Countries are often referred to as persons for the purpose of rendering speeches more dramatic or even to evoke ideological frames (Thomas et al., 2004: 36-53); e.g. "*Wisdom cries aloud in the streets; in the markets she raises her voice...*” - Psalm 1:20.

If an idea or a concept is replaced by a single word or feature that is connected to it, it is a case of **metonymy**. Beard defines metonymy as “*substituting the name of something with something else with a close connection to it*”. *The White House* refers to the American government and *Downing Street* to the UK Prime Minister or his office. Metonymy serves to make actions or statements appear less personal, where the actor’s identity is obscured (Beard 2000: 19).
A special case of metonymy is **synecdoche**. It is a rhetorical figure “in which the part stands for the whole, the whole for a part, the genus for the species, the species for the genus, the material for the thing made, or in short, any portion, section, or main quality for the whole or the thing itself (or vice versa)” (Harris 2010). For instance “The U.S. won three gold medals.” (Instead of the members of the U.S. team won three gold medals.)

A **simile** is an explicit comparison made by the use of a particle of comparison (usually ‘like’, ‘as’ are used but not necessarily); e.g. “Life is like a box of chocolates. You never know what you’re gonna get.” – Forrest Gump, 1994

“I’ll compare thee to a summer’s day. Thou art more lovely and more temperate.” – W. Shakespeare, Sonnet 18

A powerful rhetorical device can be **analogy**, which is a means of comparison between things that are different, but share certain characteristics. For instance, contemporary situations can be compared with historical events. Ideas and concepts are intended to be clarified by comparing them with supposedly well-known phenomena (Beard 2000: 27). Charteris-Black (2005) claims that during the Civil Rights movement, Martin Luther King, was drawing analogies between the situation of the African Americans and the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt (Charteris-Black 2005: 68).

**Antithesis** is a trope whereby opposite ideas or phrases are balanced for a sense of emphasis or contrast. In Mandela’s *Inaugural Address* of 1994 it is achieved by the cohesion ‘not as a prophet but as a humble servant’.

Deliberate exaggeration for the purpose of emphasis is a trope called **hyperbole**. It overstates or exaggerates facts – e.g. “There are a thousand reasons why more research is needed on solar energy.” (Harris, 2010)

If a statement is used with satirical intention, in contrast with what is apparent, we talk about **irony**. Secondary meaning for irony is: “incongruity between what might be expected and what actually occurs.” There are several types of irony: dramatic, situational, structural, philosophical, verbal and cosmic. Mrs. Connolly, who was in the presidential car in motorcade in Dallas on November 22, 1963, said to JFK “Mr. President, you can’t say that Dallas doesn’t love you.” Reportedly he responded: “That’s very obvious.” Immediately after, he was mortally wounded.

Joining two opposites results in trope called **oxymoron**. An oxymoron is a paradox reduced to two words, usually in an adjective-noun (“eloquent silence”)
or adverb-adjective ("inertly strong") relationship, and is used for effect, complexity, emphasis, or wit. (Harris, 2010) **Paradox** is a statement that appears illogical or contradictory at first, but may actually point to an underlying truth; e.g. "Less is more."

**An allusion** is a trope whereby indirect reference to a (historical, mythological, Biblical literary) person or an event is made, thus creating numerous associations; e.g. Lincoln's line from the Gettysburg Address "of the people, by the people, for the people" refers obliquely to the preamble to the Constitution.

**Litotes** is a trope, a form of understatement, where emphasis is achieved by negation; a negative statement is used to enforce the positive; e.g. "We made a difference. We made the city stronger, we made the city freer, and we left her in good hands. All in all, not bad, not bad at all." - Ronald Reagan, Farewell Address to the Nation, January 20, 1989

When a speaker intentionally understates something in order to lessen the actual importance or seriousness of something s/he uses a trope called **meiosis**; e.g. "I have to have this operation. It isn't very serious. I have this tiny little tumor on the brain." - Holden Caulfield in *The Catcher In The Rye*, by J. D. Salinger

**Apostrophe** is a statement, question, or request addressed to an inanimate object or someone who is not present. It often begins with "O"..; e.g. "Oh, Death, be not proud." - John Donne

To augment the argument and to aid memorability politicians include ‘**the three-part list**’, a particular variant of repetition, that gives a "sense of unity and completeness". (Beard, 2000: 38-39) "Audiences and speakers seem to find linguistically grouped features and especially those in threes, aesthetically pleasing”, claim Thomas et al. (2004: 49). Three-part statements provide clarity or better order or structure in a text. In terms of style, this figure is also called a tricolon; e.g. "I came, I saw, I conquered." – Julius Caesar

A **rhetorical question** is a commonly used rhetorical device which can result in various effects depending on their use. Although a rhetorical question is directed at audience, it does not expect a direct reply (Abrams, 1999: 271). It can be used to reinforce an already established opinion (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1991:157), or to create the illusion of communication (cf. 4.3). It also serves to call attention. Several types of rhetorical questions have been identified. (Cuddon, 1979; Quirk et al, 1985) The rhetorical question is structurally the same as any other question (Quirk et al, 1985: 804). It can end in either a question mark, or an exclamation mark or a period. Jimmy Carter, for instance, used rhetorical question *Why not the best?* as the title in his 1976 campaign.
Politicians often use a trope called a **euphemism**, defined as inoffensive or positive words (or phrases) used to soften a harsh, unpleasant or distasteful reality (Lutz, 1989) For instance, G.W.Bush is associated with the euphemism “*war on terror*” for the war on militant Islam.

An **epithet** is “*a stylistic device based on the interplay of emotive and logical meaning in an attributive word, phrase or even sentence used to characterize an object and pointing out to the reader, and frequently imposing on him, some of the properties or features of the object with the aim of giving an individual perception and evaluation of these features or properties. The epithet is markedly subjective and evaluative. The logical attribute is purely objective, non-evaluating. It is descriptive and indicates an inherent or prominent feature of the thing or phenomenon in question.*”\(^21\) (Galperin, 1977: 157), e.g. “*star-cross’d lovers*” and “*death-mark’d love*” – W. Shakespeare, the prologue in *Romeo and Juliet*

### 5.2.2 Schemes

Schemes comprise those figures of speech where there is a deliberate deviation from the ordinary or expected pattern of words.

Parallelism, isocolon, antithesis, repetition, anaphora, epiphora, symplece, epanalepsis, anadiplosis, conduplicatio, ploce, epizeuxis, antimetabole, chiasmus, polyptoton, homoioteleuton, antanaclasis, pleonasm, tautology, amplification, hendiadys and climax are concisely presented as follows.

In order to emphasize particular parts of the message, public speakers may incorporate a **scheme of balance** called **parallelism**. Parallelism is classified into four general categories: phonetic balance, balance within a single sentence, balance within a single paragraph and balance between or amongst paragraphs. Parallelism furnishes a text with rhythm and symmetry, making it stay in the minds of people (Thomas et al. 2004). It can improve the balance, rhythm and clarity of a passage (Harris 2010).

When two or more elements of the same length and similar in grammatical structure are used to create parallelism, then **isocolon** is used; e.g. “*... but what else can one do when he is alone in a jail cell, other than write long letters, think long thoughts and pray long prayers?*” - Martin Luther King, Jr.*Letter from Birmingham Jail*

\(^21\) For more see Galperin's *Stylistics* 1977
An effective device in the language of politics is the use of antithesis - a contrasting of opposing ideas in adjacent phrases, clauses, or sentences; e.g. “To err is human; to forgive, divine.” – The Pope

Repetition of sounds, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and/or ideas will not only attract the attention of the people and stress the most important points but also assist memorability. Word repetitions can hold the speech together or they can emphasize the moral values (Beard, 2000: 39) Repetitive patterns definitely help the listener focus on the main idea and perceive the essence of the speech. They undoubtedly stay embedded in our minds and in our consciousness. For that reason they are exploited in political speeches.

The following figures of repetition are generally used in political speeches:

Anaphora is a scheme in which a word or group of words are repeated at the beginning of two or more successive clauses, sentences, verses; e.g. “With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right,...” - Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address

Epiphora (epistophe) is defined as “a figure of speech in which each sentence or clause ends with the same word” (Cuddon, 1991: 239); e.g. “… this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.” – Lincoln, The Gettysburg Address

Combining anaphora and epiphora make symplece; e.g. “I will recruit for myself and you as I go. I will scatter myself among men and women as I go.” - W. Whitman, Song of the Open Road

Epanalepsis is repetition at the beginning and the end; e.g. “Blood hath bought blood, and blows have answer’d blows.” – Shakespeare, King John, II, i

Anadiplosis is the rhetorical scheme whereby a word that ends one clause/line is repeated at the beginning of the next clause/line; e.g. “Men in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state; servants of fame; and servants of business.” - Francis Bacon

Conduplucatio resembles anadiplosis in the repetition of a preceding word, but it repeats a key word (not just the last word) from a preceding phrase, clause, or sentence, at the beginning of the next. (Harris, 2010); e.g. “Drugs don’t just destroy their victims; they destroy entire families, schools, and communities.” - Elizabeth Dole, 1999 San Diego Stamp Speech
In intermittent repetition or **place**, “Words are repeated intermittently within a line or sentence”, explains Wales (Wales, 1989 : 355) e.g. “So when Humphrey brought me up-to-date this morning, I was **appalled**, I could hardly believe it at first. I told Humphrey I was **appalled**. ‘You’re **appalled**?’ he said ‘I’m **appalled**.’ Bernard said he was **appalled** too.” - J. Lynn and A. Jay, The Complete Yes Minister, 114

Immediate repetition or **epizeuxis** is “a figure of repetition, with no words intervening.” (Wales, 1989 : 153); e.g. “Howl, howl, howl, howl, O, you are men of stone” Shakespeare, King Lear, V. iii

**Antimetabole** is repetition of words, in successive clauses, in reverse grammatical order; e.g. “One should eat to live, not live to eat.” - Moliere, L’Avare

**Chiasmus** or reversed parallel construction belongs to stylistic devices (schemes) based on the repetition of a syntactic pattern. Chiasmus has a criss-cross order of words and phrases; e.g. “Never let a fool kiss you - or a kiss fool you.” - Joey Adams, quoted by Mardy Grothe in Never Let a Fool Kiss You or a Kiss Fool You. Viking, 1999 / “Eat to live, not live to eat”- attributed to Socrates

“The repetition of a word with varying grammatical inflections” is called **polyptoton**, claims Leech. (Leech, 1969 : 82); e.g. “Love is not love / Which alters when it alteration finds, / Or bends with the remover to remove” - William Shakespeare, Let me not to the marriage of true minds

When “the same derivational or inflectional ending on different words” repeats we talk about **homoioateleuton** (Leech, 1969 : 82-3); e.g. “My mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands.” - Launce in Act II, Scene 3 of The Two Gentlemen of Verona by W. Shakespeare

**Antanaclasis** refers to the repetition of a word, but in two different meanings; e.g. “We must all **hang** together, or assuredly we shall all **hang** separately.” - Benjamin Franklin before signing the Declaration of Independence

**Pleonasm** is a scheme whereby excessive or redundant words are used. Some pleonastic expressions are present in daily language, e.g. **ATM machine**; others are used for stylistic purpose, e.g. “Let me tell you this, when social workers offer you, **free, gratis and for nothing**, something to hinder you from swooning, which with them is an obsession, it is useless to recoil ... ” Samuel Beckett, Molloy.

**Tautology** occurs when the same idea is needlessly repeated in different words. Tautology, explains Dupriez, is a “logical error consisting in presenting as
meaningful a proposition whose predicate says no more than its subject” (1991: 451); e.g. free gift, in this day and age, are tautological expressions

If a word or a phrase is repeated with information added to it, one talks about **amplification**. The aim is to emphasise what might otherwise be neglected. It allows a speaker to call attention to a certain idea by expanding on it, thus making sure that the audience will understand the significance of the expressed idea; e.g. “This orchard, this lovely, shady orchard, is the main reason I bought this property.” (Harris, 2010).

If a single idea is expressed by two coordinated nouns instead of a premodifying adjective and noun it is a case of a scheme called **hendiadys**; e.g. “I love the Lord, because he hath heard **my voice and my supplications**.” - Psalms 116 (my supplicatory voice could be used instead)

A sequence of words, clauses, sentences or ideas which are arranged in order of increasing importance is a **climax**; e.g. “…Lost, vaded, broken, dead within an hour.” - W. Shakespeare, The Passionate Pilgrim, XIII

### 5.2.3 Some phonological patterns

Among the most common **phonological patterns** used in political speeches are alliteration, assonance and consonance.

**Alliteration** is “the repetition of the same consonant sound, usually at the beginning of words in a series which appear near each other, in the same line or group of lines in poetry or prose.” (Stillman, 1996: 84) The function of alliteration is to establish some kind of rhythmic quality, especially in the longer sentences; e.g. “**Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled pepper, ..**” – English tongue twister

**Assonance** is “the repetition of the same vowel sound in neighboring words in a line (or in several lines) of a poem or prose.” (Stillman, 1996: 83); e.g. “**It beats . . . as it sweeps . . . as it cleans!**” - Advertising slogan for Hoover vacuum cleaners in the 1950s

**Consonance** refers to the resemblance or repetition of consonants; e.g. “**The curfew tolls the knells of parting day**” - Thomas Grey, An Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard

### 5.2.4 Other rhetoric devices

To persuade listeners to accept something as self-evident, even if controversial, **presuppositions** are used. They are defined as “background assumptions, embedded in a sentence or phrase, which are taken for granted to be true
regardless of whether the whole sentence is true.” An example of a presupposition is the following statement: “We want to set people free so that they have greater power over their own lives.” - It is presupposed that people are not currently free since the speaker wishes to free them. (Thomas et al. 2004: 42). Presuppositions can be embedded in sentences by using adjectives in the comparative, possessives, subordinate clauses and questions instead of statements. (Thomas et al. 2004: 36-53).

Vivid imagery can be used to appeals to the reader’s senses. Great imagery can help listeners form mental pictures about the topic at hand and enable them to get a better understanding of the messages conveyed. For instance, Obama relied on strong imagery, such as - “work before dawn”, lying “awake with doubt” – and thus created some mental pictures in the minds of the listeners in his Super Tuesday speech, delivered in February 2008. Bush included vivid imagery in his 2002 State of the Union Address - “thousands of dangerous killers... are now spread through the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.”

A symbol is something concrete that represents something more abstract. Symbols, especially those of national identity, religion and historical symbols are often used in political speeches. Politicians often make use of symbols to foster national unity. (Ball & Peters 2000: 81)

So called sound-bites may be used to achieve clarity and memorability. A sound-bite is a short piece from a speech, usually sent to the media, so that it can be reported as quickly as possible. The sound-bite is chosen because it will sum up the content of a longer paragraph in fewer words, suitable for a headline (Beard, 2000: 37). Obama’s “Yes, we can.” functioned as a sound-bite in his New Hampshire Primary Concession Speech, delivered in January 2008.

Storytelling is amongst the effective tools available to Presidents, either for changing people’s minds or sparking great movements of change. (Denning, 2007) Storytelling tends to be more interesting than abstract argument. A story weaves in emotion in a way that rational argument can never do. (MacIntyre, 1981) Reagan's speeches are full of stories of personal initiative, heroism and patriotism. (Hart, 1984: 219-222) George W. Bush used a hero Todd Beamer, his wife and other helpers of ground zero in 9/11 tragedy as role models. (Waldman, 2003: 308)

A politician delivering a speech uses pauses strategically to hold an audience and place emphasis on certain statements. Pauses “may serve not only to make time

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23 Kennedy used pauses to emphasize and create excitement during delivering his Inaugural address.
available for speaker’s cognitive processes, but also to assist the listener in his task of understanding the speaker” (Butterworth, 1980: 157). The audience feels that deliberate pauses have to be filled by manifestations of approval/disapproval (cheering, chanting, etc.). Such responses may be prompted by the organizers. Along with pauses, pitch movement and loudness are exploited as effective speaking tools. Crystal (1995:248) states that “the most important prosodic effects are those portrayed by the linguistic use of pitch movement.” It is the rising or falling intonation of a person’s voice that conveys certain meaning. Rising intonation indicates that there is more to come, whilst falling intonation marks the completion point. Loudness is used in a variety of ways and can portray for example anger or excitement.

5.2.5 Syntactic stylistic devices

This subchapter reviews inversion, anastrophe, fronting, parenthesis, apposition, ellipsis, parallel syntactic constructions, asyndeton, polysyndeton, personal pronouns and modality.

In literary texts, syntax can differ from everyday usage. Word order might be changed (inverted) for the rhetorical effect. If Subject-Predicate-Object word-order predominates in English, the case with stylistic inversion is different. In English prose and poetry the following patterns of stylistic inversion occur: the object or the adverbial modifier is placed at the beginning of a sentence, the attribute is placed after the word it modifies, the predicative is placed before the subject, the predicative stands before the auxiliary verb and both are placed before the subject. E.g. “United, there is little we cannot do in a host of co-operative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do . . . ” John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address

A scheme of inverted natural word order is called anastrophe, the purpose of which is to gain attention, and/or to emphasize. This scheme occurs when i) the verb precedes the subject-noun, ii) the adjective follows the noun it modifies, iii) the object precedes its verb, iv) the preposition follows the object of the preposition; e.g. “Sure I am of this, that you have only to endure to conquer.” W. Churchill, Address delivered at the Guildhall, London, September, 1914

Fronting refers to “the initial placement of core elements which are normally found in post-verbal position” (Biber et al. 1999: 900). Fronting is a marked construction because it does not follow the SVO word order. There are several

24 There are three sound variations: temporal (speed/rate, pause, rhythm), force (loudness, stress, emphasis) and tone (pitch, tune) modulation.
25 See Biber et al. (1999: 915 – 921); Greenbaum / Quirk (1990: 410 / 411); Leech / Svartvik (1994: 203 / 204)
26 English is generally considered a subject-verb-object language.
frontings: a fronting of negative or restrictive element, a fronting of obligatory adverbal or adverbial particle, a fronting of so + adjective/adverb, a fronting of -ing or past participle clause. This stylistic device serves to gain emphasis, to express contrast or to achieve cohesion. E.g. “That I judge to be utterly futile and even harmful. [...] Of this I am quite sure, that if we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find we have lost the future.” – W. Churchill, Their finest hour speech, June 18, 1940

**Parenthesis** is the insertion of a verbal unit that interrupts a syntactic construction without otherwise affecting it, often indicated by commas, brackets or dashes. Parenthesis is a very common grammatical phenomenon of spoken English. E.g. “But what might you think, When I had seen this hot love on the wing - As I perceiv’d it (I must tell you that) Before my daughter told me - what might you, Or my dear Majesty your queen here, think...?” – Shakespeare, Hamlet 2.2.131-35

“**An apposition** is a special kind of noun postmodifier which gives the headword another name.” (Blaganje and Konte, 1995: 141) It is either loose (e.g. “We children adored our grandfather.”) or close (e.g. “His brother, a well-known lawyer, was also there.”).

**Ellipsis** is a scheme of omission. “Sentences are elliptical when either their subject or the predicator or both are omitted. However, the missing element can easily be identified from the context.” (Blaganje and Konte, 1995: 446) e.g. “Ready?” (instead of Are you ready?), “Fine, thanks.” (instead of I am fine.)

At a syntactic level, **parallel constructions** can foreground features. Balance within a single sentence is achieved through parallel words and parallel phrases. Within a paragraph a row of clauses with similar structure can be balanced. This kind of parallelism includes parallel attributive clauses, adverbial clauses and objective clauses. Finally, paragraphs can be parallel. They share similar structure. Accordingly, the speech can be more persuasive, more powerful and more rhythmical. E.g. “Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right.” – Jimmy Carter, Inaugural Address, January 1977

The way the audience is addressed is equally important. **Personal pronouns** can perform a deictic function, e.g. us as opposed to them, to signify the group of insiders and outsiders. We / Us reinforce collective mood and elicit applause. The use of pronouns is covered in Chapter 7.19.

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Pronouns are among cohesive devices in a text. So are conjunctions. The deliberate omission of conjunctions between a series of related clauses is called **asyndeton** (a scheme of omission). It creates a hurried rhythm in a sentence or a sense of spontaneity; e.g. “An empty stream, a great silence, an impenetrable forest. The air was thick, warm, heavy, sluggish.” - Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*

The opposite of asyndeton is **polysyndeton**, in which case the conjunction and/or is repeated several times in succession. This stylistic scheme influences the rhythm of the text. E.g. "I said, 'Who killed him?' and he said 'I don't know who killed him, but he's dead all right,' and it was dark and there was water standing in the street and no lights or windows broke and boats all up in the town and trees blown down and everything all blown and I got a skiff and went out and found my boat where I had her inside Mango Key and she was right only she was full of water." - Ernest Hemingway, *After the Storm*

Stylistics can exploit **modality** that is concerned with the speakers attitudes and perspectives towards the proposition they express. Modality is very commonly expressed by modal verbs but also adverbs (possibly, perhaps), clauses (I am certain that ..., I admit, ...I confess..., frankly speaking, ...). Modality is further explained in Chapter 7.17.

According to Charteris-Black, the effect of rhetorical strategies in political speeches is often a result of them being combined. Therefore, it is as interesting to look at the interaction of various strategies as it is to look at each one separately (Charteris-Black, 2005: 11).

The ability to decode and understand the use of all these devices enables us to explain, to a certain extent, why some Inaugural addresses have a notable impact on listeners and other do not.

Inaugural addresses therefore represent a particularly rich domain for rhetorical analysis.
6. Analysis

6.1 Inaugural address by George Washington, 1789

6.1.1 Context
George Washington was the first President of the United States and thus he faced circumstances that no other President had faced before. He had no precedents to follow. George Washington did not have to give an inaugural address, however he did, and in so doing, started a tradition. He began the tradition of delivering the Inaugural address on April 30, 1789 based on the British monarch's annual address at the opening session of the Parliament. Washington travelled to New York City from Mt. Vernon, Virginia. After reciting the oath, Washington retired to the Senate Chamber and arose to deliver his inaugural address to both houses of the federal government (Pitkin, 1970; Tulis, 1987). Members of the federal government were Washington's audience, as it was inside the Senate Chamber. The audience was very limited, despite the fact the man who was going to lead the nation was immensely popular. There was no media present, no foreign dignitaries, and no former office holder present in the Chamber. He read his address from the manuscript. He did not wear eyeglasses. He spoke rather slowly. He felt the occasion was a momentous and it was reported that his hands trembled and his voice quavered.

Tulis points out that the members of the Congress viewed the speech as eloquent and successful in defining the role of the Federal government. He sought "to praise virtuous men, to display his own character and virtue and to implore fellow officers of the government to take their guidance from the Constitution and from 'that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe' " (Tulis, 1987: 47-48).

Washington's First Inaugural address carved in stone the four traditional topics that are still inherent in Inaugurals. He reconstituted the people to witness and ratify the Inauguration, rehearsed communal values that invigorated the United States, stated the Constitutional principles that would guide the President, and stressed the powers and limitations of the executive office (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990: 203-225).

Lucas (1986) proposes that George Washington's first Inaugural address created a form and style that has been followed by all Presidents when first coming into Office.

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28 The lines 'So help me God' and 'Fellow citizens' have been followed in nearly all inaugural addresses ever since.
The message that Washington apparently wished to convey was the one of unity. Washington wished to press the Senators and Representatives to work together. With his Inaugural he stressed that the infant system needed to succeed. He talked about the necessity for men of character and virtue in public life, the need for them to be guided by the Constitution and “that Almighty Being who rules over the universe.”

James Madison was called to help Washington with the first Inaugural, but unfortunately, there are no surviving drafts by Washington or Madison. (Lucas and Zaeske in Ryan, 1995: 4-5)

6.1.2 Structure

- opening - making it clearly evident to whom Washington was speaking: “Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives”
- the passage about his mixed feelings upon accepting the new position and emphasizing the “magnitude and difficulty of the trust” to which he had been called; a request for forgiveness for the errors he may make as the President
- referring to God in order to thank him and ask him to “consecrate” the new government to preserve the liberty and happiness of the American people
- dealing with politics in a very general sense; warning the Congress that “no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities” should “misdirect the proceedings”.
- defining the purpose of the Constitution, which states the function of the President is “recommend to the consideration of Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.”
- reflections on the salary he would receive
- referring to the feelings about his new position, calling on God and praising the decision of the American people to vote “with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness […]”

6.1.3 Logos

Washington rationally defined his function as the President to recommend to Congress “such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.” However, he was aware that the Inaugural address was not the appropriate forum for him to present a list of issues for Congress to consider.

Further, Washington warned the Congress that “no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities” should misdirect the proceedings. Washington told the members of the Congress to define “the objects
to which your attention is to be given.” He believed that if the Congress fulfilled its mission, America would thrive.

He requested that each member in the new government should be successful in fulfilling “the functions allotted to his charge.”

6.1.4 Ethos

Washington was respected as a man of virtue and accomplishment. He was admired for his “dignity”, “judiciousness” and “dedication to duty” (Barber, 1992: 10). The Virginia aristocrat farmer was the military hero of the Revolution – he led the Continental Army through a six-year campaign that resulted in the defeat of the greatest empire in the world. After the subsequent creation of the United States of America, Washington resigned as Commander-in-Chief and declared his retirement (Bloom, 1939). All these characteristics contributed to his ethos.

It is clear in the opening statement that Washington did not desire to be the President, and that he would have preferred retirement. It is also evident that he was extremely humble in accepting what he saw as his duty to his countrymen.

He expressed strong concerns about the challenges he was facing and whether he would be able to meet the expectations of his fellow citizens. He asked his fellow citizens to forgive any errors he may commit because of what he described as “incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me.”

Washington was confident “that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.”

Washington's use of the pronoun 'I' twenty-three times and the use of pronoun 'my' twenty-two times through the speech contributed to his virtuous image.

By linking himself to his audience, the members of the Congress, Washington created an atmosphere of equality and a comfortable relationship between himself and his fellow politicians and established goodwill.

6.1.5 Pathos

The address itself was pervaded by emotions of solemnity and sublimity. Washington was convinced that the federal government could not be divided by party loyalties. Therefore, he subtly appealed to the members of the Congress, to their loyalty, to the country and to the principle they should ascribe to. He warned
that if they failed to have morality and freedom at their core, then the people and the world would see their great experiment as a failure “and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps as deeply, as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the American people.” He made it evident that he had confidence in the Congress to protect the people and to ensure the continuity of the federal government.

Washington avoided emotional appeals and relied instead on logical appeals and his own established ethos to persuade his audience.

His voice was characterized as undistinguished, he spoke slowly, and he seldom gesticulated for force or emphasis and when he did, his gestures were awkward and stiff (Lucas and Zaske, 1995: 6).
Washington's address is difficult reading. It engages formal, elevated language and its syntax is utterly verbose and lengthy. The address is ornate in style. It has six paragraphs, 1,428 words and lengthy sentences, that are rather difficult to understand. **Two initial sentences** are quite long; the first one has 36 words and the second one 87. **Grammatically speaking the sentences are complex.** In the third, 69 word-long sentence, he stressed the “magnitude and difficulty of the trust” to which he had been called and requested forgiveness for the errors he might make as the President. The fourth sentence has 34 words and discusses his conflict of emotions.

The complexity of the sentence patterns is exemplified below.

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On the one hand,
I was summoned by my country,
whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love,
from a retreat
which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with
an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years —
which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me by the
addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the
gradual waste committed on it by time.
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On the other hand,
the magnitude and difficulty of the trust
to which the voice of my country called me,
being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a
distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications,
could not but overwhelm with despondence one
who (inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpracticed in the duties of
civil administration) ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies.
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By using this elaborate contrast, Washington explained how he had been spending his “declining years” on his plantation, in a private “asylum” from public responsibilities, but how the voice of his country, which he could “never hear but with veneration and love,” reminded him of his duty.
Periodic sentences\textsuperscript{29} can be found in the address. They serve the purpose of emphasis.
e.g. “That if it shall be found during my administration of the Government I have in any instance violated willingly or knowingly the injunctions thereof, I may be subject to the upbraiding of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony.”

The address uses \textit{prepositional phrases} abundantly – e.g. “the asylum of my declining years”, “conflict of emotions”, “the duties of civil administration”, “the confidence of my fellow citizens” etc.

His \textit{nominal phrases} are \textit{complex} – e.g.

\begin{quote}
\textit{every alteration}
\textit{which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or}
\textit{which ought to await the future lessons of experience}"
\end{quote}

In describing God’s power Washington employed \textit{three parallel non-restrictive relative clauses}.
“[...] that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect”
- Each relative clause adds to the list of God’s supremacy whereby God’s authority is emphasized.

There are some other \textit{instances of syntactic parallelism}.
e.g. “In this conflict of emotions \textit{all I dare aver is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is that if, [...]}” – Repetition of the same structural pattern supports balance and rhythm of the sentences and enhances the clarity of the utterance. By using this construction Washington found a dramatic way of expressing his reflections and his fears. The contrasting elements - the verbs \textit{aver/hope} - provide some variety in expression and correspond to Leech’s definition of parallelism\textsuperscript{30}.

\textsuperscript{29} A periodic sentence is a sentence that is not grammatically complete until the final clause or phrase. There are parallel phrases or clauses at the opening, or the use of a succession of dependent clauses as modifiers preceding the independent clause. The subject/verb group shows itself in full only at the sentence’s end. In periodic sentence, subordinate clause precedes the main clause. Periodic sentences force the reader to pay attention to, while waiting for completion of the idea.

\textsuperscript{30} In his essay ‘Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet’ Leech claims: ‘Any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables’, which means that every parallelistic pattern must have an element of identity and an element of contrast. (Leech, 1969: 65)
G. Washington even managed **parallelism within parallelism**, i.e.

> I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire,

since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity;

since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained;

and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

The first parallelism is introduced with the **successive adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinator since** – the first refers to the “economy and course of nature”, the second to the “propitious smiles of Heaven” and the last to the “preservation of the sacred fire of liberty”.

Furthermore, there is an embedded parallel construction established by the trifold use of the preposition between. Unless parallelism had been adopted, a long-winded sentence such as the one above, would have probably been ignored by the audience. Instead it makes it more comprehensible and appealing to the ear.

In the **copulative coordination** - “…I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye…” - inversion occurs.

Many of the words are of Latin origin – vicissitudes, predilection, asylum – which add up to the formal style of the address. The first section of the speech deals with his thoughts upon receiving the message of his victory, as well as reflecting on the enormous responsibility he has to face. It is a passage full of **words with negative denotations**, expressions of insecurity and doubt.31 The part where Washington referred to God, **positive utterances** and words of joy and hope dominate32. The part dealing with politics and the future conduct of the

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31 Anxieties, retreat, waste, difficulty, distrustful, inferior, deficiencies, conflict, incapacity, disinclination, mislead
32 providential aids, benediction, liberties, happiness, success, public and private good, acknowledge and adore, independent nation, revolution just accomplished, tranquil deliberations, voluntary consent, future blessings
Government, emphasised the values, attitudes and key concepts of the 18th century.33

33 duty, the rectitude, patriotism, honorable qualifications, pure and immutable principles of private morality, free government, respect, truth, virtue, solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity, order and right, liberty, pursuit of the public good, united and effective government, rights of freemen, public harmony
6.1.7 Figures of speech

In George Washington's first Inaugural address, several rhetorical figures occur. Contrast, the three-part list, isocolon, personification, metaphor, metonymy, climax, sound patterns, epithet, hendiadys, apostrophe and allusion are among the figures identified and interpreted.

A contrast occurred in the first part of the speech, in which Washington discussed how he had been called out of his retirement at Mount Vernon.

"On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with fondest predilection [...]. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, [...], could not but overwhelm with despondence one who [...] ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies”

In another contrast Washington outlined the difference in the formation of the US government and the governments of other countries:

“[...] and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude [...]”

Otherwise, there are not many antitheses in the address. Interestingly, there are no rhetorical questions used by Washington.

Washington’s three-part list consists of three relative clauses: “[...] that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect.” Each clause provides information about the power of God, thereby stressing his authority. Tricolon can be observed in some other examples; for instance at the point when Washington paid tribute “to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism” of the members of Congress or when he warned the Congress that “no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities” should “misdirect” the proceedings.

Through (three succeeding noun phrases) isocolon Washington expressed his hopes that the divine blessing will be bestowed on the government: “[...] so His divine blessings may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend”
Washington personified the country whose voice he had heard; e.g. “the voice of my country called me.” Through personification of the country, Washington’s love for his country becomes even more apparent. Another example of personification appears in “smiles of Heaven” referring to the benevolence of God if the divine rules are followed.

The expression “voice of my country” was clearly used as a metaphor representing the voice of the voters. The resonant fire metaphor “preservation of the sacred fire of liberty” might be suggesting that the Republican form of the government and/or liberty should be preserved, whereby the responsibility for the nation is put into the hands of the citizens. This fire metaphor links fire and liberty. Fire was represented as the guarantor of liberty. An example of synecdoche also occurs. Namely, ‘hands’ represent the people upon which the maintenance of the Republican form of government and the preservation of democracy depends on.

The word “Heaven” representing the idea of God is an example of metonymy. Several times Washington used the word ‘country’, standing for the electors who had given him their votes and to all inhabitants of the United States. The following two examples illustrate metonymy: “summoned by my Country” and “judged by my country”.

The address reached its climax as Washington declared that “the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality”. In the climatic statement Washington described how the government was to function and that the new nation serves as a model for the world: “the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world”. In this case, the progression is made from the inhabitants of the US to the international level.

There are several instances of alliteration found throughout the speech:

- e.g. “[...] my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me [...]”
- e.g. “[...] blessings which the past seems to presage”
- e.g. “[...] the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes [...]”

Assonance is also employed.

- e.g. “[...] staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people”
- e.g. “Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care [...]”

In some cases alliteration and assonance interwind.
e.g. “[...] I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department [...]”

There is an example of homoioteleuton in “since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps as deeply as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the American people.”

Some adjectives are descriptive, not relevant to syntax and could be referred to as epithets.

- e.g. “[...] fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision [...]”
- e.g. “[...] pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation [...]”
- e.g. “[...] tranquil deliberations [...]”
- e.g. “[...] honorable qualifications [...]”

The numerous epithets used indicate the important values of the time, such as honour, religion, firmness, education, contemplation and modesty. Washington acknowledged the importance of the listed values and presented himself as a man who embodied them.

To provide a more striking image hendiadys34 is used in “veneration and love” supporting the idea of strong appreciation for having been elected. The second instance of hendiadys is “magnitude and difficulty of the trust” referring to the seriousness of the task before him and the immense responsibility of the office.

Washington used apostrophe35 as he thanked God and asked him for his benevolence towards his nation. Furthermore, regarding the salary for his Chief Executive service Washington addressed members of the House of Representatives in the following manner:

“[t]o the foregoing observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives”

A very significant allusion was made to the War of Independence. It reads as follows: “[w]hen I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, [...]”. The reference to the

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34 two words, which are connected by a conjunction, rather than by subordination, in order to express one and the same (complex) idea
35 Directing the attention away from the audience and to a personified abstraction, either present or not
War of Independence probably arose from Washington's awareness of the historical importance of the war.

In terms of the elocution, certain power of the address comes from the use of rhetorical elements such as metaphors, the three part list, sound patterns, allusion, and apostrophe, which enhance the speech and are a part of the prototype followed by subsequent Presidents.
6.2 Inaugural address by Thomas Jefferson, 1801

6.2.1 Context

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the U.S., delivered his First Inaugural Address on March 4, 1801 in almost an inaudible voice by reading the text to a joint session of Congress and a crowded audience of more than 1,100 guests. He was the first US President to deliver the Inaugural address in Washington D.C..

Jefferson's First Inaugural address is considered to be the most important political speech of Jefferson’s career. (Holland, 2007: 150). Jefferson placed emphasis on the political controversy and on pacifying his opponents. Federalists and Democratic-Republicans praised the speech for its conciliatory tone. Jefferson’s attempt was to promote unity after a divisive election. “But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.”

Thomas Jefferson's election was the first occasion when the power was peacefully transferred from one Party to another as a result of a mass election. Federalists were dismayed by the idea of Jefferson being the President, so he argued that the majority should rule in a democracy, while the rights of the minority should be protected. He made a distinction between differences of political opinion and of principle and contended that both the Republicans and the Federalists were equally dedicated to Republican principles. He strategically communicated the strong message of friendship throughout his speech. He recalled the virtues of friendship, love, rights, freedom, and wisdom for the nation. Jefferson also encouraged patriotism. He expressed his desire for a united nation working towards the best interests of the country. Jefferson wanted to remind Americans of their roots and expressed his aspirations for the future. From his optimistic point of view, the future of the country seemed very promising. His proposal for the future was simple, “Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind.” Jefferson listed the policies that he felt the government should support. He defended his political ideals and those of his party. He was holding the nation to a very high moral standard. There are no recordings of Jefferson’s speech presentation nor witnesses who could recount the full details.

He had only two weeks to prepare the address and composed it without secretarial assistance. (Chandler in Ryan, 1993: 31) “Scholars generally conclude that Jefferson was primarily a writer rather than a speaker, and that the Virginian excelled at written instead of spoken discourse.” (Chandler in Ryan, 1995: 33)

36 Tone suggests an attitude toward the subject which is communicated; it is similar to mood.
6.2.2 Structure

- A thankful and appreciative start; thanking the voters for having chosen him. “my fellow citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks”; describing the American land with all the potentials; humbling himself in the face of the enormity of the task ahead and asking the audience to be supportive of him.
- Looking at the bitter election just completed; the minority vs the majority section: “All too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression.”
- The reconciliation section - “We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists”; Unity calls, reminding opponents of the common ground
- Prasing the government that had kept the American people “free and firm” as “the world's best hope”
- Jefferson's vision of the kind of government that is a precondition to the happiness and prosperity of the state - “a wise and frugal Government”
- The “equal and exact justice to all men” section; advocating freedom of opinion and freedom of the press
- Asking for indulgence and support
- Expressing reliance upon the “good will” of the American people; asking the “Infinite Power” for guidance

6.2.3 Ethos

Jefferson had been involved in the establishment of the USA, therefore, it is very likely that his authority had already been established in the minds of the listeners previously. His use of ethos served to bring the familiarity of his authority to those who were not already familiar with him. It also served to reinforce his image in the listener’s minds.

He acknowledged that the task of President was above his talents, making himself humble and successively increasing his ethos. He was humbled that “the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country” were entrusted to him. He claimed: “…I shrink from the contemplation and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking.”

Jefferson explicitly acknowledged his obligation.

“About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration.”
By speaking about the relationship between the majority and minority, and the balance of power between the State and the Federal governments, Jefferson confirmed his position as the President, with the task of reconciliation between the fractions, which in turn established his credibility and trustworthiness.

He thanked the American people for their confidence. He asserted that he would seek their “good opinion” whilst working “to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.” Jefferson tried to reassure the audience that he deserved their confidence even though he lacked the reputation of G. Washington.

“I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground.” - he asked for the people's forgiveness for his unintentional mistakes and their “support against the errors of others.”

Jefferson repeatedly used the phrase “fellow citizens” to provide a sense of comradery and pride. Throughout the address the audience must have felt close to him; using the pronouns we/our/us interchangeably instead of I and me must have garnered sympathy and unity. Jefferson’s First Inaugural address charged the nation to “unite in common efforts for the common good...that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail...that the minority possess their equal rights.... Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things.” (Peterson 1984: 492-493).

Jefferson said that he would gladly retire if they found a better choice to fill the Presidency. Until then, he hoped “that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe [will] lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.”

Jefferson was a person who sought a truce with his opponents and it was such an image that helped him command credibility. It granted him ethos and empowered his speech. The use of conciliatory statements highlighted the ethos of Jefferson.

In the address, Jefferson used ethos to establish empathy among the scattered consciousness of the people. Examples of usage are references to the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the beginnings of the United States, all demonstrating his intelligence and familiarity with the history and founding of the United States.

Jefferson’s mention of George Washington can be considered as an instance of ethos. What is interesting is that he did not use his name, but referred to him as the “first and greatest revolutionary character”. Moreover, he mentioned him
towards the end of the Address, an effect that he utilized to his advantage by appealing to the audience to entrust in him the way they had George Washington.

6.2.4 Logos

In the address, Jefferson did not quote facts and figures directly. He failed to give numbers and focused more on the principles everyone could embrace. Another instance where Jefferson exploited logos is when he touched upon the bitter contest of the election. He expressed his thoughts, how the arguments and exertions would be sorted out, since their fate was under the control of the public and the Constitution.

He argued that all had to agree that in a republic “the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail.” But the majority had to be “reasonable” and had to respect the rights of the minority, “which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression.”

He was assertive when stating that it was time to ban “political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.”

Jefferson identified “the essential principles of our Government and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration.” He appealed to logic through a description of “good government” that does not “take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.” His statements regarding the essential principles of the American government constitute the use of logos. Jefferson claimed that the principles of the government were, “equal and exact justice to all men”, “peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations”, “the support of the state governments in all their rights”, “encouragement of agriculture and of commerce”, “honest payment of debts”, “freedom of religion”, and “trial by juries impartially selected”. All these Jefferson’s claims about the government fall under the category of logos.

He appealed to logic with a logical question that if a person could not trust his own government then whose government could he trust; “Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others?”

In Jefferson’s view, both the Federal and the State government had specific tasks in a Republican government.

6.2.5 Pathos

Jefferson attempted to soothe the fears of Federalists by reminding them he would not disintegrate the Union, that he would not pursue a solely French
alliance, and that he would preserve the government and the strength of the
nation. (Simon, James F. 2002: 143-144)

Pathos is revealed in Jefferson’s discussion on the equality of the Federalists and
the Republicans. He argued that some people did not consider the new Republican
form of the government strong enough. He tried to convince the audience that the
Republican government was indeed what the country required at the time. He
appealed to the patriotic feelings of people, asking them to judge the current
government without bias and with the best interests of the country in mind. He
asked the “honest patriot” if he would forsake a government which had not only
kept the country free but had also kept its people “firm on the theoretic and
visionary fear that this Government, the world’s best hope, may by possibility
want energy to preserve itself?”

Jefferson was trying to generate people’s loyalty to the country by recalling the
past events. He knew that the nation had been suffering and he revisited those
occurrences, stirring up strong emotions in the crowd. He said, “we have yet
gained little if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and
as capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.”

In order to stir patriotic emotions, he praised the country as a “chosen country”
with “room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth
generation.” He added that the American nation was a rising one, progressing
beyond the reach of the mortal eye.
6.2.6 Language

Thomas Jefferson's Inaugural address has forty-one sentences and six paragraphs. The first sentence of Jefferson's inaugural address was long and elaborate. Even though Jefferson favoured plain speaking, his sentence contained 86 words.

"Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire."

Thomas Jefferson was a master of the rhetorical art and some of his sentences were indeed masterfully complex; e.g.

"Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter— with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people?"

Comment [T24]: Past participle clause as subordinate clause
Comment [T25]: Main clause
Comment [T26]: Non restrictive relative clause as subordinate clause
Comment [T27]: Infinitival clause of purpose
Comment [T28]: Prepositional restrictive relative clause as subordinate clause
Comment [T29]: Infinitival clause of purpose
Comment [T30]: Two coordinated that clauses
Comment [T31]: Restrictive relative clause as subordinate clause
Comment [T32]: Non-finite subordinate clause
Comment [T33]: Non-finite subordinate clause
Comment [T34]: Non-finite subordinate clause
Comment [T35]: Non-finite subordinate clause
Comment [T36]: Non-finite subordinate clause
Comment [T37]: Non-finite subordinate clause
Comment [T38]: Prepositional phrase denoting instrument – a part of the main clause
Comment [T39]: Main clause
The word order in some sentences is inverted:

“To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.”

Jefferson used the loose adjunct indeed for emphatic purpose;
e.g. “Utterly, indeed, [...] I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties.”
e.g. “I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong,...”

The phrase “fellow-citizens” is used in apposition to create a sense of comradery — e.g. “Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind.”
or e.g. “Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, ...”

With the goal of reinforcement, Jefferson applied three-part constructions; for instance, he exhibited humility that “the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country” were entrusted to him. He claimed that he would “find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties.”
He asked for tolerance “to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.”

A complex nominal phrases is illustrated below; e.g.

“A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry; engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right; advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye” —

Jefferson constantly used content words37 referring to actions and emotions. He stated, “And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained

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37 Open-class words: nouns, verbs, adjectives and most adverbs
little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty...” - The applied words must have been felt by the audience and made the message very clear.

Jefferson showed a preference for coordinated balanced phrases. For instance, he told the Congress that he would look to them for “guidance and support”. He perceived the US government as “wise and frugal” which had kept the American people, up to that point, “free and firm”. One of the general principles to be followed was, according to Jefferson, “Equal and exact justice to all men”. Further on, he claimed he would strive to be “instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.”

In the address, inversion of the word order occurs in:

- e.g. “Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution…”
- e.g. “and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.”
- e.g. “And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best…”

It is worth noting that the handwritten version of the address included the lowercased words republicans and federalist. In many newspapers afterwards, the words were transformed with capitals as appropriate for two political parties, or to highlight their importance in the address.

Jefferson’s Inaugural address is polished at the highest level. He seemed to understand the potential of language to unite and influence people.

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38 “Jefferson had a habit of not using a capital for the first word in a sentence and was neither accurate nor consistent in his spelling.” (Holmes, 2002: 2)
6.2.7 Figures of speech

Thomas Jefferson incorporated imagery, metaphors, antithesis, rhetorical questions, repetitions and phonological patterns to complement his harmonizing visions and Republican views.

Jefferson made good use of imagery, for example he portrayed the nation as different and unique: “a rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land”. Jefferson described the American land in an elevated manner. He referred to nature and the ocean as two agents shielding the country from the rebellion that took part in other parts of the world. He relied on dramatic imagery in his principles regarding the importance of trade.

With the statement “I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking” Jefferson intentionally minimized himself in order to stress the greatness of America and its heritage. This is called meiosis.

The address contains some metaphors which contribute to the style. Jefferson’s usage of a nautical metaphor is found in the following statement, “I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked.” He reiterated the nautical metaphor by calling the general government a “sheer anchor”. It is clarified that the government must guard against “the sword of revolution”. This weapon metaphor brings in the notion of threat, which is balanced against Jefferson's celestial body metaphor.

“These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation.” – this metaphor points out that the principles of the Founding Fathers were the constellations to turn to in order to find the way and “to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.” This is a three-part list combined with a road metaphor.

He spoke about the blessings of the Providence upon the land. He referred to the Providence instead of Christianity to depict plurality rather than an appreciation of religion in particular (Lawler, 2004: 144). Providence, therefore, is a metonymy was used instead of Christianity since it closely resembles it.

Jefferson personified inanimate objects with rage and anger, agitation, pain and spasm to name a few. For example, the “throes and convulsions of the ancient world”, “agonizing spasms”, “bright constellation” and “agitation of the billows” are personifications delineating the political and religious turmoil in the region.
In addition Jefferson used **allusion** within his references to the Bill of Rights: “...freedom of religion, freedom of the press and freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus...” . Mentioning George Washington as the “first and greatest revolutionary character” is regarded as **the use of an allusion**.

Referring to the opinion of the Federalists, Jefferson argued: “Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him?” - These two **rhetorical questions** served to give a deeper understanding to the listeners and to inspire them to think critically. The questions should have led to the realization of the principles that Jefferson was encouraging citizens to live by. He wanted to encourage people to trust his government.

The question “Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him?” can be regarded as **ironic**, depicting that no other person could lead America better than the one who firmly believed in the form of the elected government.

With the help of **anaphora**, Jefferson reinforced the people's feelings of citizenship: “Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect…” These anaphoric lines were used to stress togetherness and to encourage patriotism. The **isocolon** evident in “one heart and one mind” reinforced his call for national unity.

To clear up understanding in the minds of the listeners, Jefferson engaged **antithesis**: “to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence...”.

By using **an antithesis**, Jefferson wanted the listeners to realize that the industry would not progress without collective dedication and labour. By “not by birth” Jefferson aimed to say that more than just the grace of the position was needed. He strengthened the meaning by saying “but from our actions”. He was trying to convince people that, as a nation, they would have to maintain the atmosphere the founding fathers had in mind. This antithesis was used as a call to action.

**Contrast** is applied in “peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none” referring to friendly relations with all countries.

To reassure the audience that he deserved their trust, Jefferson incorporated contrast: “I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the
whole ground." – clearly, Jefferson anticipated that his actions would eventually be criticized.

Through **periphrasis** Jefferson made indirect reference to God: "And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity." – Jefferson was addressing the general population of America, who were religiously diverse. Most likely he did not want to cause any controversy or make anyone feel left out because of their religion. He wanted to acknowledge God without offending anyone.

Jefferson described **providence** as a person by saying that it could find delight in something: “Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here...” By the use of **personification** the listeners could have grasped all the elements of providence and could have realized that happiness was promoted.

Jefferson illustrated the dreadful consequences of bringing religious absolutism into politics, whereby he included **alliteration and antithesis**: “having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.” He combined **imagery and sound patterns** in this excerpt: “During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty.”

**The three-part list** can be seen in Jefferson's display of humility that “the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country” were entrusted to him. Furthermore, he was certain, by looking at the faces in the audience, that he would “find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties.”

He appealed to unity through **syntactic parallelism** in “We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.” – This figure should have enhanced the reconciliation attempts with the Federalists and the entire theme of the Inaugural address. It constituted the **climax** of the address.

**Intermittent repetition** was used as Jefferson described the USA as a “chosen country” with “room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation.” Through the repetition of the word **difference** in “Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different

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39 an indirect reference to something
names brethren of the same principle.” Jefferson sent the message that it was time to rise above partisanship. Jefferson once asserted that in a free country, it can be expected that differences of opinions may arise amongst various figures and bodies. These differences were expected to occur naturally as a consequence of differences in people’s views and thoughts and limitations in reasoning. (Coffman, 2007: 20)

Anadiplosis was included in the statement “a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough” since it includes repetition of the word government.

When Jefferson declared that it was time to ban “political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions” he engaged alliteration and assonance. Alliterations are found quite often in Jefferson’s address. He expressed his belief that the government that “has so far kept us free and firm” is “the world’s best hope”. The assertion that the Republican form of government was the best represents a paradox.

Jefferson’s first Inaugural address contains many persuasive elements. He used figures of speech and the three appeals to generate a deep feeling of unity within the young nation that was fractured by political strife and infighting.

The applied figures of speech, such as metaphors, repetitions and imagery, prove that the address is superbly crafted. Not only did those elements contribute to the enjoyment of the speech for the estimated 1000 listeners, but they impacted Jefferson’s image as an intelligent and creative person. Jefferson’s mastery of language enhanced his success, his great communication skills won him the loyalty and support of many.
6.3 Inaugural address by Abraham Lincoln, 1860

6.3.1 Context

On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, took the oath of office and became the sixteenth President of the United States. Lincoln was elected President at the most challenging moment in the history of the USA - the outbreak of the Civil War.

The First Inaugural was a long speech - a word count reveals 3,633 words. The address was delivered in thirty-five minutes.

When Lincoln was elected the President in 1860, seven states\(^40\) declared that they would depart from the union and create a new nation, the Confederate States of America. Lincoln had to address the status of this group of breakaway states. Interestingly, he never referred to the “seceded” states as such. However, he bitterly opposed secession.

“Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.” - This quote proves how much he focused on preservation of the Union and how he attacked the idea of secession.

His central argument was that secession was unconstitutional: “I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.”

Lincoln's aim was to define his policy as defensive and to appeal to the goodwill of the Southerners.

Lincoln addressed two audiences – to the North, he aimed to express his reasons for wanting the Union as one, and to the South, he expressed his desire to

\(^{40}\) South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas
reconcile the differences that had divided them and to assure them that he was not a threat. The immediate audience anxiously awaited what the President-elect was going to propose about the divisive issue of slavery. There were between 25,000 and 50,000 people there, waiting expectantly.  

Lincoln's Inaugural could be described by the adjective *timeless* because it relates to any situation in which two opposing parties, with irreconcilable differences, are on the verge of war. The tone of the address could be assessed as legal and constitutional as well as conciliatory. Yet, his second Inaugural and the Gettysburg Address are better known than the first Inaugural.

The speech was written in Springfield, Illinois months before he became the 16th President.

“Lincoln wrote his own speeches. He did not employ ghostwriters. However, occasionally he asked colleagues and friends for suggestions, which sometimes he accepted, ignored or edited.” (Einhorn in Ryan, 1995: 82) His First Inaugural address is the speech where he sought advice from William Seward, his Secretary of State, who “supplied a few lines”. (Schlesinger, 2008: 2)

### 6.3.2 Structure

- greeting the audience by saying, “Fellow-Citizens of the United States”
- addressing the issues facing his administration - the secession of the southern states and slavery; clarifying his position on slavery; the issue of the Fugitive Slave Act – whereby the fugitive slaves must be regarded as property returnable to their owners
- addressing the continuity and perpetuity of the Union; the-Union-is-older-than-the-Constitution part;
- the President shall maintain the Union and faithfullly execute the laws
- if part – in case the divisive agents within the country seek to destroy the Union then the government will be obligated to respond
- addressing those who “love the Union”
- acknowledging that no document, including the Constitution, includes answers to all possible future questions – regarding the issue of slavery
- attacking the very idea of secession; secession is not the answer to differences of opinion; equating secession with anarchy
- discussion about a possible amendment to the Constitution
- a plea for peaceful and calm consideration of any possible precipitant actions
- calling for “the better angels”

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41 *New York Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1861: 5, col. 4.
It seems that the Inaugural relies mainly on logos and partially on ethos. It contains very little in the way of pathos, or appeals to emotions.

Lincoln began by noting the ceremonial character of the occasion and acknowledged the people's role in the ritual of investiture: “I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution.”

He greeted the audience with “Fellow-Citizens of the United States”, emphasizing his determination to hold the Union together and seeking to establish goodwill. He assured his listeners that he had been elected by law and expressed his determination to faithfully execute “the laws of the Union . . . in all the States”.

Lincoln made some attempts at ethos, trying to establish his goodwill toward the South. Afterall, he was almost universally hated or feared in the South. “There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that— I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them. . . .”

As evident from the lines above, Lincoln claimed that the South had no cause to fear his presidency.

With the statement “I shall take care, . . ., that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.” Lincoln gave the impression that he was merely a servant performing a "simple duty" and that the American people were his “rightful masters”. He was bound not only to the duty, but to the people and to God.

Regarding the oath he said: “I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it.” emphasizing that he was man of honesty and integrity.

To reinforce ethos and his firmness, Lincoln used expressions such as “I believe”, “I think not”, “I deem”, “I consider”, “I trust” – e.g. “I believe I have no lawful right to do so, ....”

e.g. “I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.”
6.3.4 Logos

Pre-eminently, this speech is an example of logos. Lincoln made logical arguments that the clause in Article 4, Section 2 of the Constitution, prohibiting people from escaping to another state to avoid labour, required the government to capture the fugitive slaves.

He quoted, "It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other."

Quoting the Constitution enhanced its logical appeal that fugitive slaves should remain the property of their owners no matter where they were caught. Lincoln denied any intentions of interfering with slavery in states where the Constitution protected it. - "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

He acknowledged that no document, including the Constitution, included answers to all possible future questions, including the issue of slavery.

He made it clear that the Union did not originate with the Constitution, but rather with the Articles of Association in 1774, and that the Constitution had been written only to form a "more perfect Union." He asserted that the Union was perpetual and made the argument that only some force acting outside its laws and constitutions could destroy the Union. Regarding the disruption of the Union, Lincoln posed a logical question – "Can it . . . be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it?" His answer was negative. The logical conclusion was that South Carolina and the other southern states had no right to secede. Breaking up the Union would only make matters worse. Breaking up the Union was physically impossible; which he illustrated by an example of a divorce in which the spouses do not have to live together. A war did not seem a satisfactory solution because one can not always fight and after the war, the North and the South would still have to coexist with old unsettled questions. They would have to interact simply due to their geographic proximity. Not only would the two nations be hostile toward each other due to the issues that divided them, but they would also be unstable because of the constant threat of further secession. Lincoln's logical conclusion was that by, working out its problems, one nation could be more prosperous than two unstable and hostile nations.

By labelling separatists as anarchists, Lincoln pointed out that the only logical societal structure that would consequently remain was anarchy.

"Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy."
Lincoln stated that it was all about compromising; majorities should give way to minorities and vice versa. A nation would have to be governed by a majority. He argued that it was impossible for everyone to agree, unless unity was enforced through despotism.

6.3.5 Pathos
Lincoln tried to soothe people's fears. Firstly, he stated that he desired no bloodshed to solve the differences facing the nation; however, he clarified that if divisive agents within the country sought it, then the government was obligated to respond.

Further, he attempted to diffuse the Southerner's fear about himself being a dictator, who would suppress their rights and take away their property, peace, and personal security. He acknowledged that he had no such power.

“Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration that their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed.”

He called out to take time to consider whether or not the policy of secession was the best way to resolve the national disputes: “My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.”

Lincoln pleaded: “In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war.”

He ended his speech with an appeal to friendship, with the phrase “mystic chords of memory” with the aim of illustrating the force of a shared past and a common heritage. He appealed not only through reason, but through feeling and through his own ethical ideals.
6.3.6 Language

Lincoln's Inaugural address displayed a legal tone. Many expletives and many questions are used. Lincoln posed more than 20 questions throughout his speech, some of which he answered himself, some of which he did not; e.g. “Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not.” - It seems that Lincoln incorporated questions strategically in an effort to get his audience to use common sense about the crisis the nation was facing. In the example above not substitutes the entire object of the second clause.

Regarding the states' right to secede, Lincoln asked “Can it . . . be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it?” and provided a negative reply. He argued that a party might break a contract, but all parties involved must agree to nullify it. In this case it was only the Southern states that were attempting to end the contract.

The first Inaugural demonstrates Lincoln’s preference for if-clauses; e.g. “If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it?”

If-clauses provided Lincoln a type of strategic maneuver and offered him a certain degree of safety. Lincoln cautioned: “If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would, if such a right were a vital one.” Later on, he counter-argues: “From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government, is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority, in such a case, will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority . . . .”

He avoided being specific and using harsh statements. For instance, through correlative coordination he said: “be on your side of the North or on yours of the South” which again indicates Lincoln's aim to give the impression of his impartiality.

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42 He was a country lawyer, an Illinois state legislator, a member of the United States House of Representatives, and twice, an unsuccessful candidate for election to the U.S. Senate.
He discussed the constitutional obligation to deliver runaway slaves from service and labor. The constitutional text was clear. But would it be enforced by a national or a state authority? He did not say.

Lincoln employed a few periodic sentences as his persuasion technique; for instance the sentence “Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and balance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes” – The word resolved functions as a loose adjunct.

Some sentences are introduced by the –ing participial clause;
example: “Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual ... ” while the others end with it; e.g. “..., the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.”

To introduce a few sentences the conjunction and is utilized;
e.g. “And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was “to form a more perfect Union.”
e.g. “And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, [...]” - In both examples the conjunction and could have been ellipted.

It seems that Lincoln was fond of starting his sentences with the indefinite pronoun all;
e.g. “All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution ...”
e.g. “All profess to be content in the Union if ...”

Furthermore, the negative pronoun no was applied as an alternative to the structure negative verb + any;
e.g. “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.” – this could have been stated as I do not have any purpose, ...

One very interesting choice of personal pronoun comes up when Lincoln refers to himself in the third person singular; “It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you.”
There is an example of **fronting with inversion** - “I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case ...”

He also made use of the **deictic expression now**; e.g. “I now read”/ “I now reiterate”/ e.g. “Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?”

The following example demonstrates the use of three **parallel verbs** for emphasis.

e.g. “The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts.” - Lincoln emphasized his promise to use his power to “hold”, “occupy” and “possess” the property and places, which enhanced people’s trust and support of him.

Lincoln was aware that words themselves were often grounds for argument, systems of attitudes suggesting courses of action. The choice of some **nouns** indeed emphasized Lincoln's point. For instance, in the statement “Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy” - the noun essence contributes to the strong argument that equates secession with anarchy.

The **key adjective** of the address would have to be **perpetual**; e.g. “the Union of these States is perpetual”- Lincoln strongly emphasizes perpetuity of the Union as its “vital element”.

There are some other **parallel grammatical constructions**; e.g.

“One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while [the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended].”

Both clauses follow the pattern Subject+Predicate+Direct Object; The DO is realized by the definite nominal clause.

To communicate his views on slavery he exploited **parallel questions and answers**.

“Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say.

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May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.”

He used complex nominal phrase -

| minority |
| held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations |
| and |
| always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments |

Lincoln included apposition to add some power to his address;
e.g. “One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?”
e.g. “My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and 'well' upon this whole subject.”

Lincoln's address includes binary oppositions in every word class: e.g. majority – minority, affirm – deny, right – wrong, constitutional – revolutionary, after – before.

The address gets its power from the vocabulary that is reiterated through different word classes; e.g. slaves – slavery, perpetual – perpetuity, Constitution – constitutionally, destroy – destruction, acquiesce – acquiescence, secede – secession, amend – amendments, protect – protection, resolution – resolved, unanimous – unanimity.

Lincoln argued against secession, “I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible,” “such as case” and “conclusive evidence” undoubtedly point out his legal background. The address abounds with examples of the legalese – e.g. evidence, a law, the laws, lawfully, lawgiver, judgement, lawless, crimes, clause, jurisprudence, precedent, legal right, enforce, judge, court, case(s), provision, party/parties, litigation, to amend, regulation, ordinances, etc.

It can be concluded that Lincoln's eloquent first Inaugural address was primarily shaped by the pending Civil War and it was pervaded by legalese.
6.3.7 Figures of speech

Abraham Lincoln relied primarily on the use of parallellism (anaphora, epiphora), repetition, antithesis, metaphor, recurrence of sounds, tricolons, culmination of ideas and imagery, which are discussed as follows.

The address, delivered on March 4, 1861, dealt specifically with the issues of the time – slavery, fugitive slaves, secession, the minority versus the majority rights and the approaching Civil War. As Abraham Lincoln stated in the introduction: “I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.” – Consonance announced the issues to be discussed even more appealing to the ear.

There are some epithets44 utilized in the speech: e.g. impassable wall, precipitate action, momentous issue, etc. They are used to reinforce his claims.

Lincoln made use of litotes in the third paragraph, as he addresses the Southern states: “Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered.” He continued: “There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.” – Lincoln openly acknowledged that the Southerners perceived him as a threat. Ploce (epanalepsis) and alliteration aid Lincoln's to reassure them that there was no reason for their concerns, since he had announced his pacifist intentions in a number of previous speeches. Lincoln pledged to adhere to the Fugitive Slave Act, even though this law was abhorred in the North.

“I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so…… I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken...” – These statements, which include the list of three, juxtaposition and parallelism are very strategic, as Lincoln attempted to make it clear that he intends to deal with slavery only in new territories, and has no intention of interfering where slavery already exists. Afterall, the Constitution did not grant the federal government the legal authority to do so.

Through antithesis the 16th President managed to appeal to those who wanted to preserve the Union and those who were striving to break it apart; “That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny: but if there be such,

44 An epithet is an adjective which is deliberately used to qualify and evaluate another word (Harris 2010).
I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?"

Lincoln was well aware how disunited the country was. Discussing the issue of slavery, Lincoln engaged antitheses and epiphora:

“One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended.”

Lincoln bitterly opposed the separation of the Union. He hoped to rally support to save the Union. The fact that he personified the Union demonstrates his respect and love for it: “I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.” - This statement can be recognized as a subtle warning that there would be no invasion unless necessary; afterall, the President must exercise his constitutional authority to “hold, occupy, and possess” the “property and places” belonging to the federal government. This statement interweaves with the three-part list and alliteration.

Furthermore, he personified the States constituting the Union: “no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union”

There was a culmination of arguments starting with the one that the Union not originating with the Constitution, but rather with the Articles of Association in 1774, to the one that where the Constitution was written only to form a "more perfect Union.”

“It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was “to form a more perfect Union.””

Apart from the climax, there was an anaphora present in the above argument, that the Union was older than the Constitution. Hence, no State had an independent right to secede. Lincoln desired that the Laws of the Union were abided by all the States. He seemed conscious that, as President-elect, it was his task to uphold the laws.

One of the Lincoln's unionist arguments was based on antithesis; a “more perfect Union” as referred to in the Constitution was contrasted with the “less perfect” Union in the case of if one or more States seceded. Lincoln viewed the Union as a contract that could be breached. He then argued that one signature to the contract could not void that contract alone; instead all parties to the contract must agree to make it void. All parties must agree to its termination.
It followed that any resolution or ordinance by a State to secede was “legally void” and that “acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary.” The use of homoioteleuton here is apparent.

One of Lincoln’s main arguments was that destroying the Union was physically impossible. There was a spousal life analogy for the purpose of illustration: “A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them.” – This was an attempt to appeal to unity and it adds to the timeless dimension of the speech. He also drew the analogy comparing the Union to a binding contract, suggesting that it would require all parties involved to rightfully rescind the obligations entailed in the contract’s provisions.

By using parallelism and epiphora Lincoln illustrated the areas not expressly defined by the Constitution;

“Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say.

May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.” – Devices such as in the example above, helped Lincoln acknowledge that there were ambiguous issues that had contributed to dividing the nation.

Towards the end of his address, Lincoln asserted that he intended “to preserve, protect, and defend the United States Constitution” whereby again the three-part list played a major role. It placed the Southerners as aggressors and Lincoln as an actor in self-defense. It was clarified that if the war broke out, the South would be to blame.

The address avoids metonymy and hyperbole. It is devoid of metaphors and similes – until the final paragraph, in which, Lincoln employed metaphors, tautology and alliteration to appeal to American patriotism.

“I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”
The sentence “We are not enemies, but friends.” brings forth the contrast, whereby the first verb is deliberately negative for the purpose of strengthened effect. The metaphor “mystic chords of memory” refers to a common heritage - the Revolution. Literary critics claim that there is some poetic beauty in this passage.

Parallelism, repetitions and contrast may be considered the most frequently used devices within the address. They emphasize the epideictic nature of the address. Unfortunatelly, Lincoln's message of reconciliation was not really heard, as only thirty-nine days after the Inaugural address, Fort Sumter was fired upon and the Civil War began.


6.4 Inaugural address by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1933

6.4.1 Context

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32nd President of the United States (1933-45), was the only President to be elected four times. Roosevelt led the United States through its worst depression and its worst war. By the time he was to deliver his first Inaugural address, the nation was facing 13 million unemployed citizens, 20 million on the public payroll, and more than a million unable to survive on their failing farms (Morgan, 1958) The stock market had crashed. (Bannister, 1933; Morgan, 1958)

He was the last President to be inaugurated in March (March 4, 1933, on the steps of Capitol Hill in Washington D.C.). This Inauguration was unique because the address was recorded both by sound and by film. For the first time, every single American could not only hear the speech, but also watch it on television, hours after the speech was delivered. About 150,000 people constituted the immediate audience and about 50 million listened to the address on the radio.

Raymond Moley composed the majority of the FDR’s First Inaugural. The most frequently quoted line “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself” was composed by Louis Howe, FDR’s personal secretary. However, “the absence of any extant copy of Moley’s original makes it impossible to pinpoint the parentage of most phrases.” (Schlesinger, 2008: 11) Namely, Moley burnt his draft of the address because of “a keen sense that whatever might be the authorship, he and he alone would have to carry the responsibility of what was said on the fateful day of inauguration.” (Ibid.)

The purpose of his Inaugural address was to address the issue of Great Depression and the economic panic sweeping the US. The banking crisis received significant attention in the Inaugural address. Other issues covered were: the lack of importance of material wealth, unemployment and the greatness of the American Constitutional system. FDR singled out the bankers as the wrong-doers. The “unscrupulous money-changers” had adhered to “the rules of a generation of self-seekers”. Roosevelt explained that those rich elite did not possess any values such as “honesty, honor, unselfish performance”. FDR defamed those leaders who sought public office being motivated by nothing more than “pride of place and personal profit.”

Roosevelt delivered a powerful Inaugural address indicating that the government would act quickly to address the crisis. He returned hope to the American people (Ridings, 1997).
Roosevelt described his reform programme, known as the New Deal, as a “use of authority of government as an organized form of self-help for all classes and groups and sections of our country” (Sullivan, 1970: 87). FDR’s political solutions called for expansion of the Federal government intervention in the national economy (Best, 1993: 131). To restructure the market economy from the impacts of the Great Depression, FDR offered sound market regulations and comprehensive economic reliefs to support the well-beings of the general public. (Best, 1993:89). Only a couple of years later, the nation was already achieving some measure of recovery.

6.4.2 Structure

- addressing the psychological state of the nation; dramatic picture of the crisis
- reasons for the Depression; blaming the money-changers for the Depression
- a succession of promises; restoring the temple (America) to its fundamental core values; America is about the pursuit of creative endeavors and the thrill of achievement
- praising the Constitutional system of the USA
- accusing big businesses of forfeiting the public’s trust and of violating their responsibility for the peoples’ welfare.
- “action-now” section; announcing the plans for the government to employ people immediately on projects developing the nation’s “natural resources”
- some specific proposals
- calling for government action
- calling for a special session of Congress
- section on international trade and foreign policy; enunciation of the good neighbor principle
- interdependence and reciprocity section
- reassuring citizens that they “have not failed”
- asking for the blessing of God

The speech is organized in the problem-solution structure. The address provides a review of the problems that needed to be solved followed by proposals for taking action. Roosevelt expressed confidence that the difficult conditions would be overcome - “This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and prosper.”

Roosevelt used several rhetorical techniques that contributed to the success of his First Inaugural. Halford Ryan discusses three specific rhetorical techniques
Roosevelt used. **These three techniques** include “the scapegoat technique, the military metaphor, and the carrot-and-stick method.” Roosevelt used the scapegoat technique to point the finger at the selfish moneychangers. Ryan states that Roosevelt “unflinchingly proclaimed what was believed by the average American—the moneychangers were culpable for the Depression” (Ryan, 1979: 141). Ryan states that the use of the **military metaphor** “urges support for the acceptance of his New Deal leadership” and “to create a symbol of a great American Army” (Ryan, 1979: 143). Ryan states that the use of this metaphor is simply Roosevelt’s tactic to gain support of the American People by declaring war on the Great Depression.

### 6.4.3 Ethos

FDR acknowledged the fears, hopes and dreams that lingered in American hearts. He believed that the country could move toward achieving its goals and could eventually overcome the Great Depression. Roosevelt made it clear that the domestic problems of the country were the first priority of his Administration, and that foreign ills and relations would have to wait until the nation was fiscally stronger and renewed.

Roosevelt asked the people to prepare themselves for an ordeal, rather than promising a quick end to the economic woes and suffering. Roosevelt appealed to the people to take an active role in solving the crisis. Thus he created unification and granted people a sense of control over events leading them to visualize the ultimate goal - an easing of the economic crisis (Daughton, 1993).

He appealed to the Americans to unite: “if I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but we must give as well”. In general, he used inclusive language such as in - “We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity” - and positioned himself as a great army leader taking over the command of an army ready for combat.

He assured the people that a spirit of unity, determination, and pride “is the way to recovery...[and] the strongest assurance that this recovery will endure”.

In the introduction, Roosevelt attempted to establish himself as a worthy President of the United States. The second paragraph of the speech established this trust: “This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure, as it endured, will revive and prosper.” It is obvious that FDR did not want to embellish, after all it was a time of despair amongst the American people.
He included lines such as, “I will return the courage and devotion” and “I shall not evade the clear course of duty” which all contributed to establishing his credibility as a strong leader.

The statement “I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.” could be interpreted in a dictatorial way, as if Roosevelt had visions of himself as the supreme and absolute leader of the country. Also, he did not mention any other body of the government. On the other hand, the fact that FDR wished that the Congress would approve his plans by following normal constitutional procedure, shows that he was not power hungry and that he was not assuming a dictator’s role. Instead, he was aware that he would have to act out of the normal bounds of the Presidency to solve the nation’s present crisis.

It was of vital importance for Roosevelt to establish trust; after all, establishing trust allowed him to connect with every single citizen, empathizing with the current economic situation, and allowed the citizens to have faith in him as a President.

Humility can be sensed toward the conclusion, “For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that benefit the time. I can do no less.”

He finished by binding all Americans together in a common morality, “We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values.” With those words Roosevelt attempted to reconstitute the American people.

He touched on specific ventures to solve the ills that the country was stricken with. He referred to his plan as “the lines of attack”. Roosevelt attempted to establish himself as the leader of the movement of a changing government. “Recognition of that falsity material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing.”

Through all the ethos appeals FDR reassured the people that, as their President, he would find solutions to the economic crisis.
6.4.4 Logos

Roosevelt's listing of the primary tasks of the incoming government - putting people to work, reorganizing the use of natural resources, redistributing the population to provide better use of the land, raising the value of agricultural products, reducing federal, state, and local costs, planning national means of transportation and communication – could all be perceived as examples of logos. Roosevelt actually proposed a whole set of “pragmatic approaches” to the problems of the period in order to achieve national recovery. The proposed banking reforms sound objective and logical - “There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments. There must be an end to speculation with other people's money. And there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.”

Roosevelt's argument for restoring the country makes sense - “There are many ways in which [the economy] can be helped, but it can never be helped by merely talking about it.” Very plain logic is hidden in this argument.

6.4.5 Pathos

First and foremost, FDR needed to reassure and uplift the country with hope. Early in his speech Roosevelt said: “Our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.” – The statement reveals the idealism that was necessary at the time. The statement - “The people of the United States have not failed.” – served the same purpose.

He started the address with an assurance that the nation would “endure” and “revive and prosper” and expressed his belief that “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself — nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance” (McJimsey 2000; McElvaine 1984). His first Inaugural address mirrored hope because it promised leadership with bold and decisive actions (Goodwin 1999). According to Houck, the emotions felt by the audience, after the speech, included hope, confidence, optimism, and faith. (Houck, 2004: 259-282)

He made a succession of promises; to the workers he promised: “to put people to work”, to the farmers: they must “raise the value of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities”, to the investors: they “must end speculation with other people's money”, to the rest of the world FDR promised the “policy of the good neighbor”. Lowering the anxieties allowed Roosevelt to establish himself as a trustworthy leader of the United States.
He summoned the public to join his army in combat against the Great Depression - “With this pledge I take, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.” - The war language was powerful because it reaffirmed the urgency of the situation, and “skillfully plays on the emotional evocations of militaristic language in order to declare a figurative war on a serious economic condition” (Ryan, 1988: 82). Other examples of war-like language are “retreat into advance”, “victory”, “direct recruiting emergency of war.”

FDR believed Americans should take pride in their hard work: “Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy, the moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits.”

Roosevelt pleaded with the people to diminish the value put on materialistic goods - “We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.” - and to reach for social and moral values which are far more important.

“Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy, the moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days, my friends, will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister ourselves, to our fellow men.” - FDR underlined that the idea of happiness be valued at the level of “achievement, in the thrill of creative effort”.

He asserted that Americans must restore the society by “apply[ing] social values more noble than mere monetary profit”.

To arouse the feeling of responsibility, Roosevelt expressed his belief that Americans would benefit from care and concern for their fellow citizens. The President appealed to the pioneering spirit of Americans and to their sense of interdependence.
6.4.6 Language

According to the Department of Labor, at the time of Roosevelt's first Inauguration, unemployment was at a high of 24.9 percent and inflation was also high (Houck, 2001: 8). FDR offered a rather vivid description of the crisis:

“Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.”

With the above statement characterized by parallelism, asyndeton and a range of words and collocations with negative connotation - “dark hour”, “critical days”, “grim problem”, “dark realities”, “distress”, “ardous days” - Roosevelt aimed at communicating that it was no time for foolish optimism and denial. Surprisingly, FDR only used the word crisis once in his closing and the word emergency four times, expressing his perception of the situation as critical.

Yet, he engaged some descriptive adjectives such as “warm courage,” “clear consciousness,” “clean satisfaction” and “assurance of a rounded and permanent national life” that attempted to convey a sense that the situation was not entirely hopeless and that there was a bright outlook for the future.

The entire address somehow revolves around the abstract nouns – fear, terror. The structure of one nominal phrase is:

“nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance”

There are a range of derived adjectives with a negative prefix – unreasoning, unjustified, unemployed, unscrupulous, unsolvable, uneconomical, unequal, unprecedented. They add up to the dramatic picture of the crisis.

With the superlative form of an adjective, he praised the constitutional system of the USA for having “proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has ever seen.” - Roosevelt claimed that the Constitution, as it was written, was flexible enough to allow him to expand the power of government and his role in the crisis, without undermining the forefathers’ vision for the country to be governed by the people.

Parallelism among adjectives occurs; e.g. “It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal.” - The three adjectives “scattered”, “uneconomical”, “unequal” are employed to add vividness to the depiction.
The famous line “This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly.,” derives its power from two coordinated adverbs. Regarding unemployment he used the same strategy: “This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously.” Afterwards, Roosevelt made the picture brighter – “Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts . . . Nature still offers her bounty . . . plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.” He made use of contrast; by showing a worse and catastrophic past, the new ideas and solutions seem brighter.

Roosevelt engaged pro-active phrases like, “we aim”, “we face”, “we must move”. Within a single sentence - “It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our great natural resources.” – Three words (the underlined ones) indicating achievement are engaged. However, there are some others, like accomplishment, recovery, progress, restoration, used in good faith to reassure the country. In addition, there are three successive gerundial forms.

Roosevelt’s syntax included simple, compound and complex sentences. Roosevelt was trying to soothe people’s apprehension by using complex subordinate sentences, such as -

“Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.”

The address also exploits the power of brief sentences, such as “We must act and act quickly.” yet there are some longer ones such as the one with passive construct-

“[It] is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly equal, wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us.”

There are some examples of grammatical parallelism - “It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other
utilities which have a definitely public character.” – All four sentences are built upon pattern Subject + Predicator + Adjunct of Manner and in this way some rhythm is achieved. The “action” Roosevelt actually proposes is his plan for the New Deal.

Or as in: “It is the way to recovery,
It is the immediate way.
It is the strongest assurance…”

Through this parallelism, FDR conveyed the message that the key to national recovery lies in national unity, national pride and determination of the American people.

Close reading of the Inaugural address makes you realize that adversative coordination is common.

e.g. “There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped by merely talking about it.”

e.g. ”we can not merely take, but we must give as well;”

FDR publicized his banking reforms by utilizing three parallel passive forms of the modal verb, “there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be a provision for an adequate and sound currency.”

It does not take an expert to establish that the address includes military-like vocabulary, as evident from the following lines - “if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline because without such discipline no progress can be made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at the larger good. [...] With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.” – Roosevelt, thus, presented the crisis situation as urgent so as to mobilize the people for collective combat against the enemy – the Great Depression. To underline the necessity for discipline in this combat he repeated the word discipline four times within the passage. The incorporated word sacrifice carries the religious connotations of Jesus’ sacrifice. He referred to his plan as “the lines of attack”. He asked the public to join his army and emphasized the need for “two safeguards against the return of evils of the old order”.

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Interestingly, when pointing the finger of blame for the Great Depression, Roosevelt used the term “money changers” instead of Wall Street bankers or traders. He argued that one of the main reasons for the Depression had originated from the lending out of money.

Although he pointed finger at Wall Street, Roosevelt used inclusive language, “if I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but we must give as well”. Nevertheless, regarding the leadership, he changed to first person singular, showing his independence and strength. He would be the one to find solutions to the economic crisis, at least he would initilize the transformation of the US economy and the role of the government.

To emphasize the idea of people working in cooperation with the government to solve the “problem”. Roosevelt used the adverbial phrase hand in hand in two separate sentences. If the people could unify, the country would come out of the horrible depression. When prioritizing things a cliché - putting first things first – was included.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are included for greater cohesion – “First of all, ...”; “Primarily ...”, “Finally, ...”.

Roosevelt balanced adverbs by coordinating conjunction to gain persuasiveness – e.g. “This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously.”

Postmodifying prepositional phrases are also balanced-

e.g. “It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.”

e.g. “Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.”

Roosevelt concluded by stating his faith in a higher power with inversion: “May he protect each and every one of us. May he guide me in those days to come.”

FDR’s style was simple and clear. He wanted to be “clear enough for the layman to understand.” (Roosevelt, 1949: 73) He believed it was his duty to keep the nation informed which resulted in a language that people could understand. He insisted upon “simplification or even oversimplification.” (Sherwood, 1948: 212)
FDR proved himself as a great communicator. His language choices corresponded in the deliberative nature of the address. Through superb rhetorical skills he offered the grief-stricken American people an optimistic voice in a time of crisis and a glimpse of a brighter future.
6.4.7 Figures of speech

FDR’s First Inaugural address is replete with figures of speech, for instance – vivid imagery, analogy, contrast, anaphora, anadiplosis (various parallelisms and repetitions), allusion, metaphor, sound devices – which are presented in this subchapter. They conform to the problem-solution frame of the address.

FDR introduced the address with the famous line - “This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly.” – which is marked by homoioteleuton and emphasized the need for the honesty expected from the Chief Executive.

In the second paragraph, FDR painted the crisis with some vivid imagery: “Values have shrunk ... Taxes have risen ... the means of exchange are frozen in the streams of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their products. The savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.”

The line “the withered leaves of industrial enterprise” offers an analogy between the bleak autumn and the Great Depression. It has to be pointed out that by the time Roosevelt delivered the Inaugural speech, the Great Depression was already into its fourth year. He continued by utilizing contrast in his claim, “Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment”.

In the fourth paragraph of his speech Roosevelt said, “We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.”

– The use of this biblical allusion\(^{45}\) was to lift the spirit. He reached back into the American history and remarked that “compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for” This is an example of allusion.

He sought to inspire through the use of restatement - “Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep...”

FDR urged Americans facing difficult times to strive in their daily endeavors and preserve faith in the future of their country (Lammers, 2000: 48). “Let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself...” This sentence, which appeared in most newspapers’ headlines on March 5, 1933, is based on polypototon and refers to the fear among the Americans that the difficult conditions would never improve and that the American situation was completely hopeless; afterall, this type of fear would only prevent any further progress.

\(^{45}\) God released a plague of locusts on the Egyptians because the Pharaoh did not free the Jews.
In the sixth paragraph, he discussed the “practices of the unscrupulous money changers” by engaging *isocolon* - “they have tried [...] they have proposed [...] they have resorted [...]”. In this way, Roosevelt attacked the Wall Street bankers and the American banking system, blaming them for the economic hardship of the time. Furthermore, he utilized *gemination* in “They have *no vision*, and *when there is no vision* the people perish.” and *repetition* in “The money changers have fled from their high seats in the *temple* of our civilization. We may now restore that *temple to the ancient truths*” – The *temple* refers to the story from the Bible according to which Jesus threw the money changers out of the temple. FDR condemned seeking of money for selfish gain. Instead, money should be allocated for social good. It was also suggested that financial institutions should uphold their obligations, protecting their stakeholders and performing unselfishly.

Roosevelt tried to minimize the role of materialism; “Recognition of that falsity material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit;” – Roosevelt's criticism of those individuals who were motivated by nothing more than “pride of place and personal profit” might have not been so effective without the use of *alliteration*. Roosevelt invoked the image of the *American dream*, the belief that a person coming to or living in America can prosper through hard work. He communicated that one can achieve the American dream through hard work and he encouraged them by saying that, “the joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten”. In addition, he supported his argument by saying that "social values [are] more noble than mere monetary profit". Again, FDR sought to evoke hope in the people by telling them that the situation could have been much worse.

*Anaphora* can be identified in the six-fold repetition of “It can be helped ...” lines through which Roosevelt proposed his plan of actions. In fact, Roosevelt's first Inaugural address indicates many actions his Administration would implement to resolve the economic problems that the country was facing.

FDR understood that the people wanted “*direct, vigorous action.*” Therefore he complemented action proposals with various, direct calls for action. It seems he was speaking on behalf of his fellow-citizens when he declared: “*Nation asks for action, and action now.*” - This is an example of *gemination*. With *action* Roosevelt referred to his New Deal plan, according to which aid would be given by the Federal Government to areas such as agriculture, transportation, and others. It also refers to Roosevelt's political and economic changes he would enact to
solve the crisis. The brief sentence, “we must act and act quickly”, includes anadiplosis and adds to the theme of the address.

Roosevelt was aware that America needed to resolve its problems before focusing on international issues. He based his foreign policy on the good neighbor principle.

“I would dedicate the Nation to the policy of the good neighbor: the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects obligations and the respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.” – The neighbour metaphor, anadiplosis and anaphora were incorporated within these lines to emphasize that giving respect and gaining respect are interdependent. Accordingly, America would not intervene in foreign affairs and would try to maintain peace with its neighbors through commerce and diplomacy. Roosevelt believed that in order to obtain a sound economy once again, the USA must have solid international trade relations but must not lose trust in the production of goods and services on the national ground. He attempted to generate trust in the domestic economy.

“we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but we must give as well”. – Repetition of the inclusive pronoun and antitheses stressed the idea of one's sacrifice and dependence on each other for success. This was a call to the public to work together to win the war against the Depression. He even reminded of the "spirit of the pioneer” affirming that Americans had faced arduous situations before and had managed to find ways to rebuild.

Roosevelt compared the economic crisis to the “emergency of war”, making the description more tangible. FDR asked the citizens of the US to be a “trained and loyal army” and compared the situation to a “time of armed strife.” He also stated that the army would make a “disciplined attack” on the national problems. FDR compared the task ahead to a war to give the American people a sense of patriotic duty and determination to fight. Through this war-like language Roosevelt appealed to their nationalism.

By comparing the economic depression to a war, FDR felt entitled to be Commander-in-Chief over the “war” effort. This entitled him to make whatever decisions he considered necessary to win the economic war.

Roosevelt did not promise a quick end to their economic suffering. Instead he asked his listeners to prepare themselves for an ordeal; through military metaphors Roosevelt told them that they must take an active role in solving the crisis and must work with him, giving them a sense of control over events, and led them visualize moving toward the ultimate goal (Daughton, 1993).
The President does not possess the power to put any legislation into practice, without the approval of Congress. To encourage Congress to cooperate with him, FDR engaged *place*, an emphatic repetition of the word *measures*.

“I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the *measures* that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These *measures*, or such other *measures* as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.”

Roosevelt asked the Congress for cooperation to combat the national emergency, but nevertheless intended to move forward authoritatively with or without the full support of the Congress. Through the use of a sound device and comparison, Roosevelt warned that if the legislature failed to act, he would seek executive power “as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe”.

He described himself metaphorically as the “present instrument of [the people’s] wishes”

In the prayer-like conclusion, he used *anaphora* showing his belief in a higher power.

“May He protect each and every one of us.
May He guide me in the days to come.”

Throughout the Inaugural address, Roosevelt\textsuperscript{46} received passionate applause after almost every statement. Analyzing the use of the rhetorical skills in the speech, it is easy to understand why this is one of the greatest Inaugural speeches ever. His rhetorical choices made it possible for Americans to unite at the time and to assure them that the crisis was not permanent. He appealed equally to the Congress and the American public.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{46} It has to be noted that some credit should be given to Raymond Moley, by whom the majority of the address was composed and who wrote various speeches for Roosevelt.}
6.5 Inaugural address by John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 1961

6.5.1 Context

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the 35th President of the United States, delivered the Inaugural coatless and hatless on the east balcony of a newly painted Capitol on the 20th of January, 1961. The Inaugural was no more than fifteen minutes long, but even so it was a memorable one. It was the Inaugural address that established Kennedy's splendor as a rhetor.

His speech was one of the first ever to be broadcast nationwide. Thousands of American citizens gathered in front of the Capital Building eager to hear what their new President had to say. The entire Kennedy family was there to show support for his great achievement. During the address, JFK was trying to deemphasize his pronounced Boston accent.

JFK's Inaugural was almost entirely a statement on foreign policy. The address only included domestic policy in one sentence - “the defense of human rights – at home and around the world” even though there were many domestic problems plaguing America at this time, including a stagnant economy and most importantly, the civil rights movement.

The speech addressed different members of the international community - from “old allies” to “those nations who would make themselves our adversary”.

The Inaugural address cast global events as a simplistic struggle between two opposing forces, the United States and the Soviet Union. (Kenny, 1965: 17) However, the emphasis is placed on joint cooperation and peace. Kennedy offered an olive branch to all who were opposed to the United States, in particular, the Soviet Union. He stated: “Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.” He suggested exploring the “wonders of science instead of its terrors” from both sides.

Kennedy called for international cooperation to the “sisters”, to Central and South America, he pledged a “new alliance of progress” to cast off the “chains of poverty.” Eventually, cooperation would create “a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.”

The theme of cooperation amongst nations is actually the primary theme of the address. The second theme is sacrifice for the country, for freedom and for some higher purpose. The third theme is the threat of nuclear warfare, expressed by:

47 www.voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/documents/Mehltreter-Kennedy.pdf
“But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind’s final war. So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.”

This speech was co-written by Kennedy's chief speech writer, Ted Sorenson. When drafting the Inaugural, Kennedy gave Sorensen four guidelines to add style and elegance, to shorten the sentences, to eliminate the pronoun I and to keep the speech short.

According to Sorensen the President’s objectives were to express Kennedy's preference for peaceful co-operation, his willingness to rigorously defend the USA from any Soviet threat, to win the support of neutral and third world states, to convey a clear sense of purpose for his Presidency and to assuage any doubts that world leaders such as Nikita Khrushchev or Harold Macmillan might have had about his knowledge of world affairs (Sorenson in The Guardian, Sunday 22 April 2007)

The speech was “uplifting and optimistic in tone, reflect(ing)...a sense of mission” (Giglio, 1991: 27) Thurston claims that Kennedy’s address was “generally acknowledged to have been the greatest oration of any twentieth-century politician.” (Thurston, 2004: 9) Humes identifies the speech as one of the rare Presidential addresses that truly shaped history, calling it a speech of “brilliant eloquence” that inspired “American hopes” for the future. (Humes, 1992: 207)

6.5.2 Structure
Kennedy's address can be divided into the following sections:

- the introduction – concerning the founders and what they had put forth for the survival of America
- the section dealing with American values and beliefs both now and in the past
- series of pledges to friends and allies (NATO, newly independent states in Africa, South America)
- invitation to antagonists (Soviet Union), call for cooperative action, negotiation, diplomacy and joint ventures
- summary and call for action, climax: “ask not...”; call for cooperation, sacrifice; expression of his trust that his “fellow citizens” will be able to restore peace across the world
6.5.3 Ethos

There are many ethos driven portions in this Inaugural. Above all, Kennedy appealed to the audience with his family background – the Kennedys were well known for their political background. Further, he established ethos by being the first Roman Catholic President.

President Kennedy opened his speech by establishing credibility, or ethos, humbly stating - “we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom”. - and creating the impression that his victory was not his alone, but the nation's instead. He grounded himself in the American tradition with the statement - “For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.” – he pointed out that he had sworn to take responsibility under God and he would follow the rules as previous Presidents had in the past.

JFK respectfully acknowledged all the prominent and average citizens at his Inauguration. He used the phrase, “my fellow citizens” and “my fellow Americans” four times to create a sense of unity. He enabled the audience to feel as companions in the endeavors of foreign policy.

The following sentences illustrate how JFK perceived the challenges ahead. - “All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.” – This was the reassurance that a better, peaceful future would be assured even though the task would be a long and arduous one. The sad truth of this statement became clear on November 22, 1963, when Kennedy was assassinated.

Kennedy placed himself in the role of George Washington when he announced that he welcomed the responsibility of “defending freedom in its maximum hour of danger”. At the time, every American had some fear of nuclear attack. Kennedy made it clear that he was going to be a trustworthy President who would do all in his power to protect the nation.

There are some additional ethos appeals. JFK said, "The world is very different now", and “We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution.”, whereby he referred to the founding fathers of the USA and showed respect for them.

The following ethos appeal carries a protective tone: “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in
order to assure the survival and the success of liberty. This much we pledge—and more.” – He expressed his conviction that the country will meet any challenge if only the people join. Kennedy successfully appealed to the ethos to establish his view of the innate strength and duty within all Americans.

The address echoes the sense of united country, captured in the line, “Divided, there is little we can do- for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.” - This statement underpins the importance of international and national unity.

He established ethos by stating how important God was to him and to the future of the United States. In other words, he established common ground with the audience. He used ethos by quoting the Bible (Isiah 58:6) to prove that he was knowledgeable.

Kennedy used the pronoun we thirty times throughout the speech, which most likely created a sense of unity and fellowship between himself and the audience. Additionally, it made him seem just like a common man, not the Commander in Chief of the most powerful country.

6.5.4 Logos
Kennedy used logos to convince the people, “we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required -- not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.”

He applied logos when freedom was mentioned. “To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom.” Kennedy wanted all free nations to be united.

Kennedy's use of logos in this address was minimal compared to the use of pathos and ethos.

6.5.5 Pathos
Kennedy was an orator who used emotional language thereby affecting his listener’s thoughts and feelings. He used emotionally charged words to get Americans to relate to the topic. By using the pronoun we, Kennedy tried to engage with the audience, in particular with the new generation. He intoned: “the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans - born in this century,
tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.” - By extolling the new generation, including his own, he must have made them really proud and more motivated to go along with his further views.

He marked the USA as exceptional amongst nations, stating that its “glow...can truly light the world”. The USA was set as the leader of all free nations, as the hope of mankind. Kennedy's address was abundant with statements regarding the power of United States. Kennedy envisaged a stronger America that could face the challenges posed by Communism across the globe: “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

To appeal to people's sense of duty and their willingness to serve the country, Kennedy called on his fellow citizens to “...ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country.” Kennedy emphasized that each and every individual must be actively involved in the progress of the country and was responsible for contributing to the good of the overall community. He invoked a spirit of service, sacrifice, duty, and responsibility. He effectively called to help each other. The following sentence is powerful in convincing the nation of its strengths - “Our hands have the power of great destruction and the ability to solve problems.”

JFK's expectations were grounded in the American ideals of freedom and hard work. Kennedy called out:

“And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you-ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man. Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you.”

He knew how to play the strings of public pride: “In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility - I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation.” – In stating this, he positioned the importance of his generation of Americans in a historical perspective.
In order to evoke nationalistic feeling, Kennedy appealed to pathos, “to those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free,” and where he overwhelmingly references “those peoples in huts and villages across the globe” who are endeavoring to “break the bonds of mass misery”. This persuasive pledge exemplifies his stance on remaining strong and unified amongst the division of tyranny.

The 35th President exploited pathos when he reminded the listeners of the “graves of young Americans who answered the call to service around the globe”.

Pathos arises in the peroration of the address when Kennedy called for the acknowledgement of God’s work being indeed their own and that America as a whole must work together in order to achieve their goals.
6.5.6 Language

Kennedy used comparatively simple language. The majority of the sentences are declarative (37), 19 imperative and there are only 2 interrogative sentences in the address. Various sentence lengths are applied to achieve a rhythmic flow. The address, as a whole, runs very smoothly.

The majority of the words are monosyllabic. The most recurrent words in Kennedy’s speech are: free, freedom (8 times); nation (8 times), fellow (4 times), pledge (7 times). The words freedom and nation might be considered key words, as they bear the concept of the author: “Americans would succeed in the fight for peace, if every man and woman, whether they be black or white or Hispanic or any other ethnic race, pulled together and worked as one, not as individuals.”

To draw people in, Kennedy included simple, yet powerful words like life, freedom, poverty, devotion, loyalty, and sacrifice that people could easily relate to. Occasionally archaic diction, such as forebears, anew, dare, and foe is used.

The address engages words such as, “national loyalty”, to evoke an appeal to ethos and logos and “graves of young Americans” to appeal to their pathos. Kennedy pledged to protect, assist, and encourage nations which were struggling to be free. Pledge is an evocative word that Kennedy used repeatedly, in six paragraphs, to describe and give meaning to particular goals of his administration and thus making his speech more formal and serious.

To define nuclear war Kennedy utilized expressions such as terror, deception, intimidation, abolish, destruction.

It is amazing how Kennedy constructed euphemistic expressions;”old allies” referred to European allies from WWII, while “the foes” referred to the communist countries, the USSR in particular; other references to the U.S.S.R. were - “iron tyranny”, “hostile powers” etc. Surprisingly, Kennedy did not specifically use the word Communism; instead he referred to Communism as the challenge formed as singular, not plural, because it was thought of as one entity – namely the threat of a potential nuclear war was the most prominent fear of the USA at the time.

Strong, motivational verbs (e.g. explore, conquer, encourage, renew etc.) are used in a manner that would sway the entire population.

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48 Sharp imperatives (e.g. “ask”.) encourage the citizens to act and not merely listen.  
49 Kennedy uses two rhetorical questions “Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?” - These questions occur to suggest to the the rest of the world what can be done to support his programme of peace.  
50 sentence length ranges from eighty words (p. 4) to six words (p. 6).
**Balanced nouns** helped the audience select the key points.
e.g. “The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it and the glow from the fire can truly light the world.”
e.g. “Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.”

**A row of parallel verb phrases** added more vividness and persuasion in a sentence or paragraph:
e.g. “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardships, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

Kennedy presents himself as a member of the new generation, which is innovative and forward-looking, yet “proud of their ancient heritage”. This was apparent in “…born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage.” – The line consists of a series of parallel **adjectival phrases**. In addition, there is no conjunction between them.

More than twenty sentences can be considered **complex**. Kennedy suggested action in a row of subordinate **Let both sides ...** clauses.

“Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage. [...]”

Let every nation know, [...] , that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe[,] [...]

Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them[...]

And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house. [...]”

The underlined **five-fold successive “verb+any+noun” structure** expresses strong determination to assure the survival as well as the triumph of liberty.

To add some rhetorical beauty, Kennedy often used the coordinate “**not ..., but ...
...” construction**, as seen in the lines. “let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law...”
Here is one case of adversative coordination: e.g. “we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, [...], not because we seek their votes, but because it is right.”

The first person singular pronoun was eradicated almost entirely, which in turn, created a sense of unity and fellowship between Kennedy and the audience. On the other hand, Kennedy used the pronoun we approximately 30 times throughout his speech.

In his Inaugural, Kennedy incorporated the polarizing rhetoric. e.g. “an end, as well as a beginning”, “well or ill”, “support any friend, oppose any foe”, “the many who are poor” v “the few who are rich”. e.g. “United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.” - Beside antithesis, these lines embrace syntactical parallelism to promote the idea of the nation working together.

Kennedy used repetition to emphasize important sections, such as when he reminded Americans that man “holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life”.

He made a pronouncement concerning America's readiness to guarantee liberty: “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty”. - The successive repetition of the non-assertive partitive pronoun any suggests a total commitment to defending freedom and democracy. Interestingly, Kennedy went for the word foe instead of the word enemy, later on, the more conciliatory word adversary.

The universal pronoun both appeared 8 times in Kennedy's appeals to “both sides” requiring that the Soviet Union abandon its own communist principles and values and embrace the American ideals of freedom and liberty. He called for “both sides” to “invoke the wonders of science” and create a “new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved”.

Kennedy paralleled the conjunction nor for emphatic purposes; e.g. “All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.” – This made his arguments on the fruits of the collective effort more persuasive and down-to-earth.

The deictic demonstrative pronoun this is used frequently: “this time and place”, “this country”, “this nation”, “this Administration”, etc.
Example of complex nominal phrase:

“the same solemn oath our forbears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago”

“the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life”

Example of complex adjectival phrase:

“unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed”

Kennedy elaborated on his ideas by the use of the coordinating conjunction and which links nouns, nominal phrases or connects clauses of equal rank to result in compound sentences:

- e.g. “friend and foe”\(^{51}\), “huts and villages”;
- e.g. “all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life, free men and free governments”
- e.g. “civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof”

Structurally, the speech addressed different members of the international community, making a series of pledges. Six consecutive paragraphs began with complex prepositional to-phrases.

“To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, […]
To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, […]
To those people in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, […]
To our sister republics south of our border, […]
To that world assembly of sovereign states, […]
Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, […]” –

Prepositions are usually softly stressed but in this initial position this is not the case. These sentences also employ inversion, thus emphasizing the importance of those people. These direct appeals were constructed to give the impression Kennedy was speaking directly to the international audience.

\(^{51}\) Within a series of pledges and invitations NP ‘friends and foes’ runs throughout the address as some kind of motif.
JFK elaborated on his ideas by the use of complex sentences created by the use of relative clauses:
e.g. “And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe…”
e.g. “The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country…”
e.g. “The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.”
e.g. “To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends.”

The utilization of the if-clause might be taken as a sign of Kennedy’s lack of confidence in the other nations regarding whether they will follow the proposals towards peace. He stated: “And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.”

The section, dealing with the values and beliefs of the American nation, is replete with time adverbials and the use of Present Simple tense;
e.g. “The world is ... now”; “We dare not forget today”; “this century, we are committed today”
The pledge section is predominated by the modal verb shall possessing a sense of future;
e.g. “we shall pay any price ..”; “shall not have passed away”; “shall not always expect”; “we shall always hope”
The section implying vision of the future is expressed by the frequent use of the verb let, and the use of the Future Simple tense;
e.g. “All this will not be finished”

He used inverted grammatical order - “In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course.” - The sentence should normally read: “The final success or failure of our course will rest in your hands,…”

Some sentences are elliptical:
e.g. “This much we pledge—and more*”. – The asterisk indicates the subject and the predicator are omitted.

Kennedy made use of apposition, “…the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans - born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage - and unwilling to witness or permit...”
and “In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course.”

Omitted conjunctions or asyndeton can be found in “we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardships, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” – The omission of conjunction stresses the actions that Americans were willing to take to preserve liberty and freedom.

Kennedy’s Inaugural is a rhetorical masterpiece. The devices used all served to make the speech more effective and appealing. According to Thurston: “Kennedy knew this speech represented an extraordinary opportunity to present himself, as he chose to be seen, for the pages of history, and few Presidents in the twentieth century cared more about history, or its perspective, than John F. Kennedy” (Thurston, 2004: 10).
6.5.7 Figures of speech

Kennedy's Inaugural utilizes a wide range of different tropes and schemes – amongst which antithesis, anaphora, chiasmus, graphic imagery and metaphors are foregrounded. They help emphasize certain points and result in a rhythmic flow to the speech.

The address incorporates various stylistic devises, amongst which, parallelism and antithesis are the most recurrent. Kennedy began with an antithesis, calling his victory, “a celebration of freedom-symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning”. The use of antithesis throughout the address served as a tool for unifying the American people in times when fear captured their minds as the Cold War was nearing its peak; the “end” refers to the end of international chaos, or the end of Eisenhower’s Presidential term, whereas “beginning” refers to a new era with a new leader that could be trusted and relied upon. As well as balances the opposites.

The address was in response to an escalating Cold War. “For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life.” - This sentence relies on the graphic image with the message of the transitory nature of human existence. War is equalizes with death. However, there is also covert antithesis present; i.e. the contrast between the power to build and create and the power to demolish and destroy.

“Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.”

Through the torch metaphor Kennedy declared that the future of the US was placed in the hands of a new generation, with Kennedy himself a symbol of the new generation opposing the old generation, that of Eisenhower. Kennedy portrayed the new generation of Americans as people willing to sacrifice for freedom at home and around the globe. The new generation is described by asyndeton (“born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage”) that somehow speeds up the tempo. Within the passage, alliteration, conduplication and oxymoron (“a hard and bitter peace”) are traceable. The devices used in this section illustrate the torments that the Americans had been through in the past.

Kennedy promoted liberty throughout the address and made a powerful pronouncement: “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we
shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” – This hyperbole suggests Kennedy’s commitment to defending freedom and democracy, wherever and whenever it might be threatened. He requested cooperation towards peace. Apart from hyperbole, there is also an asyndeton present in the above lines52. The rhythmic lines also include antitheses (“well or ill”, “support any friend, oppose any foe”), alliteration (“pay any price, bear any burden”) and consonance (“whether it wishes us well”).

The lines “United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do,” comprise parallelism, contrast and anastrophe.53 One more combination of parallelism and antithesis can be found in “If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.” – This line is an example of a sententia54, used as a promise to aid any Middle Eastern state, either militarily or economically, to resist communism.

Due to the statements issued directly to the international audience, the Inaugural address can be regarded as a foreign relations document. The entire address pledged military restraint, active international diplomacy, and the defence of freedom across the globe. To address the different members of the international community, anaphoric lines “to those …” were employed in six consecutive paragraphs55. Although Kennedy did not name the addressees directly, he described them in a way such that it was clear to whom he was referring. For instance, with “those old allies” the capitalist countries of Europe (Britain, France, Italy, etc.) were referred to, while “the foes” were the communist countries, the USSR in particular.

The image of a tiger should warn the “new states” not to cooperate with the USSR and not to be tempted by the lure of Soviet protection - “those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside”.

Parallelism and antithesis were joined to show how vital national and international unity was - “United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do.” Aid was offered to people “struggling to break the bonds of mass misery”. When Kennedy

52 Normally, the section should read, “we shall pay any price and bear any burden, and we shall meet any hardships, not only support any friend but also oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”
53 Deviation from the normal word order
54 A figure of argument in which a wise, witty, or a pithy maxim or aphorism is used to sum up the preceding material.
55 Of the speech’s twenty-seven paragraphs, twenty-three contain a direct or indirect address to a specific addressee.
addressed South American states, he used vivid figurative language, a conduplication and metaphors - “we offer a special pledge - to convert our good words into good deeds - in a new alliance for progress- to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers.... And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house”. - The metaphor “master of its own house” served as a warning to the Soviet Union and Cuba indirectly. He pledged that the US, along with the UN, would act as a “shield of the new and weak.”

Kennedy used anaphora as a tool to segment a series of pledges and propositions. He declared:
“to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction. We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.”- Firstly, there was a peace as a quest metaphor included, then the strong metaphor “the dark powers of destruction”, which referred to the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union56 and finally vivid graphic images. The statement “We dare not tempt them with weakness.” is an allusion to the religious commandment “Lead us not into temptation” and is an example of liteses57. The final prayer-like sentence links the use of paradoxical repetition, inverted word order and intermittent repetition of “beyond doubt” to express the core of Kennedy’s foreign policy.

At the time of Kennedy's Inauguration, the American people lived in fear of a nuclear attack. Kennedy referred to the threat of nuclear warfare in a plain manner:
“But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind’s final war.” – Assonance supports the argument of the military issue.

Anaphoric lines “let us” served to outline Kennedy's proposals for the future of the adversaries:
“So let us begin anew - remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

56 www.matbrundage.com/publications/kennedy-inaugural/ - United States (27/03/2010)
57 an understatement in which the affirmative is expressed by the negative of the contrary
Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us. Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms - and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations. Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce. Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah - to “undo the heavy burdens (and) let the oppressed go free.” ...let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.”

**Anaphora, repetitions, alliteration, consonance, opposing pairs, the three part list, polysyndeton and biblical quotes** emphasized the call for cooperation and work toward peace. Kennedy spoke with a more conciliatory tone. The suggestion “Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate,” employs chiasmus, indicating that Kennedy sought to alleviate international tension in a peaceful manner. Repeated “Let both sides” references assisted in calling for arms control, space exploration, research in science and medicine, and to encourage arts and commerce. The reward of world peace can be seen in the images of “a better life”, “a more fruitful life”.

**Antithesis** was used at least fifteen times in the speech. Focusing on Kennedy's use of antithesis, Kenny emphasizes how the speech cast global events as a simplistic struggle between two opposing forces, the United States and the Soviet Union. (Kenny,1965: 17) Kennedy divided the world into the two opposing forces, the USA representing freedom and liberty and the USSR representing communism and aggression. The Cold War was defined as a ‘struggle’ between two opposing forces. In this struggle there was no middle ground. The phrase “Let both sides”, applied on six successive occasions, enhanced that view.

Kennedy's statement “All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.” includes polysyndeton as well as irony as Kennedy indeed served fewer than 1000 days and the statement became a reality on November 22, 1963, when Kennedy was assassinated.

The address transferred responsibility to the shoulders of each and every American - “In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. [...] Now the trumpet summons us again—not as
a call to bear arms, though arms we need - not as a call to battle, though embattled we are - but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle…. a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.” – This quote bonds inversion, the metaphor of biblical origins, alliteration, fronting and polyptoton.

Kennedy's rhetorical questions served as invitation to join his endeavor to unite the globe with peaceful diplomacy. “Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for mankind? Will you join in this historic effort?”

“The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.” – The three-part list and metaphorical language from the lines above marks the US exceptionalism among nations. The fire and light metaphor symbolizes the strength and resolve of the nation to spread democracy and freedom to the rest of the world.

The immortal lines “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” represent the climax of the address. Through the power of antimetabole, Kennedy emphasized that every citizen must participate in the progress of the country and contribute to the good of the community. Thus, a spirit of sacrifice, duty and responsibility was evoked.

In the conclusion, Kennedy urged the listeners with a patriotic statement endorsed by alliteration: “let us go forth to lead the land we love” and reminded people that “God's work” must be accomplished by humankind.

It can be concluded that the power of the address stemmed from the use of the presented rhetorical devices. These added to the strength of the speech. The address gave the citizens of the USA the feeling that anything was possible if they acted collectively. The address was crafted in a way that would lead to nuclear containment and the reduction of world tensions.
6.6 Inaugural address by Ronald Wilson Reagan, 1981

6.6.1 Context

In 1981, when Ronald Wilson Reagan, as the 40th President of the USA, took office, the American economy was facing crisis - 8 million Americans were unemployed, inflation was more than 10 percent, interest rates were between 15% a- 20%. It was the hardest period for America since the World War II, a time when the “American economy was suffering from a combination of illnesses: high inflation and low growth as well as high taxation, rising government spending, and excessive regulation” (Weidenbaum, 2005: 689-690).

As Reagan put it in his first Inaugural on January 20, 1981: “We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our nation’s history. [...] It threatens to shatter the lives of millions.” - He described the devastating effects of high inflation and unemployment, explaining that their cause reached back several decades. It is worth mentioning that Reagan’s inauguration in 1981 cost about $19 million! Reagan’s economic recovery policies were dubbed Reaganomics.

Reagan's most memorable assertion was “in this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.”, with which he criticized the government and built his image as a Washington outsider, disassociated with the rest of the corrupt politicians. Reagan attacked the policies of Carter, Johnson, F.D. Roosevelt and others. He condemned the tax system as oppressive and labeled federal spending policies as too great and hazardous. (U. S. President, 1982: 1-4)

Within the address, Reagan proposed to cut the size of the federal government and its budget and return of power to the states and people. He would also restore balance between the various levels of government. The federal government’s growth would be reversed. He suggested relying less on the government and more on the folk wisdom. Namely, he saw the solution in hardworking people. True American heroes, in his eyes, were the ordinary people who lived their lives with extraordinary character and strength.

At the time, America was also facing a lot of pressure from the Soviet Union. Even though the address lacks emphasis on foreign policy, even though Reagan had to deal with the ongoing Cold War crisis, Reagan aimed to restore the United States as the “exemplar of Freedom and a beacon of hope”.

The Inauguration ceremony occurred, for the first time, at the West Front of the Capitol. The address was optimistic in tone. Reagan ended the address appealing to optimism, “believe that together with God’s help we can and will resolve
problems which now confront us. And after why shouldn’t we believe that? We are Americans."

"Domestically, Reagan’s two great achievements were to restore America’s pride and confidence after Vietnam, Watergate".58 Reagan’s address was essential because Reagan had to restore American pride.

Reagan earned the nickname “The Great Communicator”59. His rhetorical skills undoubtedly contributed to his Gubernatorial and Presidential election successes. More than a decade after Reagan withdrew from public view, and years after his death, he still seems to be one of America’s most popular politicians. Interestingly, Reagan did not go into Office with an extensive political career. The only political office he had held, before becoming President, was Governor of California. This experience gave him the opportunity to develop the rhetorical skills necessary for the political arena.

The chief speechwriter of the address was Kenneth Khachigian.

6.6.2 Structure

- alluding to the solemnity of the occasion & thanking the outgoing President Carter for “help in maintaining the continuity”
- economic issues – inflation, unemployment, misery, taxes; expressing faith that the economic crisis will be resolved correctly
- a call for immediate action and “new beginning”
- objectives of his government
- the anti-Government section
- invitation to renew the country (to work alongside one another to remedy the ills of the country), dreams, compassion
- addressing the international audience
- calling upon three American legendary Presidents and addressing the issue of Vietnam, by mentioning “the jungles of a place called Vietnam” alongside places like Omaha Beach, Guadalcanal, and Pork Chop Hill, where heroes had fallen to pay the price for freedom
- the story of Martin Treptow
- appeal to keep the faith & religious references

6.6.3 Ethos

By calling the outgoing President Carter “Mr. President”, Reagan showed respect to his predecessor and by thanking people for the “thousands of prayer meetings being held” on his Inauguration day, he proved what an appreciative person he was.

Reagan discussed the monuments in Washington D.C. honoring former US Presidents. He named them the “shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand”. He called Washington the “Father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly”. He touched on Jefferson’s eloquence and Lincoln as the embodiment of the country’s values. In doing this, Reagan established ethos, since the listeners assumed he would be the one to carry on with the responsibility and the excellent qualities of his predecessors.

Reagan enhanced his ethos by declaring that he would “do whatever needs to be done” in order to solve the economic crisis. However, he did not provide details of the policies he would implement.

He said: “Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic “Yes.”” - Reagan expressed his conviction that there was hope for the future of the nation. By assuring the people that the problems would eventually go away, he boosted his ethos.

In addressing the pessimistic people, Reagan used the verb believe in two parallel sentences; “I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing.”

He quoted one of the American Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, thereby increasing his ethos:

“Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question upon which rest the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves.”

The quote was targeted to assure Americans that the crisis would be overcome as difficult times had been overcome in the time of the country’s founding. Reagan also attempted to request, from the American people, to unite and not to give up. He summoned people to fight for liberty.

Reagan’s expression of gratitude for the “thousands of prayer meetings being held” on his Inauguration day complemented his ethos.
6.6.4 Logos
The outline of the entire Inaugural address, with its focus on the country's economic and government problems and the laying out of Reagan’s plan to tackle these issues, seems to be logical. Reagan started the address with logos appeal: “The business of our nation goes forward” despite the current crisis. However, the key to solving those economic issues was not to be expected from the government; after all “government is the problem”, claimed Reagan.

Reagan was of the opinion that the government often serves its own interests rather than those of the people who grant its powers. His arguments for the need for change in government sounded very logical: “Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government” and “It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government.” The implication was that the government needed restructuring and that government activities and associations would change as well.

The logos appeal ran throughout the speech from the beginning to the end.

6.6.5 Pathos
To induce a feeling of responsibility for each other, Reagan stressed that the government was only a tool of the people and not their caretaker. He called for immediate action: “We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we are going to begin to act, beginning today.”

He foregrounded compassion as his moral standard: “We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen, and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they are sick, and provide opportunities to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just theory?”

He concentrated on the values that represented America, “With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America at peace with itself and the world”. Reagan believed that the nation would overcome the crisis and once again prosper through those values.

Reagan illustrated American people as the good people, as the peacemakers, thus appealing to their innately positive core.

“The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.” or
"As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it - now or ever.[...] Above all, we must realize that no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenals of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors."

He explained who are the true heroes – those average Americans, who go “in and out of factory gates”, those who “produce enough food to feed all”, those “individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education” - and herewith touched the hearts of ordinary people.

In order to stir patriotism in the hearts of Americans he stated, “Each one of those markers is a monument to the kinds of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno, and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles in a place called Vietnam”. - Reagan addressed the issue of the Vietnam War.

He called upon past sacrifices that some had made to ensure the success and continuity of the United States, telling the story of the veteran Martin Treptow, “We are told that on his [Martin Treptow] body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading 'My Pledge,' he had written these words: 'America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone.' The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort, and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds.” - It is evident that Reagan included the story60 to exemplify the ideal of the American citizen – the one who is willing to sacrifice. The message was that the American community must be served first and foremost.

Reagan's emphasis was on the role of the American public to work jointly to remedy the ills of the country. He stated: “All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden.” - The application of the adjective together

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60 The story of Treptow was accurate, except for the fact that he was not buried at the Arlington National Cemetery but in Bloomington, Wisconsin.
brought forth pathos. He continued: “The crisis we are facing today . . . requires our best effort and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God’s help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us.” – Again, the adjective together and first person pronouns produced pathos. He even encouraged his fellow citizens to “dream heroic dreams”. Reagan restored the idea of America being the greatest of nations, and with the limitless potential.

Reagan appealed to Americans “to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds.”

Reagan’s love for America stirred the spirit of his countrymen to a new age of patriotism and pride in America.
6.6.6 Language

Interestingly, Ronald Reagan addressed average Americans as “heroes” whose “values sustain our national life” and whose problems “result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government”. He addressed the young and the elderly alike (two nouns converted from the adjectives) as if he was talking to each individual.

Even though Reagan addressed the issue of unemployment and inflation, he never used the term stagflation. He engaged two coordinated superlatives and verbs with negative connotation to describe the current economic crisis. e.g. “These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from one of the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.”

On the contrary, proactive language, covering statements in the sense of - I/We can do, I/We will do was engaged. He called for some form of renewal of past practices, whereby verbs with positive connotation were used; e.g. “It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden.”

The address incorporated some abstract nouns like miracle, liberty, freedom, dignity, peace and also some proper nouns - Arlington National Cemetery, Belleau Wood, the Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno, and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir – referring to the Vietnam War. This shows Reagan’s respect for the newest war veterans of the time.

The address generated its power from words belonging to the same word family - to free/freedom/free, strength/strong/to strengthen, to grow/growth, to prosper/prosperous, to support/support, to progress/progress, to dream/dream,

Reagan played with prepositions – e.g. “It is rather to make it work -- work with us, not over us;...”

The negative pronoun no in its determiner function is applied fourteen times – “no misunderstanding”, “no barriers”, “no power”, etc.

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61 The term for slow economic growth combined with high inflation and relatively high unemployment.
Reagan’s verbs are multi-word – to go forward, to go away, to make up of, to do away with, to get back, to suffer from and derived – to penalize, to threaten, to unleash, to renew, to strengthen, to remind, to misunderstand, to resolve.

Many adjectives are derived – inevitable, momentous, equitable, productive, prosperous, unwilling, unnecessary, excessive, unequivocal, worthy while some are compound - self-sufficient, runaway.

Reagan used the same idiom – if need be – as Nelson Mandela.62

Below are three examples of complex nominal phrases -
e.g. "gracious cooperation in the transition process"
e.g. "A healthy, vigorous, growing economy"
e.g. "a strong and prosperous America at peace with itself and the world"

Parallelism is employed in

e.g. “From time to time, we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by and of the people.”

e.g. “Therefore, I will work; I will save; I will sacrifice; I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone.”

e.g. “Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God.” – With the help of parallel possessive adjectives in nominal phrases, Reagan aimed to tell people that courage, strength, and their determination would eventually triumph. He acknowledged that people are the governing body.

There are some grammatically eye-catching techniques.
e.g. “To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.”
e.g. “Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work.”

There are some instances of close apposition (a) and loose apposition (b) –
a) “They are, in short, ‘We the People.’ This breed called Americans.”

62 But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. — Nelson Mandela.
b) “You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time.”

The b example exploits the power of inversion – i.e. by borrowing is inserted between the auxiliary verb and infinitive for stylistic reasons. Normally, the sentence would read You and I can live beyond our means by borrowing, ...

A loose and non-restrictive case of apposition is seen in “Well I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves,...”

Some sentences are complex. –

“By your gracious cooperation in the transition process, you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic.”

The applied passive voice assists in describing policy initiatives Reagan planned to take.

e.g. “Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government.” – This particular sentence refers to the functioning of a government needing restructuring.

One can not overlook the usage of the conjunction as in its different functions; e.g. “you and I, as individuals” – postmodifier of coordinated nominal structure e.g. “as we begin, let us take inventory” - subordinate clause of time e.g. “”great as our tax burden is …”- comparative structure of equality; the asterisk marks the ellipted as (adverb of degree) e.g. “We’re not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline.” - adverbial clause of manner in its appositive position

Reagan frequently introduced sentences using the discourse marker well; e.g. “Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected.” e.g. “Well, this Administration’s objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination.” - Reagan included words like well, after all, yes, which are common in daily communication. Furthermore, he used the clipped word eve instead of evening;
Thus, one gets the impression that Reagan's delivery shares some features of conversational style. Jamieson\textsuperscript{63} indicated that Reagan broke from his predecessors by employing a conversational style of writing and delivery in his speeches and was one of the more successful Presidents to achieve intimacy with his audience.

\textsuperscript{63} Jamieson, K.H. 1988.
6.6.7 Figures of speech

This subchapter analyzes how Reagan drew upon metaphors, personification, anaphora, symploce, plce, antithesis, sound parallelism, symbols and an anecdote.

After describing the economic recession, financial deficit and tax burden the USA was facing at the time, Reagan firmly suggested,

“We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we are going to begin to act, beginning today. The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans, have the capacity now, as we have had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.” - Combined alliteration, polyptoton, contrast, anaphora, parallelism are used to provide assurance that the problems would eventually go away. Reagan portrayed the problem as an obstacle that would be conquered, thereby expressing hope for the future of the nation.

Reagan demonstrated his confidence in the ability of the nation to recover from the crisis. He concentrated on the values that represented America, “With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America at peace with itself and with the world.” - Personification implies that America could be a strong with some effort.

The fact that Reagan was primarily concerned with the current economic situation was revealed through the metaphors he employed. The first is associated with a barricade and obstruction that gets in a way of reaching some final destination; the second is associated with some mythological creature that is in a deep sleep.

“I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy... [...] Progress may be slow - measured in inches and feet, not miles - but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant.” – Polyptoton and a giant metaphor serve to express Reagan’s confidence and optimism.

However, it was asserted that government often serves its own interests rather than those of the people who grant its powers;

“government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.” – This is probably Reagan's most memorable assertion based on symploce.

Reagan stated the objective of his administration would be "a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunity for all Americans... Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work.” - The three
part list and tautology indicate the areas on which the 40th President would act - one of those was employment policy.

Relying on chiasmus, he reminded that
"the Federal Government did not create the states;
the states created the Federal Government"

Regarding the government he continued: "Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it is not my intention to do away with government. It is, rather, to make it work - work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back.” - By using personification the President made the point that America could have a brighter future by Americans' joint care and efforts. It is evident that Reagan spent a great deal of the speech addressing the issue of government.

The ethical value of courage was expressed through parallelism, reinforcing the pathos appeal.

“I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do.
I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing.
So with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal.
Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength.
And let us renew our faith and our hope.”

By engaging polyptoton, Reagan encouraged the citizens to “dream heroic dreams”

He pledged: "Your dreams, your hopes, your goals, are going to be the dreams, the hopes and the goals of this administration, so help me God.” - The three-part list confirms that the people indeed are the governing body.

Reagan gave many reasons to once again believe in America and the American dream.

“It is time for us to realize that we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams.” – The contrast implies it was acceptable for such a great nation to have great dreams or ambitions.

To encourage the people he portrayed, those who go “in and out of factory gates”, those who "produce enough food to feed all, and those individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education.” as heroes. Antitheses, alliteration and consonance are traceable in the lines above. Accordingly, hard work and the struggle for freedom are the keys to heroism.
The following statements were directed at foreign nations,

“To those neighbours who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty; for our own sovereignty is not for sale.”

- The aim of the above metaphor, supported by anaphora and consonance, was for American citizens to realize that America is dependent on the rest of the world. Reagan emphasized “mutually beneficial relations”. America had enemies before the 80's and would continue to have enemies in the future, therefore, America would be in need of support and allies, hence Reagan’s concern to commit to neighbors and friends.

Reagan believed in the advantage of military power in the Cold War.

“When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.” – Through polyptoton and plece Reagan implied that America has all it takes to defeat enemies which might jeopardize national security. However, America would only act in self-defence.

The Republican from California tied freedom to the global fight the USA was entangled in at the time, “Above all, we must realize that no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenal of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women.” - Gemination tied freedom with courage, and American values to the eventual victory over communism. America was presented as a country committed to freedom. There is a light metaphor below:

“We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.”

Reagan placed the concept of freedom in an economic context and individualism, whereby he incorporated the financial metaphor and sound patterns.

“If we look to the answer as to why, for so many years, we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here, in this land, we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.”

“It is a weapon our adversaries in today’s world do not have. It is a weapon we as Americans do have.” - Symplece defined the American nation as a peacemaker. The emphasis was on the righteousness of freedom and the US fighting the good fight across the globe.
Reagan metaphorically called the monuments honoring past Presidents, the "shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand". Reagan referred to Washington as the "Father of our country". Apart from G. Washington, there were two great heroes for Reagan – T. Jefferson and A. Lincoln.

Reagan addressed the issue of Vietnam with a metaphor “the jungles of a place called Vietnam” alongside geographic references like Omaha Beach, Guadalcanal, and Pork Chop Hill where American heroes fell while paying the price for freedom.

He called upon past sacrifices American citizens had made to ensure the continuity of the United States, saying,

“We are told that on his [Martin Treptow] body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading 'My Pledge,' he had written these words: 'America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone.'” This is the anecdote of a veteran, whose wartime diary recorded his determination to sacrifice and endure. Reagan used that story even though he knew that Treptow was buried in Wisconsin, not at Arlington. Martin Treptow was a character that symbolically contributed to the American struggle. He served as a portrait of one's dedication to their native country and as an appeal for Americans to accept the same values and commitments he did. Reagan must have understood “the power of dramatic narrative to create an identity for an audience, to involve the audience, and to bond that audience to him.” (Jamieson, 1988:137) In addition, parallel constructions are employed.

According to Reagan the American nation is a chosen nation, with heroic, hard working people, struggling for progress. In the conclusion of the incentive speech, Reagan identified the problem regarding the power of the federal government:

“The crisis we are facing today...require[s]...our best effort and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us. And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans.” – The incorporated place emphasizes the pathos appeal.

Reagan's first Inaugural was outstanding. By using various rhetorical strategies, Reagan managed to reaffirm his campaign pledges and to awaken America’s hope. He proved that the rhetorical Presidency, through the use of some elements, assists the President in influencing the public.
Reagan was very well liked by the people and the press. In fact, it was suggested that Reagan’s strongest communication attribute was his image “as a nice guy.” (Hertsgaard, 1988: 47) Reagan had a warm personality and a good sense of humor. Reagan’s “public appearances would be carefully staged and controlled to emphasize his attractive persona to the television viewers. Second, he would be promoted not on the basis of his philosophy or his program but rather as a decisive, can-do leader who promised to get the country moving again after a period of turmoil and doubt.” (Hertsgaard, 1988: 106) All in all, Reagan’s pleasant personality created his positive reputation in the eyes of the American people.

It is worth noting that Reagan had worked in the radio business and had appeared in numerous Hollywood films prior to his career in politics, and that might have been the final touch benefitting his communication skills and his ethos.
6.7 Inaugural address by William Jefferson Clinton, 1993

6.7.1 Context

William Jefferson Clinton, a Democrat, presented the address on January 20, 1993 as the 42nd President of the USA. The 1,582-word speech took 14 minutes to deliver. The foregrounded theme of the address was change and renewal. The speech echoed many of Clinton's previous campaign speeches.

Regarding the economic ills of the United States he proclaimed: “Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest, but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our people.” About one third of the address dealt with domestic issues. The address reflected Clinton's desire for economic and political reform. He condemned the devastatingly high cost of health care, unemployment, public crime and poverty. However, he did not point the finger at anyone specifically, nor did he offer specific solutions on for overcoming the problems. He saw the solution in investing “more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future,” and in cutting the “massive debt”. He reassured the people that “There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured ...” He spoke of preserving the American ideals. One of the Clinton's purposes was to inspire the nation to “...answer the call.”, though the Inaugural address is primarily epideictic and not action-oriented.

Clinton linked domestic and foreign issues. – “We earn our livelihood in America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. [...] To renew America we must meet challenges abroad, as well as at home. There is no longer a clear division between what is foreign and what is domestic.” Clinton aimed to protect vital interests abroad, whereby spreading of democracy was in the foreground. However, his political principles were expressed vaguely.

Delivery of the address was dynamic. He cadenced the speech effectively, exploiting variation in pitch and loudness. He lightly clenched his fist as he announced that a “new season of American renewal has begun” and his arms were outstretched as he reminded the audience of “a call to service”. (Ryan in Ryan, 1993: 307-308)

Michael Waldman was one of two speechwriters who worked with Clinton on his First Inaugural Address. He suggested focusing the address on the renewal of American democracy. The other aide was campaign speechwriter, David Kusnet. In his estimation, they wrote at least twenty drafts of the address. There were some other contributors to the speech – Clinton's college roommate, Tommy Caplan and the Pulitzer Price winner, Taylor Branch. (Schlesinger, 2008: 402-3)
6.7.2 Structure

- greeting the audience
- reference to winter in which the Inauguration takes place; spring as a metaphor for America's rebirth.
- salutation to predecessor
- comments on a post Cold war community and reference to the Gulf War; assuming new responsibilities
- powerful forces remaking the world, including global communications, commerce, and new technology
- problems and solving them - being strong, investing in people, cutting debt, taking more responsibility, and reforming politics.
- meeting challenges abroad, including problems in the world economy, the environment, the AIDS crisis and the arms race.
- challenging young Americans to become involved in community service and care for one another
- alluding to God

6.7.3 Ethos

Right from the beginning of the address, with the “My fellow citizens”, Clinton was striving to create closeness with the audience by creating common ground between himself and the audience.

He praised the audience for their participation in the political event and for their collective initiative. “The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the presidency and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans have forced the spring.” – Repetitive use of the pronoun you contributed to acknowledging the citizens.

Throughout the first quarter of the speech, Clinton established some credibility with those who supported President Bush. By thanking Bush for his years of public service, Clinton welcomed all those with skeptical ears.

Clinton recognized the limits of his Presidential power in “To that work I now turn, with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no government, can undertake this mission alone. My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal.” –

He located his power as President in the mandate of the people and he subordinated himself before their collective wisdom. Together they would end the “deadlock and drift”.

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He praised Jefferson and Roosevelt and in so doing, Clinton established his Presidential persona. He praised Jefferson in the line, “Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time.”

He referred to Roosevelt in order to reveal his own philosophical views. - “Let us resolve to make our government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called "bold, persistent experimentation," a government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this capital back to the people to whom it belongs.”

To display his practical intelligence, Clinton quoted from the King James Bible and made Kennedy's reference to the trumpets.

Otherwise, President Clinton built his ethos around the fact that he was the first President born after the Depression and WWII, and the first President whose policies were created by the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement.

6.7.4 Logos

Clinton made his reasons for change seem logical. Toward the mid-point of the speech, an appeal to logic was utilized to accentuate the poor conditions in health care, crime, children and bankrupt companies. Clinton ended this statement by illuminating all that was occurring, though change had not been made, which was the appeal to people's logic: -

“But when most people are working harder for less, when others cannot work at all, when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.”

Setting forth the priorities of Clinton's administration seems very logical: “We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity.”

In the process of reassuring people Clinton engaged plain logical arguments, “It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice.” or “There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America.” – This is an example of self-evident truth.

6.7.5 Pathos

Clinton went through the existing problems in America and asserted that change must be enacted to secure the future: “To renew America, we must be bold. We
must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future.”

Further, he called on Americans to make their own sacrifices to ensure the future by “not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake”.

There was a call to action in his statement, “An idea infused with the conviction that America’s long heroic journey must go forever upward.” He appealed for responsibility to contribute for the bettering of the American community. The entire address was designed around the appeal to take responsibility toward the native country. To reassure them of joint efforts he included the adverb together: “Together with our friends and allies we will work to shape change lest it engulf us.”

Clinton called on the “founders” of the USA and refers to “...a child’s eyes wandering to sleep...” in relation to posterity. - “Our founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child’s eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come, the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibilities.” - This part of the speech appealed to emotion and connected with everyone as it related to a “sacred responsibility”.

Clinton determined that the USA was “the world’s oldest democracy” and democracy was worth spreading across the globe.

Clinton complimented the determination of the American people throughout history. - “Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. We must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our revolution, the Civil War, to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history.” - He appealed to pride of their collective history and American ideals. There are some other statements that play on patriotic feelings; e.g. “Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.”

Or, where he paid tribute to the resolve of the American people: “The brave Americans serving our nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand, are testament to our resolve,...”

Clinton paid homage to American ideals – “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” – for they would help meet the challenges.

The poetic line - “Though we march to the music of our time, our mission is timeless.”- appealed to people's emotions and conveyed the idea of continuity.
In general, paragraphs and sentences in Clinton's Inaugural address are short. The majority of the sentences are declarative. **The imperative mood** is applied in some parts of the speech with the effect of establishing common ground between himself and the listeners.

**Hortatory subjunctive** “Let us …” appears several times to enhance W. Clinton's appeal for the renewal of the country.

**The pronoun I** is scarcely used within the address; I is used only when Clinton “salute[d] … predecessor,” “thank[s] the millions of men and women,” and asked “the Congress to join with him”. Clearly, Clinton did not emphasize his own role in the tradition of delivering Inaugural addresses. Instead, the ceremony of the occasion was stressed, and so were the citizens who “have summoned the change”.

On the contrary, prominence was given to the pronoun we. “We celebrate the mystery of American renewal,” “we force the spring,” “we know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps,” and “we must revitalize our democracy.” - “we” was used exactly fifty two times and certainly stressed unity.

The grammatical construction “we must …” is repeated seven times within one paragraph, not just for the purpose of cohesion but to attract attention; The frequent use of **the modal must** indicates obligation, while **the modal will** expresses determination for future actions. These modals have the effect of characterizing Clinton as a powerful and resolute President.

The sentence “To renew America we must…” was repeated three times, whereby the **ininitival clause of purpose** is put in the initial position for an emphatic effect.

We can identify a balance between a series of **attributive clauses** – e.g. “Posterity is the world to come—the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility.” – In this example, the attributive postmodifying clause shares the structure preposition+whom+we+predicate+object. Accordingly, the speech can be more persuasive and more toneful.

The following passage contains **five parallel adverbial clauses of time**, e.g. “But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt many of our enterprises, great and small; when fear of crime robs law abiding
citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead—we have not made change our friend.” - The effect of this parallel adverbial clauses adds vividness to Clinton's illustration of the crucial realities.

There are some other parallel grammatical constructions;

e.g. “Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical, and ambition for a better life is now universal.” The words, communications and investment, are two examples of verb-based nominalizations.

Through the successively applied complex nominal phrases Clinton invoked the past and emphasizes the unity of the country.

“an idea born in revolution, and renewed through two centuries of challenge,
an idea tempered by the knowledge that but for fate, we, the fortunate and the unfortunate, might have been each other;
an idea ennobled by the faith that our nation can summon from its myriad diversity, the deepest measure of unity;
an idea infused with the conviction that America’s journey long, heroic journey must go forever upward.”

Clinton’s Inaugural address incorporated parallel nominal phrases to help the listeners capture the main ideas easily.

e.g. “Our hopes, our hearts, our hands, are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom.” – In this case the Possessive adjective + Noun pattern is used successively to express Clinton’s view of the USA as the leading country with the mission of spreading democracy. At the same time this would be considered an example of asyndeton.

“But no President, no Congress, no government, can undertake this mission alone.” – The negative pronoun no is used successively in nominal phrases. The application of tripartite structures served the purpose of stressing the role of the people in the nation’s affairs.

The compound adverb today was used ten times, in addition to the simple adverb now five times and here two times, to stress the importance of the moment from which changes would be enacted.

Clinton resorted to formal vocabulary such as bring forth, muster, engulf, and salute and the like. Simple language was also used. Consistent with the theme, the noun renewal was used 4 times, the verb change 11 times. The Inaugural address
includes numerous **descriptive adjectives**, such as boldly, profound, powerful, dramatic and abstract nouns such as renewal, sacrifice, determination.

The noun idea was used repeatedly: “we rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution, and renewed through two centuries of challenge, an idea tempered by the knowledge that but for fate, we, the fortunate and the unfortunate, might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our nation can summon from its myriad diversity, the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America’s journey long, heroic journey must go forever upward.”

The address abounds with **vocabulary** that is **religiously charged**.; e.g. faith, hope, the Scripture, testament, service in a valley, bless, God’s, etc. Partly, it contributes to the cohesion of the address.

While some of the **verbs** used indicate decay and disintergration – e.g. eroded, fractured, shaken, devastates - there are other positive evaluative expressions, such as liberty, life, pursuit of happiness, revitalize our democracy.

**The prefix re**- is used in words such as reborn, revitalize, reinvent accordingly; firstly, such words contributed to establishing a positive and inspiring atmosphere. Secondly, they complemented the theme of change and renewal. He spoke of the “courage to reinvent America,” the need for America to change, of the “profound and powerful forces” that “are shaking and remaking our world,” of revitalizing democracy, etc.

Coordinated elements, the fortunate and the unfortunate function as **apposition** to we in order to intensify the meaning conveyed.

**Inverted word order** can be found occasionally - “Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths.”

The **Present Perfect tense** was used to praise the determination of the American people throughout history; e.g. “Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. We must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our revolution, the Civil War, to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history.”

One can surely not overlook the numerous **contrasts**: eastern/western, threat/security, good/evil, cold war/sunshine of freedom, foreign/domestic, old/new, friends/allies:
“Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and paves our way.”

Clinton even contrasted the optimistic image of the present American government with prior American administrations.

Clinton displayed his enthusiasm for the occasion in utilizing the interjection to begin the sentence: “Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring.”

The use of language in the 1993 Inaugural address entitles W.J. Clinton to the title of an accomplished speaker. He successfully linked domestic and foreign issues with the predominantly epideictic character of the address.
6.7.7 Figures of speech

Clinton seized upon metaphors, personification, historic imagery, antithesis, allusion, anaphora, epiphora, tricolon, asyndeton and sound devices, which are covered in this subchapter.

The introduction of the address includes the image of spring, antithesis, anadiplosis and a seasonal metaphor.

“This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring.

A spring reborn in the world’s oldest democracy, that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When our founders boldly declared America’s independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change. Not change for change’s sake, but change to preserve America’s ideals - life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we march to the music of our time, our mission is timeless.” - The American ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness can be interpreted in relation to the ideal of change as a must to protect these founding ideals. The transition from winter to spring may symbolize a new beginning, a rebirth of the state which came with Clinton’s election as President. Spring could also stand for a new generation, perhaps his own (Clinton was the first President born after the WWII and the Depression).

An important metaphor including m-alliteration- “Though we march to the music of our time, our mission is timeless.” was used to emphasize the present era.

The 42nd President made a reference to the season in which his Inauguration took place – winter, and used spring as a metaphor for America’s rebirth, which correspond to the themes of change and renewal. There is a contrast between winter and spring, between dark and light; the cold war era was a winter of “shadows” whereas the new, post-Soviet era was being “warmed by the sunshine of freedom.”

He portrayed the economic ills of the States through antithesis: “Raised in unrivalled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world’s strongest, but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our own people. [...]”

The link between the time Washington delivered his Inaugural address and modern times was established, whereby personification was applied.

64 Clinton’s address was delivered two years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the Persian Gulf War.
“When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world.” - Through this link, democratic continuity was emphasized.

The modern Democrat lamented: “Communications and commerce are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for a better life is now universal.” – This adopts alliteration, consonance (the identical syllable at the end) and the tripartite structure. Clinton was convinced that commerce, investment, technology and ambition are the driving force for the renewal of America.

“Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world, and the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change …” – Alliteration, assonance and homoioteleuton enhance the theme of urgent change and create a more rhythmic effect so that it is possible that a deeper impression be made on the audience. However, Clinton clarified change, earlier in the address, by saying, “Not change for change’s sake, but change to preserve America’s ideals; life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.” - This sentence provides an example of anadiplosis.

Clinton invoked events of the past - “From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the Civil Rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history.” - Clinton engaged a military metaphor and an architectural metaphor to portray the determination of the American people in times of crisis. Furthermore, he evoked Jefferson, who “believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time,”

Clinton suggested a simple solution for America’s weaknesses that he had previously acknowledged. “There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America.” - The antithesis implies there is hope for improving the inconvenient situation.

A series of appeals were made when Clinton used “we must” in successive lines. He said: “To renew America we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, ... It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done, and done fairly. [...]We must provide for our nation the way a family provides for its children. [...]Anyone who has ever watched a child’s eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come,... We must do what America does best, offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all.” -
Firstly, **anaphora** served to set forth the priorities of Clinton's administration. The reference to “...a child’s eyes wandering to sleep...” brings forth a **vivid image** in relation to posterity. In the metaphorical line - “We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children”. – America was presented as a child that needs to be nurtured. The American people were called upon to support America so it could grow and become strong again.

Regarding “intrigue and calculation” of politicians in Washington, Clinton implemented **antitheses** and **p-alliteration**:“Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and paves our way.”

“Toil and sweat” is shortened from the phrase “Blood, toil, tears and sweat”, first uttered in 1849 by Giuseppe Garibaldi when rallying his revolutionary forces in Rome.65

**Epiphora** answered the question of what the Americans are worthy of - “Americans deserve **better**, and in this city today there are people who want to do **better**.”

**Anaphora** is incorporated in the “let us” part with the climax regarding political reform, “Let us give this capital back to the people to whom it belongs.”

Clinton addressed American citizens to reform politics to cater to the benefit of all American people. - “Let us put aside **personal** advantage so that we can feel the **pain** and see the **promise** of America.” - The rhetorical device applied is **alliteration**.

America’s responsibilities in the world were discussed - “we will **act**; with **peaceful diplomacy** whenever possible, with **force** when necessary. The brave Americans serving our nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand, are testament to our resolve;”

“But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. [...] Our hopes, our hearts, our hands, are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America’s cause.”

**Assonance**, **repetition**, the **tricolon**, **asyndeton** and a **conceptual metaphor** develop the idea that America is a powerful nation, a nation to be seen as a pioneering country compared to other countries. America has vision, hopes and dreams and those should be supported by the citizens of the nation.

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“Now, we must do the work the season demands.” – Once again, the metaphor emphasizes the Inaugural’s theme of renewal.

“To that work I now turn, with all the authority of my office.” – This sentence exemplifies the use of fronting with prepositional complement placed in preverbal position.

“I ask the congress to join with me; but no President, no congress, no government can undertake this mission alone. My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal.” – The three-part list and assonance invite citizens to get involved in the new policies. The devices engaged reinforce the importance of what it means to be an American citizen.

Another use of anaphora was heard when Clinton used the term “an idea” four times in consecutive phrases. Clinton emphasized the unity of the country through place.

“We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America. An idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; and idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we, the fortunate, and the unfortunate might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America’s long, heroic journey must go forever upward.”

There was also a deliberative call to action when he said, “An idea infused with the conviction that Americas long heroic journey must go forever upward.” He used the journey metaphor to imply that the people and the country have a bright future.

Once again Clinton called for change and renewal by saying, “From this joyful mountain top of celebration.” Once again he made use of anaphora saying, “we hear a call...” “We have changed...” and “...we must answer the call.” Clinton did not include any chiasmus nor did he mention the Constitution.

Clinton’s Inaugural address set the agenda for his Administration and effectively positioned him as a world leader. The address seems to be carefully designed. To convey a message of change and renewal the address incorporates many rhetoric devices. Definitely, with the aid of those the address is more comprehensible to the listeners.

The address makes use of metaphors related to seasons (“depth of winter”, “force of spring”), light and heat (“a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom”), periods of the day “dawn of civilization”) and music (“the music of our time”).
Alliteration is scattered throughout his address. Clinton exploited numerous binary opposites, for instance: ancient-new, great-small, tomorrows-yesterdays, fortunate-unfortunate, diversity-unity, abroad-home, eastern-western, threat-security, good-evil, cold war-sunshine of freedom, foreign-domestic, old-new, friends-allies, which contrasted the present American Government with prior American Administrations. The tripartite structures such as eroded our resources, fractured our economy, shaken our confidence stressed the point in time when past policies ended and new ones begin.

All in all, via the use of figurative language, Clinton conveyed a message of change and renewal. They make the speech more dynamic and powerful enough to take the audience from the mountaintop to the valley.
6.8 Inaugural address by George Walker Bush, 2001

6.8.1 Context
The Presidency of George W. Bush began on January 20, 2001, when he was Inaugurated as the 43rd President of the USA. President Bush’s leadership was characterized by the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, and his fight against terrorism and the war against Iraq.

The Inaugural address was a comparatively short speech focused on the continuity of “the American story”. Bush dealt with social security, medicare, the economy, defense, weapons, action, poverty and family. Bush showed concerns about the failing school systems and called for its reform. He also incorporated calls for national unity, reforms in social security and tax cuts.

The speech addressed U.S. duty, courage, responsibility as well as values, principles and the idea of U.S. citizenship. The emphasis was placed upon the history of the U.S., its continuation, and in particular, on U.S. values, ideals and responsibility toward others. The ideals that define the American nation were presented as enduring. People were called to preserve those ideals and to be, above all, responsible citizens. The central theme was of freedom and the American promise “that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.” Being a religious man, Bush included some religious references.

Bush’s aim was to create an image of a mighty leader in order to obtain the public’s trust and support; afterall, Bush narrowly won the election in 2000 against Al Gore. In his 14-minute address, Bush pledged to build “a single nation of justice and opportunity”.

Basically, Michael Gerson, Bush's chief speechwriter, authored Bush's first Inaugural address. Bush also had two more speechwriters – Matt Scully and John McConnell. The trio, the so called “troika”, had written speeches for Bush from the start of his Presidential campaign.

6.8.2 Structure
- extolling the America's democratic heritage
- thanking the outgoing President and the defeated rival, Al Gore, in the 2000 Campaign election battle
- “The American story” section
- “American promise” section
- “Faith” section
- defining social ills
• pledge – to “build a single nation”
• ideals section
• describing America, “at its best”; “commitment” & “courage” section
• promises section
• describing America, “at its best”; “compassion” section
• pledge
• describing America, “at its best”; “responsibility” section
• pledge & appeal for responsibility
• quoting John Page
• ending – “This story goes on.”
• the appeal to God to watch over the United States

6.8.3 Ethos
Bush successfully exploited the three means of persuasion – ethos, logos and pathos. Bush appealed to the audience’s pathos and ethos with the call for action. Bush expressed gratitude to Clinton, saying, “As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation.” He also thanked the outgoing Vice President, Al Gore, “And I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace”, with whom he had fought in the bitter election battle (the unclear results of the election in November 2000 in Florida ended in the U.S. Supreme Court. In Bush v. Gore case it was decided in favor of George W. Bush who therefore won the election). In making these two statements, Bush was able to express feelings of gratitude in both his election victory and his succession of Clinton to the office of the Chief Executive.

Bush pledged that he would serve the nation. - “And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity.”. This strategy of presenting himself as a humble servant of the people is a case of ethos. He was eager to create an impression that he would share happiness and woe with them during his tenure.

Bush wanted to show personal commitment to proposed policies. He accomplished his ethical appeal through use of the pronoun I (11 times), indicating the Commander-in-chief traits. George W. Bush defined the responsibilities of his office, “I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it as well.” This corresponds the description of the Chief Executive’s responsibilities.

He promised to “bring the values of our history to the care of our times.” With this statement Bush was able to establish a link between his Presidency and the
actions of former Presidents, and the people of his time and times past. This allowed him to instill people with confidence in his leadership and their actions in future endeavors.

Following the call for unity among the Americans, Bush used a combination of religious references and pronouns - “… we are guided by a power larger than ourselves who creates us equal in His image.” - to bring together American heterogeneous society in terms of race, religion and nationality.

Acknowledging American exceptionalism is also a strategy that contributes to the ethos appeal. Bush envisaged America as an exemplary superpower state, with the moral authority to lead the world. He argued that “America’s faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.” He continued that if America “does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led.” For G. W. Bush the world needed America to protect the freedom of individual nations. Naturally, with a firm leader – such as himself – to lead them forward.

According to Bush, America represented not only a willing servant of freedom but also a power that protects and defends its citizens and other vulnerable societies. It also represents the custodian of the security in the world. It was America’s responsibility to guarantee world security and civil liberties.

6.8.4 Logos

*If ...then* expressions are example of logos persuasion; e.g. “If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.”

There are no other notable examples of logos appeal which can be identified within this Inaugural. That is because the Inaugural, for the most part, discussed U.S. heritage, values, ideals and principles, addresses the duty and courage of the U.S., followed by the country’s responsibility, values and principles and the idea of U.S. citizenship, with which Bush reached for pathos and ethos appeals.

6.8.5 Pathos

“We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment. It is the determined choice of trust over: cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.” - This was a
general call for cooperation from all Americans, not for working together, but rather for civility to each other.

However, Bush called for responsibility as well. - “What you do is as important as anything government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort; to defend needed reforms against easy attacks; to serve your nation beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens, ..” - This call was implemented through the imperative use of the pronoun you.

Furthermore, Bush appealed for courage: “We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.” - Courage is valued when it comes to solving problems. Appeals, such as this one, could make people believe that America could truly confront any challenges whatsoever.

To ingrain a sense of patriotism in the audience and to foster commitment to his proposals, Bush relied on the inclusion of the collective pronoun we, us and our to assimilate people to his leadership.

With the statement “No insignificant person was ever born.” Bush aimed to make every individual feel important and unique. He claimed that America would not let down its citizens.

The audience was called to uphold the ideals, which define American identity and are enduring since they have stood the test of time. He claimed that “Americans are not united by blood, birth or soil, but by ideals, which every child must be taught and which every citizen and immigrant must uphold.”

Children were the focus of his attention. He said: “We find the fullness of life not only in options, but in commitments. And we find that children and community are the commitments that set us free and whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault. Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God, they are failures of love.”
6.8.6 Language

The first Inaugural address of G.W. Bush did not make use of long sentences, at least not in the sense of the sentences adopted by G. Washington in his First Inaugural address.

There are some complex sentences:
- e.g. “We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent.”
- e.g. “we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.”
- e.g. “America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom.”

Some cases of adversative coordination can be found. –
- e.g. “And though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.”
- e.g. “Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty, but we can listen to those who do.”

There are some prefixed adverbial clauses in the Inaugural:
- e.g. “Whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault.”
- e.g. “While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own country.”

To convey that a depressing result is most likely to be expected and will most likely be true if the citizens are indifferent to the state of affairs, three successive adverbials clause of condition are employed.

“If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.”

To gain the effect of balance, replicated grammatical structure is implemented.

“When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.”

The example above parallels adverbial clauses of condition to incite the public’s pride and patriotism.
In outlining the responsibilities of his office, Bush adopted parallel infinitival clauses:

“I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it as well.”

Polysyndeton can be found in the exhortation - “Americans are generous and strong and decent...” - The statement has a kind of cumulative effect. Throughout the address Bush did not include interrogative sentences. However, he included apposition: “We have a place, all of us, in a long story - a story we continue, but whose end we will not see.”

The declarative mode is used throughout the address, with the exception of four we- imperatives. To foster a collective approach for his vision and governing principles, the pronoun we is used predominantly (45 times). This should not come as surprise, especially after all the election fraud allegations. However, in some cases, G.W. Bush distanced himself from the audience, “We do not accept this, and we will not allow it. Our unity, our nation, is the serious work of leaders and citizens in every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity.” - In the first part of the quotation, Bush identified himself with the audience, but in the second part he elevated himself to a higher position.

The passive voice engaged in some parts contributed to the inclusive perspective;

e.g. “We are guided by a power larger than ourselves...”

e.g. “We are bound by ideals ...”

However, the passive voice in the quote below gives the impression that Bush was not sure about whether he, as U.S. President, was able to prevent the new horrors from happening - “We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors.”

Bush employed modal expressions, especially those that imply necessity: “Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.”

The vocabulary used corresponds to the themes of the address. Words such as liberty and liberator correspond to the theme of freedom and the words – unity, union, unite, united, bound correspond to the theme of national unity.
To achieve maximum effect Bush repetitively uses some words - government (4 times), country (9), American (4), story (10), citizens (9), nation (11), America (11).

The address was built upon the abstract nouns – faith, courage, compassion, responsibility, promise, commitment, duty, civility, etc.

Nouns and nominal phrases were coordinated:
e.g. “Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity,...” - Bush pointed out the value of religion to the audience.
e.g. “We will defend our allies and our interests.”

The nominal phrases were anything but elaborate. The following are some exceptions;
e.g. “a story of a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom”
e.g. “a story of flawed and fallible people, united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals”
e.g. “an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born”

The final nominal phrase parallels two universal compounds with every to enhance the concept of equality. Bush could have used everybody but everyone is individualizing.

In short, he used adjectives predicatively in simple sentences – e.g. “We are confident in ...”./ “America, ..., is also courageous.” / “America, ..., is also compassionate.” – From these three examples we can conclude that Subject+Predicator+Subject Complement is to be found within the Inaugural. However, there is one more common sentence pattern, i.e. Subject+Predicator+Direct Object.

Bush used antithetical lexical items to identify the uniqueness of the American political system. He said: “... the peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.”

However, there were other lexical items denoting opposition; e.g. “It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, a story of a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.” – Placed in the same sentence, oppositions - new world v. old (world), slave-holding society v. servant of freedom, defend v. conquer – helped Bush depict the growth
of the nation, emphasizing past struggles and success. The U.S. has a responsibility to promote the values of freedom and democracy to the rest of the world.

Overall, the uncomplicated language used in this address assisted in conveying a message of unity. Most likely, Bush made the language choices hoping to coerce people into rallying behind him.
6.8.7 Figures of speech

The first Inaugural address delivered by G.W. Bush on January 20, 2001, presents the blueprint for his next four years in office. He reflected his political beliefs and sent a message that America is a strong defender of human rights, freedom and democracy by engaging particular rhetorical devices, such as binary oppositions, metaphors, allusion, anaphora, various repetitions and sound devices, which are covered as follows.

George W. Bush started his Inaugural speech with antithesis:
“With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.”

He described the progress of American society in terms of a story and emphasized the best 'chapters' within that national tale, "A story we continue, but whose end we will not see. It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, a story of a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went - into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer” – There is four-fold repetition, antitheses and alliteration within these lines. American citizens are presented here as characters from the tale.

The Inaugural address abounds in alliteration (p-alliteration, c-alliteration, etc.) - e.g. in the 9th paragraph which reads: “...America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.” - A nature metaphor “a rock in a raging sea” outlines freedom as something US citizens believe in and rely upon. Through the metaphor “a seed upon the wind”, Bush indicated that faith would grow and flourish in other nations.

Bush made use of military metaphors:
- e.g. “Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defending common dangers defined our common good.”
- e.g. “We will build our defenses beyond challenge...”
- e.g. "The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake”
- e.g. “We will defend our allies and our interests...”
- e.g. "I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort; to defend needed reforms against easy attacks...”

Bush engaged the words such as defences, enemies etc. while the context itself was not related to military affairs.

Two journey metaphors can be traced:
- e.g. “…though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.”
e.g. “and even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.”

A metaphor of finance comes up:
e.g. “Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because in a time of peace, the stakes of our debates appear small.”

Synecdoche was applied three times; Bush actually referred to the American people and not the country.
e.g. “America has never been united by blood or birth or soil.”
e.g. “America, at its best, is also courageous.”
e.g. “America, at its best, is compassionate.”

Bush urged to overcome any divisions through the use of alliteration (s and k alliteration): “ Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment. It is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos.”

Bush defined his actions and those the nation would undertake in the future. He stated:
“ We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.
Together we will reclaim America's schools, ...
We will reform Social Security and Medicare, . . . And we will reduce taxes, ...
We will build our defenses beyond challenge,....
We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. ” - In this anaphoric passage Bush defined the areas in which he would act, such as education, Social Security, and national defense, and tied these issues to moral righteousness. The line that elicited the loudest applause referred to tax cuts.

There was a comparison between the development of the USA through time to a literary work.
“We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty and our duty is fulfilled in service to one another.
Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life.
This work continues, This story goes on.”
To emphasize that “the story” never ends, Bush concluded the address by engaging epiphora: “This work continues. This story goes on.”
Bush emphasized that the story never ends, and as a result neither will the work of the American people. By using this metaphor, Bush strove to instil hope and confidence in what will come.

Bush stated, “We do not accept this, and we will not allow it. Our unity, our union, is the serious work of leaders and citizens in every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity.”

– Through repetition, alliteration, assonance Bush proposed a future where unity is restored.

“In the quiet of American conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our nation’s promise. And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault. Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God, they are failures of love.” - Here the prepositional phrase “at risk” is contrasted with “at fault,” making the point that the origins of poverty are rooted more in social than in personal responsibility.

“Where there is suffering, there is duty.” - This utterance bears resemblance to the proverb “Where there is a will, there is a way.”

There is an example of allusion in “When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.” - The reference is made to the character in the biblical story about the good Samaritan. Bush aimed to encourage the country to provide help to those in need and to encourage good will and compassion. It was suggested that good deeds will not be overlooked and that the benefit of helping others and being of service to those in need will be rewarded. Alliteration is included as well.

“Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with great love.” – These lines incorporate a paraphrase of Mother Teresa’s statement and antithesis.

Amongst the most memorable lines is the following: “I ask you to be citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens, building communities of service and a nation of character.” – Through symploce Bush asked the people to take citizenship seriously and responsibly. He continued by using sympleo:

“When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.”

Through anadiplosis Bush asserted: “Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty, and our duty is fulfilled in service to one another.”
In the conclusion Bush employed **the angel image and two nature images** to make it appear that the American people and the American government are directed by some divine force. - *“And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm”*. This reference was credited to Virginia statesman John Page. **Anaphorically** he concluded *“God bless you, and God bless our country.”*  

By using the figures of speech discussed above, Bush created the image of America as the guardian of freedom, powerful enough to protect its citizens, regardless of the price. The above analysis can also prove that George W. Bush was simply a plainspoken president.
6.9 Inaugural address by Barack Hussein Obama, 2009

6.9.1 Context
On the 20 January 2009 in Washington DC, Barack Hussein Obama took the Oath of Office as the 44th President of the USA and delivered his Inaugural address, the 56th of its kind since George Washington delivered the first in 1789. He spoke clearly, concisely, and confidently to the millions of people listening to him. His voice was strong and clear, his attitude was confident. The tone was conversational. He used the power of pause to give the audience the time to absorb what he said. The speech was written by Jonathan Favreau, one of the youngest chief speechwriters on record in the White House.

According to the website of the New York Times, the speech was 19,23 minutes long with over thirty paragraphs in the speech. It was the most expensive inauguration in history, at an estimated 75 million dollars.

The issues touched upon in the speech were many, and mostly concerned the challenges facing the United States. The central themes were hope and belief in the future and the need to be inspired and empowered by the heroic past. The accentuated values were hard work, courage, tolerance, loyalty and patriotism. Other themes of the Inaugural address were relevant to the current position of the United States. He openly acknowledged the religious and ethnic diversity of the country. The Inaugural address of Barack Obama promoted change, highlighting the country’s past and present.

Corresponding with the epideictic genre, President Obama spoke in the present, touching on issues that were pressing the nation, such as the economy and the ongoing war on terror. The tone of the address was serious. The departure from the Republican Administration was evident, and so was Obama’s liberal perception of American society.

6.9.2 Structure
The Inaugural address of President Barack Obama can be divided into the following sections:

- opening, thanking the predecessor
- acknowledgement of the economic crisis
- crises of the past; citing the Scripture, reference to the Declaration of Independence, and reminders to Americans of the struggles of the past
- addressing cynics; soliciting cooperation
- addressing the world; charting a new foreign policy
- closing: the key to resolution lies with the people; citing the optimistic spirit of the American revolutionary war
6.9.3 Ethos

It is vital to understand that Obama had established common ground with the public prior to his Inaugural address. By the time of Obama’s Inauguration, Obama’s perceived credibility was incredibly high, and even after he took office, his (perceived) credibility stayed at an elevated level.

In the address, Obama consolidated his good relationship with the public through the use of pronoun we when talking about values, beliefs, visions, etc. (Kasch, 2005: 20). Thereby, he created common ground with the American people, increasing their willingness to accept his arguments.

Obama started his address saying that he was humbled by the task he was about to take on and he thanked the people for trusting and voting for him: “My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.” – With the phrase my fellow citizens Obama embraced different nationalities and ethnicities. The words humbled, grateful and mindful made him appear humane. He assured the people that he was well aware of the responsibility and he would try to live up to them and that his intentions were honourable. However, he makes it clear that the task will take collective effort. Implicitly he is acknowledging that the power indeed lies in the hands of people.

By praising the qualities of outgoing President Bush, Obama increased his own credibility. In so doing, Obama represented himself as magnanimous enough to acknowledge the weight of the job of the former President, even though he was not of the same political beliefs. Obama attempted to elicit a feeling of warmth toward himself.

Obama assured that he could be trusted and that his intentions were nothing but honorable. He stated that he would not deceive them, but would do “business in the light of day – because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government”. – He indirectly stated that he would not be anything like Bush and his Administration. By doing so, Obama emphasized his own good qualities.

Obama knew that the people were expecting him to take action and to do his best to solve the problems, and therefore he assured them that he would do everything in his power to lead the nation out of the crisis and create economic growth and prosperity: “Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real, they are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: They will be met.”
The reiteration of “we will” throughout the address shows that he was serious about the challenges and committed to the task ahead of him. He gave the impression that he would not compromise, and would do whatever it takes to solve the issues. It was important for him to convince the American people that he was the right person to lead the country through and out of the current crisis. Thus, he worked on his ethos.

Furthermore, there was ethos applied when Obama said: “…from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: … and … why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant…”

He was able to sum up all of the feelings about race in one sentence. - “This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall. And why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.” - The above line embraces a contrastive idea, consolidates race, religion and gender issues and brings forth ethos.

Obama made use of the pronoun I or my only five times throughout his speech. Otherwise, he engaged either we or our when he made statements about the country and its future. Consequently, the public could have felt as part of his plans, because he created a sense of community. This technique allowed the public to identify with what they were told, and speaker's words had greater impact.

Ethos seems to be the most dominant appeal form in Obama's address. Obama intended to show the people what he stood for, how to get the USA out of the crisis and that he was the right man for the task.

The speech was transmitted world-wide, and the ethos of Obama was most likely perceived differently by different audiences. Obama proved to the audience that he is credible and trustworthy. (Kasch, 2005: 19).

6.9.4 Logos

Obama created logic in his Inaugural by means of examples and arguments. The examples ensured that the audience could relate to the speech, and that some of the more abstract content became more tangible. (Disanza & Legge, 2005: 232).

Obama harnessed logos in the following lines:
“The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works, whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified.

Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. […]” - With these metaphorical lines, Obama aimed to say that the US government planned to provide job for the jobseekers and better social warranty.

The appeal to logic is evident in the indication that past policies had failed, and that a new approach was needed. He implicitly criticized Bush and his Administration; “On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.” - Obama would have damaged his own ethos if he had openly criticized Bush.

In a down-to-earth style, Obama recounted many problems facing the country, and referred to specific issues. He emphasized the need for international cooperation, better relations with the Muslim world, and mentioned the need to withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan.

In order to present the ideas and thoughts in the best way possible, there must be a logical sequence of information in a speech (Newsom & Haynes, 2005: 323). Obama’s ability to persuade the public was essential to the success and persuasiveness of the speech, and thereby the impact of his message (Disanza & Legge, 2005: 225).

Obama appealed to the practical knowledge and experiences of the average American instead of trying to persuade them through logic. Unlike the other Presidents, he did not discuss the Constitution.

6.9.5 Pathos

Obama’s address contains examples of pathos appeal. He used an emotional appeal to influence and persuade his audience. He drew on America’s sense of patriotism and pride in being American.

First and foremost, the pathos appeal found expression through the reiteration of the pronouns we and our. The use of these pronouns indicates that the people and Obama might have something in common and together they were capable of solving the problems and reaching the goals.

Obama used a historical analogy to reassure the American people that even though times were hard, based on historical facts, they would persevere: “...men and women...who have carried us up the long, rugged path towards prosperity.
and freedom. For us they... travelled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West...For us, they fought and died...They saw American as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions... This is the journey we continue today.” – Obama drew upon history and challenged citizens not to let their ancestors’ hard work and sacrifice go to waste. His message was one of hope; with the right attitude, he claimed, a new era of responsibility could be created.

Obama encouraged responsibility: “What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility...that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world” – Obama used the pathos appeal to make people feel responsible for themselves, the nation and the world and that they needed to fight for the country as their ancestors had. Americans have the responsibility to follow the path laid out in front of them. He sought to inspire the American people by referring to values of American identity.

Obama called on the American people to stand together as a nation with faith in the future, because that would lead them out of the crisis. It was an emotional appeal, because hope is, amongst others, a core value of the American people. This also functioned as a call for action; he addressed the worker, the fire fighter and the parent, enabling individuals to relate to his call.

For middle class, working Americans, Obama used an emotional appeal to influence and persuade his audience.

In addressing other nations Obama relied on pathos: “To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds.” - This statement pointed to the urgency to help poor and under-privileged nations. He continued: “And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world’s resources without regard to effect.” – This is an appeal not to be indifferent to the suffering of others, it is a call to solidarity and unselfishness.

Obama tried to give the people a feeling of confidence. He assured them that the country had all it needed to renew prosperity: “Our workers are no less productive than when the crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year.”
He appealed to Americans to be as strong as their forefathers “in the depth of winter” and to the best of their ability to “carry forth that great gift of freedom and deliver it safely to future generations”.

He aimed at their sense of national pride by repeated references to the symbols of a great and glorious past, the struggles faced by the nation’s ancestors and the sacrifices made. Obama stated that, even though the challenges might be different and new, considering the old values, they have the power to meet the future goals. Thereby, he appealed to look at their core values for strength and inspiration. “Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends -honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism - these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history.”

He touched the issue of citizenship, trying to make people aware of their duty; “What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world, duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task. This is the price and the promise of citizenship.”

Obama brought up the time of segregation in America’s history. “This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall. And why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.” - Statements like these not only appealed to one’s emotions, but they also helped fortify Obama's ethos because it was his father who had faced the dark side of the segregation.

Obama ended the speech with a quote and a challenge to stand up and fight for the country. His words were meant to touch the hearts of Americans and to warn countries and leaders outside US.
6.9.6 Language

Obama kept the Inaugural address at the level that an average person could understand. He did not use ‘elitist’ language. Obviously, his experiences while growing up attributed to his rhetorical style.

When illustrating the most important problems faced by America, Obama said: “That we are in the midst of a crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare our nation for a new age.” - This language was plain enough that many could grasp what he was saying and could therefore identify with those problems. The language was very descriptive in order to emphasise and persuade Obama’s perception of the matter (Disanza & Legge: 2005: 249).

Obama varied his sentence lengths. He used a combination of simple and complex sentence structures to add variety to his address.

- **Examples**:
  - “These things are true.”
  - “we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth.”
  - “… and why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.”

**Relative clauses** for that matter are not rare in number. There are some cases of inverted word order for stylistic purpose; e.g. “All this we can do. All this we will do.” To intensify the meaning he reached for apposition.

One can note parallel grammatical structure (Adjective + Noun + Prepositional Phrase) in: “The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace.”

Obama paralleled the passive construction in order to call for reaching to the core values: “What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility ...”

Examples of complex nominal phrase

- “the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom”
- “the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness”
Engaging the personal pronoun *we* points to Obama’s inclusiveness, causing the audience to feel a part of something collectively and to include all nationalities and ethnicities. Obama was very restrained in his use of the pronouns *you* or *they*. There were some occasions when Obama used *they* when referring to the past, honoring the fallen soldiers in previous wars now buried at Arlington cemetery. Obama scarcely used the pronoun *I* or *Me* – this may indicate that he is not a self-absorbed person, but an all-about-his-people attitude.

**Obama’s words** were clear and appropriate. He chose words that are used on daily basis, and therefore they are easily understood by the general public. “Nation” as the most prominent word in the Inaugural proves that Obama attempted to concentrate on the domestic issues.

Many of the words used were **formal. Lofty rhetoric** is also evident in the statement: “*The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms.*” - This is a poetic line. The reason for the **high style of language** was most likely the fact that the Inaugural address is a very formal occasion and is of significant importance.

The address includes words such as **forefathers, ancestors and generations** as a stylistic tool to signify the historical roots of the nation.

**Proper nouns** such as Concord, Gettysburg referring to revolutionary wars, Normandy to World War II and Khe San to the Vietnam War are incorporated. **Abstract nouns** such as prosperity, peace, greatness, unity and others are applied.

**Adjectives** are used throughout the address to colour the meaning of the nouns. Adjectives such as enduring, better, precious, noble, God-given are value-laden and utilized to affect the audience’s perception. **The adjective “new”,** which is applied 11 times, and supports Obama’s idea of starting a new era, to affirm that “the world has changed, and we must change with it”.

Obama described the present **crisis as challenges** described with 3 adjectives - real, serious and many, - a situation that Americans must stand up against to overcome. He illustrated the crisis and the issues most Americans dealt with by incorporating the **three-part grammatical structure**; e.g. “*Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shattered.*” – In this way the audience could easily perceive the statement and could identify with it.
He characterized the American nation with **superlatives** - “We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth.”

In an attempt to reassure the country not to give up in hard times, Obama used **paralleled adverbs** in: “Our workers are no less productive than when the crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year.”

**Three-part structural constructions** were used repeatedly; e.g. “I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors”

Obama’s **sentences are elliptical**; “The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; *to choose our better history;* to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: ….” The asterisk marks the place where the subject and the predicator are ellipted.

Obama deployed **inversion**; e.g. “... because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.”

Obama was in favour of the demonstrative pronoun **this** in its deictic function.

Three anaphoric sentences are introduced by “*This is*...” –
“*This is the price and the promise of citizenship.*
*This is the source of our confidence: the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny.*
*This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, [...]”

In some cases Obama **coordinated indefinite pronouns**, e.g. “*men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration*” – a statement regarding the consolidation of race, religion and gender issues.

E.g. “*know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.*” – This was an attempt to bring the USA and the world together, presenting the USA as a peaceful and friendly country.

Obama used the modal verb **must** 8 times, contributing to a sense of necessity and responsibility. He claimed: “*so it must be with this generation of Americans*” and “*we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.*”

**The modal will** was used 24 times. Obama stated that things **will** be done and they **will** happen. He left no room for questioning, only strong determinations that
some goals would materialize in his Administration. He claimed that the goals “will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But …they will be met.”

**Apposition** can be found in:

“*The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act – not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth*.”

“*And yet, at this moment – a moment that will define a generation – it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all*.”

**The applied conjunction so** contributed to better cohesion of the address: “…*these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life*” and “*so it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans*.”

Whether talking about America’s past, its present or future, Obama spoke with a **decisive and sombre tone**. Obama’s use of **formal, yet plain language** worked well in the sense of effectiveness. One of the reasons for Obama's success in his political career may be his magnificent skills as an orator.
6.9.7 Figures of speech

Obama’s Inaugural address displays its rhetorical unique style from the beginning to the end. He exploited the power of metaphors, powerful imagery, historical analogy, narrative technique, antithesis, anaphora, the list of three and correspondence of sounds, which are dealt with in this subchapter.

“My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.”

There is a three-fold parallelism of adverbial phrases, whereby b-aliteration, t-aliteration, and homoioteleuton. The combination of these rhetoric tools and the trochaic meter reinforce Obama’s awareness of his new responsibility.

In the sentence that follows f-alliteration and correspondence of n-consonant (consonance) is outstanding.

“Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath.”

The first thing to notice is that Obama did not make a statement like “I, the forty-fourth President, ...” Instead he deliberately diminished himself and magnified the American tradition of taking the Presidential oath. This figure of speech is called meiosis.

Obama described prior situations in which the Presidential oath had been taken: “The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms.”

Two recurrent p sounds and the meteorological condition metaphors (“rising tides of prosperity” and “still waters of peace”) were used to create a vivid picture of the conditions when some previous US Presidents had taken the oath. Times when the American economy was at its top and the country enjoyed the full extent of peace are juxtaposed with the difficult times. “gathering clouds and raging storms” are two metaphors with evocative power, implying resemblance with the current situation in the USA – an engaged figure of speech called hypocatastasis.

“At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears, and true to our founding documents.”

Barack Obama continued with the narration by laying out the facts regarding the crisis. As evident below, Obama relied on imagery, a metaphor and anaphoric
four-fold repetition of the possessive adjective our to illustrate the serious problems faced by the country.

“That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age.

Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many, and each day brings farther evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.”

By utilizing anaphora, Obama openly acknowledged the current situation. By saying the sentence “Our economy is badly weakened, and homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered” Obama indicated that Americans were facing the worst economic crisis since 1933. The metaphorical expression “against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred” referred, most likely, to the “terrorist organization” Al-Qaeda.

The fear of the unavoidable decline of the American economy and its consequences was addressed in the metaphor: “These are the indicators of crisis,…. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land – a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable,....”

Obama claimed that the American nation had faced problems before and had always managed to find its way through, because the nation had remained faithful to the ideals of the Founding fathers. To put across the message that the crisis would eventually be met, Obama deployed the antithesis of the modal verb “[The problems] will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America - they will be met.”

As the Inaugural address unfolds, the Inaugural reads:

“Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real, they are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: They will be met.

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord.

On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.”

There is an antithesis in the quote above - “unity of purpose over conflict and discord.”
Alliterations can be found throughout the address and provide a melodious rhythm to the speech. The following example is in reference to the “American Dream” founded by James Truslow Adams and embraces ploce - “In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned.”

To reassure the people that they will persevere, Obama engaged historical analogy. The power of anaphora and imagery emphasize the sacrifice made by America's forefathers to make America what it is:

“Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted - .... Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things - .... men and women obscure in their labor, who have carried us up the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life.

For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West; endured the lash of the whip and plowed the hard earth.

For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and Khe Sahn.

Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life.”

Through this journey metaphor, Obama intended to encourage people not to give up, not to end the journey. However, the address makes numerous references to the American past, which corresponds to the theme “drawing strength from our common past”. The journey metaphor in “they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life.” refers to the original immigrants to the USA, with another p-alliteration. “the lash of the whip” refers to slaves. The imagery of painful hard work in “worked till their hands were raw” cannot be overlooked.

When Obama used geographical names, he actually referred respectively to wars: “For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and Khe Sahn”. – That is a case of synecdoche. In reverse chronological order Obama evoked Vietnam, World War II, the Civil War, and the Revolutionary War to pay tribute to America's past and as a reminder that the American people had not lost faith even in the most difficult times and that they would persevere.

Another anaphoric repetition and reassurance follows, together with some indirect criticism of the outgoing Administration. There is an example of p-
alliteration, t- consonance, an example of polyptoton\textsuperscript{66} (prosper / prosperous) and homoioiteleuton present.

“This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions - that time has surely passed.”

Through the journey metaphor and repetition, Obama presented the American people as everlasting travellers, headed to particular destination.

There was a three-part list when he talked about harnessing and improving things.
“We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories.
And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age.”

By engaging antitheses and anaphora, Obama proved his firmness of opinion and firmly stated that things must be improved:

“The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works - whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end.”

The image of drafting refers to the US Constitution, whereas the blood image refers to changes from Civil War. - “Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations.”

“We are the keepers of this legacy, ... We'll begin to responsibly leave Iraq ...With old friends and former foes, we'll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat ...We will not apologize for our way of life nor will we waver in its defense.”. The image of guardians is followed by anaphora which outlined Obama’s political agenda.

Vivid imagery is included as references to slavery and segregation were made:  

\textsuperscript{66} a stylistic scheme in which words derived from the same root are repeated
“because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve;”

Obama sought collaboration with the Muslim world, leaders around the world, with those “who cling to power”, and with “people of poor nations” by engaging anaphora and alliteration. The quote below embraces contrast and an agricultural metaphor - “To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society’s ills on the West – know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy.”

Obama extended a hand to those countries with which the Bush Administration had not manage to arrive at a compromise. According to Obama, the USA “will extend a hand if you [other nations] are willing to unclench your fist.” – with this metaphor, Obama displayed his willingness to cooperate with those who dissented.

Through narrative technique Obama referred to himself in the African American context: “This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall; and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.”- There is a contrast between the discriminated status of his father 60 years ago and Obama himself, becoming President today. Newsom & Haynes claim that the anecdotes, which Obama makes use of, helped create a relationship between himself and the audience, which ensured that they could identify with him more easily and thereby with the message he was communicating (Newsom & Haynes, 2005: 323).

Through epiphora and antithesis Obama called for the American people to reach to their core values and work together as a nation to meet the challenges of the present and future : “Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends … these things are old.”

He made references to the most cherished American document – the Declaration of Independence67, by reminding them that “all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.” – Although Obama rewrote the word from the Declaration, he managed to remind the listeners of it.

67 “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”
Short punchlines in the form of a three-part list and images depict the struggle during War of Independence - “The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood.”

Toward the conclusion of the address, there is an analogy between the darkest days in the War of Independence and the situation currently facing the country. George Washington was quoted; “‘Let it be told to the future world...that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet it.’”

America: In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God’s grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.”

This quote ties the symbolism of the “country to a journey”, a seasonal metaphor (“winter of our hardship”) with a water image (“icy currents”) resulting in poetic rhythm.

To conclude, there were different rhetorical strategies used. Anaphora, alliterations, the three part lists and metaphors are the most obvious. The journey metaphor prevails.

The address is a good example of how rhetorical elements interact, and how the borders between them are blurred. They are used to make the address expressive and to encourage the American people to carry on in the toughest situations.
7. Comparative Analysis of the Inaugural Addresses

7.1 Themes

Campbell and Jamieson (1990) claim that Inaugural addresses incorporate four themes: Reconstitution of the People (historical reenactment, partisan division, extension of Oath of Office), Rehearsing of Communal Values Drawn from the Past (framed in ways that unify the audience, honoring past Presidents, quoting former office holders), Setting Forth Political Principles to Govern Nation (policies proposed for contemplation not action, Recommitting the nation and Administration to constitutional principles), Appreciating the Requirements and Limitations of the Office (references to God, placement of prayers in text)

However, Campbell and Jamieson do not detail specific themes expressed in particular Inaugural address. I explored each Inaugural with the aim to discover specific themes. Other than that, in my view, not everything Campbell and Jamieson identified as a theme could be labelled as one, more likely as a strategy.

The following table summarizes the main themes in each of the nine Inaugural addresses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Main themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Washington, 1789 | - vision of a strong central government  
| | - defined the role of the Federal government that should be guided by the Constitution and the Almighty Being  
| | - vision of how to get the newly independent nation on its feet  
| | - national unity based on common values  
| | - God will smile upon America if it follows “the eternal rules of order and right” |
| Jefferson, 1801 | - minority vs majority rights  
| | - political controversy  
| | - equality of the Republicans and the Federalists  
| | - reconciliation between the two political factions  
| | - connection between executive power, popular leadership and declarations  
| | - balance of power between the State and the Federal government  
| | - liberalism of the Declaration  
| | - living in “a chosen country” is a wonderful blessing |
| Lincoln, 1860 | - continuity and perpetuity of the Union,  
| | - secession equated with anarchy  
| | - likelihood of secession and the Civil war; secession equated with anarchy  
| | - slavery  
| | - limits and controversies of the Constitution; possible amendment to the Constitution  
| | - two opposing parties with irreconcilable differences in a free country,  
<p>| | - differences of opinions that naturally arose amongst various figures and bodies as a consequence of differences in people’s views and thoughts and limits of reason |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Main themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Roosevelt, 1933 | - the Great Depression as a national problem  
- corruption; violation of responsibilities  
- the New Deal principles that would eventually restructure the State and end the Depression  
- nation as “the great army” in the war against the Depression  
- the power of will to turn defeat into victory  
- role of material wealth in society  
- restoration of the government to its high moral place  
- theme of hope |
| Kennedy, 1961 | - free society in a world of peace;  
- peace as a quest/journey; restoring peace globally  
- freedom and democracy vs tyranny and totalitarianism  
- personal participation and involvement; struggle for a cause  
- interdependence  
- cooperation amongst people and nations; cooperative efforts resulting “in a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved”  
- globalism with the USA as central power; the USA playing a major role in the world's fate  
- new versus old generation  
- two opposing powers  
- renewal and change;  
- theme of we  
- beginning of a new era of reform  
- humans being able to do good or to destroy |
| Reagan, 1981 | - restoration  
- problems as obstacles that will be overcome  
- collective public's role in realizing the common goal  
- American heroism; citizen-heroes  
- America put on a pedestal as “the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope” |
| Clinton, 1993 | - unity  
- winter vs spring theme  
- change; changing the American society  
- renewal that requires sacrifice, confidence,  
- responsibility for the future of the country and posterity |
| Bush, 2001 | - continuation of the American story  
- America as the Good Samaritan  
- celebration of the American spirit  
- struggle against social ills  
- dream of dignity  
- American creed embracing liberty, freedom, equality, individualism, diversity, courage, responsibility  
- spread of democracy  
- God's guidance  
- theme of freedom |
Table 2: The main themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Main themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Obama, 2009 | - crisis and recession  
- the American dream (“Greatness is never a given. It must be earned.”)  
- continuity and progress of the nation; theme of a journey  
- returning to the ideals of the founding fathers; theme of respect for the foundation that the forefathers, soldiers, and earlier Americans laid  
- hope and faith in the future  
- restoration and new beginnings based on the ideals of the founding documents; Americans with the enduring strength of their heritage are capable of remaking the nation and the world  
- diversity - the USA as a nation of different believers, cultures, languages yet united in the same fight  
- theme of we and us  
- responsibility and pragmatism |

Unity is one of the major themes, particularly since it was desperately needed in gloomy times. Continuity of the American story is also a common focus. Recurrent themes are change, renewal and restoration of the country, participation by the citizens in realizing common goals, struggle for a cause, interdependence. The American dream is confirmed. Peace and freedom constitute another major theme.

The themes are event-driven and reflect what is important in the political discourse of Inaugural addresses.
### 7.2 Issues discussed

The Presidents focus on the major issues that are relevant to their times. I summarized the issues in meaningful units. The lack of *plus or minus* in the table does not necessarily mean the issue was not covered, but it does mean it was not clearly asserted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GW</th>
<th>TJ</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>FDR</th>
<th>JFK</th>
<th>RR</th>
<th>WJC</th>
<th>GWB</th>
<th>BO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current issues the country faces; domestic issues</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Areas in need of attention</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political principles and the political philosophy of the incoming Administration - how the country will be guided</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>The current position of the country and the direction which the country should go</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>International issues; foreign affairs</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Global issues; global responsibilities</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The American Dream</em>; individual and collective dreams</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good vs evil</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hope for better future</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional American values</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3: Issues discussed*
7.3 Emphasized points

The table below presents which issues and areas in particular were emphasized by the Presidents in their Inaugural addresses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Emphasis:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>- virtue, morality, respect, a sense of duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- personal obligations of the President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- government's allegiance to the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Providential help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- key concepts of the 18th century:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- duty, talents, patriotism, honorable qualifications, surest pledges, private morality, respect, truth, union, virtue, happiness, duty, eternal rules of order and right, pursuit of the public good, united and effective government, rights of freemen, public harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- setting up the Judiciary Branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>- the rights of the minority to be heard and protected although “the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- liberty as the value which governments should strive to protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- unity transcending Party divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- freedom of opinions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- common sense and approval of arguments in order to take the nation to new heights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- responsibility of the government before the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- central concerns of the Federal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- “peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>- preserving the Union; the Union as perpetual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- the problem of slavery, slavery prohibition; the problem of fugitive slaves; the issue of the Fugitive Slave Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- the secession issue – secession viewed as unconstitutional and impossible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- areas of common agreement between Northerners and Southerners (the safety and security of slavery where it already existed and the right of slave owners to reclaim fugitive slaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- the Civil war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- national unity; the need for reunification of the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- perpetuity of the Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- preservation, protection and defense of the Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- majority vs minority rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- reconciliation of differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- use of force (against the Southern states)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Emphasis:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Roosevelt, 1933 | - “money changers” as the wrong-doers, the fault lay with the corrupt managers of the system  
- attaining material wealth; the significance of material wealth is minimized; happiness lies in achievement and “in the thrill of effort”  
- poverty and unemployment are not a personal, individual responsibility  
- America as the land for the pursuit of creative endeavors and the thrill of achievement  
- progress depending on a sense of reciprocity; the value of team work is promoted  
- freedom, the spirit of unity, pride, trust in the American economy and American democratic system  
- non-selfishness  
- greatness of the American Constitutional system  
- national recovery                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Kennedy, 1961 | - US responsibility to the rest of the world; vision of the USA foreign policy; the USA as the hope for mankind  
- joint cooperation (of both sides involved in the Cold War) towards peace; cooperative ventures toward peaceful solutions  
- one's sacrifice for a greater cause; the citizens and the government as partners in the quest for the good of the community  
- importance of the American Founding and its principles  
- national security  
- pledging support to any nations or individuals pursuing liberty and democracy  
- containment of communism  
- freedom, liberty and democracy are promoted  
- threat of nuclear annihilation  
- ongoing Cold War  
- America's greatness does not equal material wealth or power  
- the present is defined as an era of power and danger  
- “God's work” is indeed accomplished by humankind                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Reagan, 1981  | - American exceptionalism  
- government as a tool in the hands of the people; - “a nation ...has a government—not the other way around”  
- restoring the government; “government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem”.  
- deficiency of the economy at the time; inflation  
- economic woes affecting the average American family  
- value of freedom as a weapon  
- American values vs communism  
- American nation defined as a peacemaker, as fighting the good fight across the globe  
- daily practice by American citizens viewed as heroic  
- hope for the future of the nation                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Emphasis:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Clinton, 1993 | - unity of the country, which can be achieved despite diversity  
- role of the people in the renewal  
- diligent work will improve the prospects for the future  
- the USA as the world’s leader  
- the USA retaining the power  
- “There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America.”  
- American ideals: democracy, independence, liberty, freedom, family, history, hopes for the future, religion, the pride of being American  
- preservation of America’s ideals |
| Bush, 2001 | - social problems – e.g. poverty, domestic issues  
- confronting the problems instead of passing them to the next generation  
- civility  
- the USA as the leader in the fight for the spread of freedom  
- the USA as a force for good  
- “personal responsibility”, “commitment”, “civic duty” contribute to the prosperity of the nation  
- restoration of unity  
- continuation of the U.S. history  
- U.S. values, ideals  
- 21st century bringing new horrors |
| Obama, 2009 | - the USA entering a new era of responsibility whereby strength should be drawn from the old values such as “honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism”  
- equality for all  
- the USA as a peaceful and friendly country that seeks cooperation with the world  
- bravery of many Americans in the past and today  
- the USA relying upon faith and determination of the American people, which have helped them overcome the difficulties through the ages  
- duties accepted not grudgingly but seized gladly  
- reconciliation with the Muslim world  
- repositioning of the USA global involvement  
- uniting the people and change for the better |

Table 4: Emphasized points
7.4 Strategies applied

Campbell and Jamieson identify a few of the strategies used by the Presidents to meet their specific goals. Firstly, the Presidents use shared recollection technique to invest themselves with authority. Through recognition of common past events and beliefs, the Presidents establish their place in the history of American Presidents. By venerating past Presidents or by quoting them, the newly elected President is able to demonstrate their belonging. God is invoked humbly to subordinate the Presidency in the eyes of the people.

The recognition of the responsibilities and limitations was found to be a strategy that works towards investment of authority. Campbell and Jamieson believe the Presidents reconstitute the people by recognizing the limitations and responsibilities of their office. Campbell and Jamieson recognize the strategy of using humility to reach that goal. This most commonly occurs at the beginning of the Inaugural when the speaker recognizes either the outgoing President or their challenger from the election. Another common practice is to show themselves as just another member of the community, emphasizing that everyone must work with each other, not for one person.

Humility is an important strategy in a Presidential Inaugural. Presidents need to express their acceptance of such a high position in a manner not to appear to be gloating or arrogant. They use several strategies to achieve the humble feeling. Campbell and Jamieson recognize humility as a strategy for both reconstituting the community and establishing the political principles of the incoming Administration.

A President's recognition of a higher power is a strategy for establishing the President as the moral compass of the country. Religion, identified by Campbell and Jamieson (1991) as a strategy for completing investiture, is simply a method of establishing the President as the moral leader of the nation.

For the purpose of identifying the strategies employed, the work of Campbell and Jamieson was initially used. However, during the course of this study I identified some more strategies. The lack of plus or minus in the table does not necessarily mean the strategy was not applied, it means it was not that explicit.
### Table 5: Used strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>GW</th>
<th>TJ</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>FDR</th>
<th>JFK</th>
<th>RR</th>
<th>WJC</th>
<th>GWB</th>
<th>BO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledging the momentous occasion</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claiming humility</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I do not shrink from responsibility.</em> – I welcome it. technique</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared recollection technique - common past</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing connection between the past, present and future</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratitude to the outgoing President</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying tribute to predecessors (e.g. to the Founding fathers and first settlers)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presenting themselves as a member of the community, as a common man (fellow citizens, fellow Americans)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of God and religious references, quotes from the Scripture</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quoting former Presidents /echoing former Presidents</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praising the USA and its nation</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flattering the audience</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledging the limits of the executive power</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References to the Declaration of Independence</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References to the Constitution</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorporating some memorable phrases.</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal of communal values</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promise for new beginnings</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extending an olive branch to foes/opposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presenting himself as the Chief of the country</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of inclusive language (we/our/hr)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The power truly lies in the hands of people</em> technique</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self disclosure</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>An illustrative story (narrative)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laments about the different world nowadays</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardon-my-mistakes technique</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finished-in-Thousand-days technique</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References to corruption within government circles</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References to geographical names (proper nouns)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References to (Civil/Cold/WWII) war</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each President had numerous strategies at his disposal, however, not all the strategies were employed by every President. But all work towards investment of authority or toward the realisation of particular goals.
7.4.1 Appeals

In order to be effective, many Presidential Inaugurals take advantage of various appeals. Appeals made by the President can be viewed as one of the strategies. The table below illustrates the specific appeals each Inaugural address relied upon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Appeals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Washington, 1789 | - appeals to Congress not to be divided by party loyalties, to protect the people and ensure the continuity of the Federal government  
- indirect appeal to Congress to amend the Constitution with a Bill of Rights  
- appeal against partisanship  
- appeal to a Deity for guidance |
| Jefferson, 1801 | - appeals for partisans to put differences aside; appeal to Federalists and Republicans to get past their differences and to work together  
- appeal for work for the greater good of the republic  
- appeal for peace throughout the nation  
- appeal to the Federalists & soothing their fears regarding the disintegrating the Union  
- appeal to rise above partisanship  
- appeal to the patriotic feelings of people  
- appeal to the audience to entrust in him the way they did in George Washington |
| Lincoln, 1860 | - appeals against secession; appeals to those who want to preserve the Union and to the potential secessionists – appeal to the Southern States to abandon the secession  
- appeals for pacifying the North and the South ; appeal against bloodshed and violence; appeals to the people to negotiate divisions  
- appeal to patriotism  
- appeal to friendship  
- appeal to change the laws people do not agree with rather than disobeying them  
- appeal to a common heritage |
| Roosevelt, 1933 | - appeal to war the Depression  
- appeal for hard work and discipline through which one can achieve the American dream; appeal for sacrifice  
- appeal for restoring values; values should be based on morals rather than on material wealth  
- appeal for ethical change  
- appeal to moral, ethical, and spiritual values that he believes have been perverted by an unseemly haste to make money.  
- appeal to remain optimistic  
- appeal for government to return to just principles and aid people |
President | Appeals
---|---
Kennedy, 1961 | - appeal for renewal of the USA – Soviet Union relations; call for reducing world tensions  
- appeal for joint responsibility and service to society  
- appeal for peaceful and friendly cooperation  
- appeal for military restraint  
- appeal for increased US intervention around the world  
- appeal to determine your own future  
- appeal to the UN  
- call for an alliance for progress in Latin American countries  
- appeal to Third world countries not to be lured by the Soviet Union's lure  
- appeal to assist in the battle against the “common enemies” of mankind: tyranny, poverty, disease and war

Reagan, 1981 | - appeal for action; call for renewal of past practices to reverse economic ills  
- call for partnership amongst Americans to facilitate change  
- appeal for compassion for others  
- appeal for patriotism  
- appeal to fellow citizens to “dream heroic dreams”  
- appeal to “believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds”

Clinton, 1993 | - appeal to act in the renewal of the USA  
- appeal for personal sacrifice and community service  
- appeal to preserve America's ideals – life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness  
- appeal to adapt the stagnant economy to the conditions of the new world  
- appeal to reform political institutions  
- a call for continuity  
- appeal to the pride of the citizens of the country's history, the country and American ideals; appeal to patriotic feelings  
- appeal for unity

Bush, 2001 | - appeal for compassion for those in need  
- appeal not to be indifferent  
- appeal for civility  
- call for American society to take upon itself the ethos of the Good Samaritan; appeal for responsibility – appeal to be responsible citizens  
- call to patriotism  
- call for courage  
- appeal for full trust in the democratic system of the USA
An appeal that holds a typical place is the appeal for unity. People are called to step together as one so they can accomplish anything. Appeals to patriotic feelings are no less important. Almost every Inaugural address calls for cooperation. Quite frequent are appeals for responsibility, hard work and sacrifice for the common good.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appeals</th>
<th>GW</th>
<th>TJ</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>FDR</th>
<th>JFK</th>
<th>RR</th>
<th>WJC</th>
<th>GWB</th>
<th>BO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Call for cooperation; for solidarity</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for sacrifice; call for hard work and effort; call for action</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for unity – unification appeals</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for reconciliation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Call for faith</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for support of the incoming policies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for contemplation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Appeals
### 7.5 Primary purpose of the Inaugural address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>GW</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>FDR</th>
<th>JK</th>
<th>RR</th>
<th>WC</th>
<th>CWB</th>
<th>BO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To ensure the transfer of constitutional and personal authority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To lay down the principles of the incoming government</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To clarify the President’s vision of the country’s course</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To demonstrate a capacity for leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To establish a positive atmosphere for the new Presidency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To celebrate American values</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To unify the nation; to celebrate national unity</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To establish the covenant between the citizenry and the leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To remind the nation what they have in common and of their national character</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To affirm America’s democratic system</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To reassure people in some way</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To send a message of hope</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>To encourage people for collaboration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8: Prevailing Purposes**

Once again, the lack of plus or minus in the table above, does not mean that the particular Inaugural did not have that purpose, it was just not that evident.

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All the examined Inaugural addresses, with the exception of George Washington's first Inaugural, have the purpose of transferring authority – one personal and the other Constitutional. All the Presidents aimed to express their vision for the future of the country. It is an optimistic vision that a nation can succeed once again. This supports the aim of reassurance – ranging from: even though times are hard, based on historical facts, the nation will persevere, to: that he is the right individual to oversee the nation's interests no matter his political allegiance. However, he will gladly accept all the support he can get from his fellow citizens and therefore humbly asks for their collaboration. The purpose of establishing the covenant between the newly elected President and the citizenry is undoubtedly pursued by all the nine Presidents. The evident purpose of nearly all the Presidents is an attempt to bring the people together by convincing them that together things can be accomplished and improved.

Obama, for instance, resembles Franklin D. Roosevelt in terms of explicitly explaining his goals and how they will be achieved.
### 7.6 How the Presidents presented themselves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Presented as:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Washington, 1789 | - respectable, trustworthy, humble, patriotic, well aware of the responsibilities of the Office, aware of his vulnerabilities, inexperienced in “civil administration”  
- the embodiment of Republican virtues  
- a man who was well aware that he was establishing the prototype of the inaugural address that was going to be followed by subsequent Presidents  
- the President who defined the role of the Federal government but did not give specifics concerning the future conduct of the Government  
- the President who lectured against partisanship |
| Jefferson, 1801 | - a representative of the Republican Democrats  
- the President who sought to preserve the government and the strength of the nation  
- the person who questioned the Federalist belief that the best government would consist of the elite  
- the man who expressed his theories of governance  
- the man who promoted unity; he was convinced of the greatness of the Republic that should remain united  
- the President who was frustrated with “religious intolerance under which a mankind is so long bled and suffered”  
- the President who viewed America as democratic, capitalist, agrarian, a commercial country destined to expand  
- the President who recalled the virtues of friendship, love, rights, freedom, and wisdom  
- the President who showed respect for G.Washington |
| Lincoln, 1860  | - the Republican with the task of restoring the nation  
- a mediator who attempted to bridge the gap that divided the country at the time  
- a true patriot  
- the President who equated secession with anarchy  
- the person with no intention of abolishing slavery in the territories where it already existed, the person who opposed the spread of slavery, a diplomatic person arguing that slavery would either become legal in all of the states or that it would be totally outlawed  
- the person who would use full power “to hold, occupy and possess” the property and places belonging to the federal government – referring to the protection of arsenals, forts and custom houses  
- the person who was responsible for defending the Constitution and the Union  
- a person with humanistic view and pacific intentions  
- a person with legal and moral arguments  
- as “him who now addresses you, the Chief Magistrate, the Executive, public servant, the Administration” |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Presented as:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Roosevelt, 1933 | - the "present instrument" of the people's wishes  
- "a leadership of frankness and of vigor" whose executive action was needed in the time of crisis  
- the President of bold leadership and decisive action under whose guidance the country would achieve its goals and difficult conditions would be conquered; the President with the New Deal solutions  
- the person who intended to pursue the policy of "the good neighbor"  
- the President willing to be authoritative if and when necessary yet a common man who needed the guidance of the God as well  
- the Democrat who would pass legislation to restore the country  
- a great orator                                                                                     |
| Kennedy, 1961 | - a defender of freedom and democracy  
- a fearless leader, who would defend the USA rigorously from any threats  
- a representative of "a new generation"  
- a statesman who proposed a more active foreign policy plan  
- a man open for peaceful dialogue and negotiations, a peacemaker  
- a man who strived for progress and stronger alliances  
- optimistic and passionate; with an activist philosophy  
- a man with the firm belief that the USA had responsibility, power and the duty to promote liberty and anti tyranny;  
- a person with a strong dislike for communism  
- the President with the New Frontier philosophy  
- a charismatic person and a master of public oration                                                 |
| Reagan, 1981  | - the man with views of the Federal government neglecting the interests of the American citizens  
- the man who offered solutions to the economic ills  
- the man with the faith that the economic crisis would be resolved correctly  
- the man who believed that a society based on individual freedom can prosper  
- the man with confidence in the American's tradition of heroism                                         |
| Clinton, 1993 | - a man who believed in the inherent goodness of Americans  
- the Democrat who desired economic reform, political reform  
- the President whose interest was to protect the country's interests abroad  
- the President who condemned the devastatingly high cost of health care, unemployment and poverty  
- the President who advocated the spreading of democracy with peaceful diplomacy  
- the President who acknowledged corruption within governmental circles  
- the President with vague political principles  
- the President who tried to establish himself amongst the great names of American history               |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Presented as:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Bush, 2001| - the President who sent the message of peace, strength and resolve  
- the President who defined the areas in which he would act utilizing policy; under his leadership the government would reform education, social security, Medicare, the economy, reduce taxes ..  
- the President confident in his ability to accomplish the policy goals; he was about to lead the nation to strength and prosperity; the one who pledged to build "a single nation of justice and opportunity"  
- the President who showed determination to act if necessary; he was determined to act resolutely along with his government in case of "agression and bad faith"  
- the President with a firm belief that the USA had been and would be a great country with great leaders  
- the President with highly religious views                                                                                                                                 |
| Obama, 2009| - the President who soberly acknowledged the ills America was facing at the time and assured that eventually they would be solved  
- the President who promised to restore the "vital trust" between the citizens and the government; he promised to reevaluate some government programmes  
- the President who was more specific about his political agenda than most of his predecessors; he showed great confidence in the service of his Administration  
- the President who would govern according to the "old but true" values  
- the President who disassociated himself with the agressive policy of the Bush Administration; critical of Bush's tactics  
- the President who questioned the legitimacy of the government  
- the President who showed awareness of environmental issues  
- the President who extended a hand to the Muslim world seeking "a way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect"  
- the President who referred to himself in an African American context  
- a person able to be compassionate, optimistic and firm in his views                                                                                                                                 |

Table 9: How the Presidents presented themselves
7.7 Describing the USA and the American people

7.7.1 The American people

Each Inaugural address describes the American people in a unique way. The table below presents those descriptions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Description of the American people/nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>Honourable, firm, modest, wise, favoured with opportunities “for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>A nation that would have to be very active in establishing and maintaining the atmosphere planned by the founding fathers / religiously diverse nation / the nation with a preference for a republic rather than a monarchy and support for the Declaration of Independence / the nation with “a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>A nation divided over the issue of slavery / the nation with a common heritage but needed to reconcile differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>Great nation / a nation with a “destiny” / the nation that “will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper” / a nation in distress, a nation with a high rate of unemployed people / a nation that can rely on the Constitutional system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>Loyal / helpful / patriotic / peace-loving / fearful of nuclear attack, / the protectors of human dignity across the globe /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>People of achievements / people with “every right to dream heroic dreams” / patriotic, reluctant in conflicts / free nation under God,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>“Restless, questing, hopeful people” / determined / brave / the people whose “greatest strength” lies in the power of visions and ideas / a nation with some corrupt people within the government circles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>“flawed and fallible people, united ..by grand and enduring ideals” / “called to enact” American promise / “courageous” / “compassionate” / responsible / “generous and strong and decent”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>“The risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things” / “the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth” / with strong spirit/ people “faithful to the ideals of .. forebears and true to .. founding documents” / with “inventive” minds/ proud of heritage/ “the keepers of .. legacy” / “a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and nonbelievers…shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth…” / “the most powerful nation in the world” / with the power to meet the future / people who have —“chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Description of the American nation
It is apparent that the American people are described as the preeminent ones, as the embodiment of virtues. They are strong, free and equal, pursuing and achieving individually and set goals of happiness. Hard work supposedly always guarantees success. Despite differences, the nation is united by the common past and common sacrifices. They remain faithful to American ideals. They do not shrink from challenges, on the contrary they seem to possess the ability to accomplish just about any goal due to their determination and ability to look forward. They are the nation of the ‘can-do’ spirit and the nation that strives for progress.
### 7.7.2 The USA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Description of America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>the land upon which God will smile if it follows &quot;the eternal rules of order and right&quot; ordained by &quot;Heaven itself&quot; / the country with &quot;new and free government&quot; / the country that will thrive if the Congress fulfills its mission /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>&quot;a rising nation, spread out over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye&quot; / America is &quot;kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe.&quot; / the land with &quot;the strongest Government on earth&quot; / the land of &quot;sages&quot; / the country of the majority and minority / the country that needs reconciliation between two opposing factions / &quot;a chosen country&quot; with land enough for generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>the country that has survived seventy-two years and has confronted many perils and difficulties / the country that is divided into the South and the North that has difficulties in coexisting but at least they will have to agree on a legal rescission of the Constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>The land with &quot;plenty [at the] doorstep&quot; / the land with &quot;the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has ever seen&quot; / the country with some evil-doers and wrong-doers / the country that is about the pursuit of creative endeavors and the thrill of achievement / the land equated with &quot;temple&quot; / the country that desperately needs his leadership that would eventually restructure the state and end the dark days of the Depression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>the powerhouse of the hemisphere / the land of liberty / the country on a morally and spiritually superior high ground above the USSR / the land in crusade against communism / the land destined to play a major role in shaping the world's fate / the land with the mission to promote the fight against tyranny and oppressions / the country at odds both ideologically and militarily with the Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>The land that assures freedom and dignity, prosperity / &quot;blessed land&quot;, sovereign country / &quot;the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>With &quot;the world's strongest&quot; economy / leader of the world/ the country of &quot;myriad diversity&quot; / the country that needs &quot;renewal&quot; and change which must be enacted to secure the future / the country that assists in &quot;building democracy and freedom&quot; on every continent / the country with the devastatingly high cost of health care, unemployment, public crime and poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>The land faithful to freedom and democracy / the country with high stakes / the country with an epic national tale / the United States as a force for good /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>The land with a myriad of issues but the land that will overcome adversity / the land that has risen over rough times in the past / the land of values such as patriotism, faith / the USA as a peaceful and friendly country that seeks to cooperate with the rest of the world / &quot;bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than the differences&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11**: Description of the US
Though crises are acknowledged, the USA is portrayed as the land of plenty. From all the descriptions, one gets the impression that the USA is a unique and blessed land, the land of goodness, the land of liberty and the land with extended frontiers.
To the rest of the world it is a beacon of light, the land that fights for a good cause. It is the land that can justify the means to any goal, man's last and best chance for renewal and rebirth.
The descriptions correspond to the concept of American exceptionalism. (Edwards, 2009. 265-282)

It is significant that Kennedy’s Inaugural does not mention a single domestic issue and focuses almost entirely on matters of foreign relations, although there was a range of domestic problems agonizing America at the time - a stagnant economy, the Civil Rights movement.68

7.8 Comparative analysis of vocabulary

7.8.1 The most frequently used word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>The most frequently used word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>Government – 8 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>Government – 12 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>Constitution - 24 times,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>Government – 3 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>Free- 5 times, freedom – 4 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>Government – 17 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>World – 20 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>Nation -14 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>Nation - 15 times</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: The most frequent word

The most frequent vocabulary is politically charged. The word government comes up when criticizing the outgoing government, in suggestions like it is time for the new government, verbosity the kind of government that works for the people and with the people, in promises like this government will perform so much better than the previous one.

Kennedy tied the struggle of the Cold War to freedom and that might be the reason to use the word “freedom and free” 9 times. Kennedy tired to persuade

people across the globe to accept their responsibility for freedom. On behalf of freedom, Kennedy called for US intervention around the world. Kennedy had a vision for the liberation of those under communist regime and the spread of democracy and freedom.

Clinton compared the modern technological world with that of George Washington's era. He spoke of facing the challenges of the new world, that offers opportunity but also requires determination. He called on Americans to serve as leaders in the new world and determined that the USA was “the world's oldest democracy”.

Lincoln partially built his argument on the fact that the Union was older than the Constitution, and thus having a history of its own. Thus, Lincoln pointed out that if one or more States can lawfully declare the Union broken, then that is the same as denying the intent of the Constitution and treating the Union as “less perfect” than it was before the Constitution was ratified.
7.8.2 Topic words

Topic words are a group of selected words that tend to dominate a certain part or the entire discourse, and therefore denote the main meaning. These words can be synonyms, hyponyms, antonyms or related words or combinations of words that allow the speaker to focus on a subject while avoiding unwanted repetition. Combined within a paragraph or an entire speech, they reveal a clear message about the focus of the address. The following table summarizes some of the topic words of each President.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Topic words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>Summoned, country, duty, citizens, Almighty Being, the foundation, liberty,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the Constitution,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>Government, Federal, Republican, to unite, difference, peace, freedom, all,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>principle(s), honest,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>the Constitution, the Union, perpetual, perpetuity, government, to destroy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>secede, Slavery, majorities, minorities, civil war, law(s), people, states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>Common difficulties, fear, dark realities, critical days, dark hour,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>restoration, to act, action, help, recovery, discipline, army of our people,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constitution, the Congress, achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>Renewal, change, peace, let, the world, help, free, freedom, a call, trumpet,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>begin, pledge, Americans, citizens, hope, hostile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>Government, nation, dreams, freedom, problems, to act, America, America,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Americans, strength, opportunity, sacrifice, suffer, inflations, ills, troubles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>Change, renew, renewal, new, responsibility, resolve, America, American,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>celebrate, idea of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>Story, new, promise, America, American, country, ideals, civility, courage,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responsibility, duty, commitment, dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>Nation, new, America, people, generation, crisis, common, peace, government,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future, ideals, hope, challenges, freedom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Topic words

Upon reading these topic words, a pattern stands out, pointing towards the chief topics of each address.
7.8.3 Words with negative connotation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Words with negative connotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>Prejudices, animosities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>Havoc, intolerance, bled, suffered, bloody persecutions, blood and slaughter, conflicted, conflicting, troubled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>Bloodshed, violence, hostility, endangered, civil war, enemies, aggressors, disruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>Dark hour, critical, grim, perils, unscrupulous, arduous,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>Misery, poverty, aggression, dark powers of destruction, weapons, the deadly atom, terror, arms, destroy, the burden of a long twilight struggle, tyranny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>Economic affliction, suffer, the worst sustained inflations, distorts, penalizes, crushes, threatens to shatter, misery, burden, deficit, ills, suffer, terrorism, enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>Depression, fascism, War, hatreds, plagues, weaken, inequality, deep divisions, devastates, threatens, fear, fractured, intrigue and calculation, wrong, dangers, troubled, torn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>Failing, ignorance, apathy, struggles, destruction, aggression, bad faith, abandonment, abuse, failures, suffering, hopeless, pain of poverty, wounded, storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>Crisis, war, violence, hatred, weakened, greed, irresponsibility, failure, lost, shed, shattered, fail, threaten, decline, conflict, discord, false, recriminations, strangled, unpleasant, perils, blood, fascism, nuclear threat, terror, slaughtering innocents, defeat, segregation, ills, destroy, corruption, deceit, starved, suffering, dangers, hardship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Words with negative connotation

By including the words with negative connotations, I believe, the Presidents acknowledged dark realities of their time, stressing the need to focus on the future. The journey from difficult present into the promising future then becomes justified.

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69 Connotation is described as an aspect of meaning of a word or a phrase associated with the subjective emotive overtones it evokes. Also called ‘affective’ or ‘emotive’ meaning, connotative associations are difficult to capture in a dictionary.

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7.8.4 Origin of the words

English is a Germanic language. However, by far the most important contribution into its lexicon has been made by the Romance languages, such as Latin and French. A considerable part of the English vocabulary owes its creation to Celtic, Greek, as well as to the Scandinavian and the Slavonic languages. ⁷⁰

To establish the origin of words in the nine Inaugurals, I examined the first two paragraphs of each Inaugural. ⁷¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Words of Latin origin</th>
<th>Words of French origin</th>
<th>Words of Greek origin</th>
<th>Words of Germanic origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington,</td>
<td>Vicissitudes, summon, inclination, magnitude, scrutiny, qualifications, conflict,</td>
<td>Predilection, duties, aver, partiality, government,</td>
<td>Asylum, system, crisis,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>emotions, study, civil, deficiencies, executing, appreciation, transcendent, motives,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consequences, obedience, peculiarly, universe, benediction, liberties, execute,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conduct, council, instrument, revolution, communities, gratitude, anticipation,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>public, gratitude, humble,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson,</td>
<td>Executive, office, contemplate, authorities, declare, productions, commerce,</td>
<td>Duties, presentiments, encouragement,</td>
<td>zeal</td>
<td>Law(Old Norse), strong(Old Norse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Constitution, function, legislation, common, elements, majority, minority, equal,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unite, liberty, difference, principle, invasions, social, experiment, divide,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln,</td>
<td>Execution, office, President, administration, anxiety,</td>
<td>Government,</td>
<td>oath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt,</td>
<td>Induction, presidency, situation, conditions, nation, revive, terror, critical, spirit,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fantastic,</td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>difficulties, vigor, endure, taxes, market, material,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁷⁰ English vocabulary was examined by Finkenstaedt Thomas and Wolff Dieter who published the results of their study in *Ordered Profusion; studies in dictionaries and the English lexicon*, 1973, Heidelberg: Carl Winter. The findings can also be viewed on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_influence_in_English

⁷¹ The origin of words is established from http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/vicissitude and http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/republic
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Words of Latin origin</th>
<th>Words of French origin</th>
<th>Words of Greek origin</th>
<th>Words of Germanic origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>Victory, celebration, century, human, generosities, solemn,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oath, world, hand,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>Solemn, momentous, occasion, transfer, centuries, miracle, tradition, transition, liberty, continuity, cooperation</td>
<td>Political, system,</td>
<td></td>
<td>World, pledged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>Celebrate, ceremony, change (Celtic origin), ideal, salute, predecessor, sacrifice, Depression,</td>
<td>Courage, communism</td>
<td>Mystery, democracy, triumphed,</td>
<td>Life,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>Transfer, authority, tradition, President, contest, spirit, grace, nation</td>
<td>history</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oath, beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>Humbled, grateful, sacrifices, ancestors, transition, cooperation, service, prosperity, peace, vision, faithful, documents,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oath, skill,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 15: Origin of some words*
7.8.5 Complex words

Complex words are polysyllabic words of foreign-origin, such as Greek, Latin or French and are an inherent part of formal, political speeches. I have presented some of the words that have three syllables or more, not counting inflections or compounding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Some examples of complex words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>vicissitude, predilection, veneration, notification, deficiencies, recommendation, disinclination, remembrance, providential, tranquility, providential, deliberations, indissoluble, advantageously,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>Presentiments, contemplation, encouragement, persecutions, exterminating, degradations, administrations, acquisitions, dispensations, constellation, preservation, approbation, antirepublican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>Apprehension, declarations, fugitives, regulation, proposition, hypercritical, inauguration, administered, constitutional, contemplation, Association, constitutionally, impracticable, modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>unreasoning, fantastic, curtailment, stubbornness, unscrupulous, exhortations, reorganize, realistically, interdependence, unhesitatingly, restoration, evanescent, abandonment, foreclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>sacrifice, maximum, testimony, administration, eradicate, formulate, overburdened, sufficient, sovereign, hemisphere,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>professionals, discrimination, misunderstanding, proportionate, intervention, determination, entrepreneurs, monumental,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>Independence, predecessor, instantaneously, Communications, determination, revitalize, animosities, unmistakable, rededicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>Distinguished, accomplishment, compassionate, Abandonment, proliferation, responsibilities, citizenship, accumulate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>Presidential, undiminished, retirement, understanding, segregation, indifference,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Complex words

Obviously all nine addresses include complex words, even though, from today's perspective some of the words do not seem to be complex. Since it is the first time for the President to deliver a speech, he makes every effort to demonstrate his power as well as his authority through careful diction. Even though complex words take up a certain percentage, there are no obstacles to comprehend the address.
Based on the number of complex words in a passage, I used the Gunning fog index formula (1952)\(^2\), a readability index, to provide an approximate estimation of reading and comprehension difficulty of nine Inaugurals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidents</th>
<th>GW</th>
<th>TJ</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>FDR</th>
<th>JFK</th>
<th>RR</th>
<th>WJC</th>
<th>GWB</th>
<th>BO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L - the average sentence length within a passage</td>
<td>46.66</td>
<td>31.66</td>
<td>21.66</td>
<td>20.66</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>16.87</td>
<td>16.12</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H - the percentage of hard words within a passage</td>
<td>15.71%</td>
<td>14.51%</td>
<td>15.07%</td>
<td>9.67%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of all words in a passage</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of sentences in a passage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of complex words in a passage(^3)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: FOG Index of nine Inaugural addresses

It can be discerned that among the nine Inaugurals, G. Washington’s Inaugural Address reaches the highest fog index of 24.94 and G.W. Bush’s the lowest of 9.76. According to the values, Washington’s Address is the hardest one to comprehend while Bush’s is the easiest. Undoubtedly, Washington’s soaring fog index correlates with the fact that the address was not meant to be heard by a wide audience.

\(^2\) The complete formula is: \(0.4 \times (\text{ASL} + \text{PCW})\); ASL - the average sentence length within a passage, PCW - the percentage of complex words within a passage; (Select a passage (such as one or more full paragraphs) of around 100 words. To determine the average sentence length within the passage one needs to divide the number of words by the number of sentences; count the complex words – without proper nouns, compound words, hyphenated words and two-syllable verbs made into three with -es and -ed endings; Add the average sentence length and the percentage of complex words; and multiply the result by 0.4. Texts for a wide audience generally need a fog index less than 12 and those requiring near-universal understanding generally need an index less than 8.

\(^3\) To check the number of syllables in words the page [www.howmanysyllables.com](http://www.howmanysyllables.com) was used.
However, there are some reasons why one should not take these values too seriously and for granted. Firstly, the sample size of a randomly chosen passage isn’t enough to characterize someone’s communication. And secondly, Inaugurals tend to convey complex ideas in the simplest way possible.

7.8.6 Words with re- prefix

The prefix “re-” is attached to a base word to emphasize that something is performed again. I examined the occurrence of words with a re- prefix in nine Inaugurals and as I presupposed, they do occur for some reasons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Examples of words with prefix re-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>retrace, regain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>Reiterate, reclaiming, restoration, renewed, remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>Revive, return, restored, restoration, restore, reorganize, redistribution, readjustment, recovery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>Renewal, replaced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>Reverse, renewal, renew, removing, restoring, reawaken, resolve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>Renewal, reborn, reinvent, remaking, renew, revitalize, reform, resolve, rebuild, reconnecting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>Reclaim, reform, recover, replace, renew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>Reaffirm, remake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Words with prefix re-

The highest number of words with the prefix re- occurred in Clinton's and Roosevelt's addresses. Roosevelt's words with re- prefix obviously served to reinforce his call for urgent action and “to wage a war against the emergency.” Clinton's words with prefix re- comply with the theme of the address (renewal of the USA) and thus America symbolizing man's last and best chance for renewal and rebirth.
7.8.7 The references to the USA

The appeal to nationalism has always been important and a useful rhetoric technique in political speeches. The idea of America as the land of unlimited possibility, as the land of the free and the home of the brave, the American people as a unit, might definitely stir some deeply rooted emotions. For this reason, I examined the occurrence of the words America, the USA, collocations this land, this country, our country, and the like.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Number of occurrences of the word America, American Country Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>0 2 – American people 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>0 0 4 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>0 2 – American people 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>1 1 – American spirit 1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>2 0 4 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>6 1 – American people 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>19 5 – American renewal, American people, American 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>8 4 – American story, American promise, American conscience 9 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>8 2 – American people, American 2 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Occurrences of the word America/American

The occurrence of the word America / American only enhances American exceptionalism74 among American people. It boosts the belief amongst the American people that the U.S. differs from other nations, because of its historical development or its distinct political institutions and the belief that the U.S. is preeminent among all nations, and is thus destined to play a paramount role in history.

74 the first mention of America as "exceptional" occurred in Tocqueville’s Democracy in America, (New York: Perrenial Books, 1988: 35
The thought that the American people are the chosen ones and in the direct hands of God have permeated their society and can be seen everywhere, e.g. in the National Anthem, the Star Spangled Banner:

“Blest with vict’ry and peace, may the Heav’n-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just
And this be our motto, “In God is our Trust”
And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O’er the land of the free and the home of the brave.”

How superbly the American country and its nation described by the nine Presidents is shown under 6.7.

7.9 Religious references
The idea that the American people are in the hands of God imbues the entire American society today. It is present in the Pledge of Allegiance:
“I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America
and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God,
indivisible, with liberty and justice for all”

The phrase In God We Trust appears on every American coin and every bill. Since the religious values and beliefs are deeply rooted in American society, it is important to include them in public addresses.

In the 222 years since George Washington’s Inauguration, religious references have been a common part of U.S. Presidential rhetoric (Bailey & Lindholm, 2003; Bellah, 1967, 1975). Since then Presidents have spoken of a higher power, prayed and been prayed for, sought divine favour for the nation, and expressed gratitude for providential outcomes. Every President was sworn into office with his hand upon a Bible, ended the oath with the phrase “So help me, God” (precedent was set by G.Washington) and acknowledged God in their address upon assuming office.

Both rhetorical scholars and content analysts have investigated the occurrence of Christian language in Presidential rhetoric (Boase, 1989; Bostdorff, 2003; Coe and Domke, 2006; Gunn, 2004; Lee, 2002). Toolin (1983) claims that every address contains a civil religious dimension.

“The placement of prayers or prayer-like statements is a subtle indication that the inaugural address is an integral part of the rite of investiture,” argue Campbell
and Jamieson. (1990: 26) By representing the nation before God and by praying for the nation in the Inaugural address the President takes on a priestly role.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Number of occurrences of the word God</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>God 0, Almighty Being, the Great Author, the Invisible Hand, Parent of the Human Race, He, His divine blessing;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>God 0, Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe, overruling Providence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>God 0, the Almighty Ruler of Nations, Him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>God 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>God - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>God - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>God - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>God – 3, His image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>God – 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20:** Occurrence of the word God

Washington subordinated himself to God. This can be observed in the following lines:

“It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either.”

G. Washington referred to God in the following terms:

“...I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.”
In a 104-word long sentence Washington invoked the Deity in the most formal language.

“Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge.”

Overall Washington spent a substantial amount of time praying to and thanking the Almighty. This indicates the value that the people of the United States placed on religion at the time. He called on “the Almighty Being” asking for providential help for Americans to find “liberties and happiness”. He credited the Deity with aid in obtaining the United States' liberty. He was convinced that the blessings of “providential agency” would help ensure the success of America.

Jefferson expressed his hope “that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe [will] lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.”

Lincoln, whose knowledge of the Bible was impressive, included a brief mention of the Almighty in his statement, "If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people."

He argued that God would want the Union to stay together: “There still is no single good for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken the favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way all our present difficulty.”. This argument could have forced the Christian Southerners, who wanted to secede, to gain a perspective of the problem from a different point of view; Thus, Lincoln implemented religious references as a tool to convince the Southerners not to secede.

Roosevelt made references to the biblical stories of the son of God, Jesus Christ and his “sacrifice”. Roosevelt connected himself with God, who was supposed to guide him in his Presidential duties. He reassured the citizens that they had not failed and they just needed proper and discrete leadership, a type of leadership

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75 Flexner notes that religious passages were one-third of the speech
that he could provide. “The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.” Roosevelt used the idea the “spirit of the gift” to relate to God.

Roosevelt concluded with his faith in higher power: “In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.”

Kennedy became the first Roman Catholic President, and in using a reference to God, he established the link between the Protestant Presidents who came before him and himself. He illustrated his belief in the same God they believed in, and as such believes in the same ethical principles. Kennedy genuinely believed that God intended human beings to be liberated from natural and man-made oppressions and tyranny, and the United States of America because of its prosperous global position, had the responsibility, power and the duty to promote that cause.

Kennedy said that “the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God”. This illustrates the view that God gave man rights, and the government should protect them.

In using a quote from Isaiah, “Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to ‘undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free’”, Kennedy called for unity and patriotic duty.

He used a reference to God in his conclusion, “With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God’s work must truly be our own.”

Reagan waited until the conclusion of his Inaugural address to reference religion, “…to believe that together, with God’s help, we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us. And, after all, why shouldn’t we believe that? We are Americans. God bless you, and thank you.” – Accordingly, God will aid the country in accomplishing great things and conquering troubles.

Reagan also cited the Bible and articulated God’s plans for the nation in positive terms: “We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free”

Clinton made introductory and closing statements that contained a reference to “the Almighty” and God. Clinton revealed the authority of God in the quote Galatians 6:9: “The scripture says, “And let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season, we shall reap, if we faint not.”” - The quote called for sacrifice.
Furthermore, Clinton placed himself and the entire nation at the mercy of God: “And now, each in our way, and with God's help, we must answer the call.”

He used religious language to encourage people to “answer the call” for action in the renewal of America. - “From this joyful mountaintop of celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our way, and with God's help, we must answer the call. Thank you and God bless you all.”

G.W. Bush at one point called “abandonment and abuse failures of love”, and stated they were not “acts of God”. Thus, he appealed to be on the side of what is morally right.

He also quoted a statement about an angel: “This work continues. This story goes on. And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm” - The image of an angel is used to indicate that angels direct the American people.

Bush called for the cooperation of religious leaders in the struggle against social ills, “And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.”

Bush pointed out the value of religion and referenced three of the most popular religions in the world: Judaism (the synagogue), Islam (the mosque) and Judeo-Christian (Church and Charity) to maximize the potential for persuading audiences of his pro-religious stance, regardless of their religious views.

At the beginning of his Inaugural, Obama reminded the people of “the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness”. Again at the end, he called upon God by saying: “…and with God's grace upon us” and “God bless you. And God bless the United States of America”.

Obama included some biblical illusions. He asserted: “We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit.” - There is an allusion to the Corinthians (13:11) from the King James' version, “When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me.” - Since this passage is usually quoted at wedding ceremonies and is about love and understanding, it is most likely that Obama intended to spread the message of brotherly love and of the urgency for a diverse nation to step together.
“...with eyes fixed on the horizon and God’s grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations. Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.”

Obama acknowledged the presence of nonbelievers in America, - “We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and nonbelievers.” - At the same time Obama spoke in favourable terms about and to, the Muslim world, thus recognizing and embracing social and religious diversity. The conclusion of Obama's first Inaugural referred to the founding of the American nation in stirring tones, and he ended with a rousing “God bless the United States of America”.

The reason for using phrases like “God bless you” and “God bless America” might be that the Presidents consider a majority of the listeners to be religious, and therefore positively affected by these statements.

The President’s religious orientation is a sensitive issue to the American people and if the President leaves the narrow path of acceptable religious views, he will lose his credibility and make the American people wonder if he will really look after the nation’s best interests when acting differently than the founders intended.(Campbell and Alasdair. 1999: 100-105)

7.10 Intertextuality and Echoes

The term intertextuality was coined in 1966 by Bulgarian-French linguist Julia Kristeva (*1941) claiming that every text is a mosaic of references to other texts, genres, and discourses.

Fairclough states on intertextuality: “In its most obvious sense, intertextuality is the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text...” (Fairclough, 2003: 39). These elements can be the repeated use of expressions, a reference to other texts or a quotation.

I noticed that the Inaugural addresses include references to other texts, with which the American people have a special relationship. The intertextual elements in the addresses include elements from other resonant Presidential speeches, biblical/religious references, references to the American Constitution and many others.

Intertextuality is used to inspire the American people and encourage them to move forward. Times have been hard in history, but the population has always been able to carry on giving people hope for the future.
George Washington relied on intertextuality in his definition of the purpose of the Article II of the Constitution, which states the function of the President is to "recommend to the consideration of Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

A very significant allusion to the War of Independence was made by the first American President in the passage on the rejection of pecuniary compensation. It reads as follows: "[w]hen I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, [...]" Washington made a reference to the War of Independence, since the result of this war had made his Presidency possible. The impression arises that he was well aware of the historical importance of the war and thus wanted to include it in his Inaugural address.

Jefferson referred to the Bill of Rights, the Constitution in the statement “Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; ...” the nominal phrase “rising nation” echoes the poem The Rising Glory of America by Philip Freneau and Hugh Henry Brackenridge. Jefferson’s statement on the US being “spread over a wide and fruitful land” mirrors Samuel Johnson's Rasselas in which he depicted an idyllic valley as “wide and fruitful”. (Hayes, 2008: 451)

Lincoln quoted a section of the Constitution stating that fugitive slaves remain the property of their owners no matter where they were caught. – “No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

In paragraph 12 Lincoln quoted the Constitution: “the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.”

Lincoln emphasized that to protect the Union, he did not want to fight, unless necessary, "In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority." Regarding the possibility of the coming conflict, he alluded to those who "seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it.”

Lincoln intended to rebuke those who considered him an abolitionist and whose goal was to eliminate slavery in every state; with this purpose he quoted his own previous words, “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.” This statement made it clear that he
intended to deal with slavery only in the new territories, and not to tamper with the current system.

Drawing on the New Testament account of Jesus throwing the money changers out of the temple, Roosevelt asserted that together the temple (referring to the USA) would be restored to its fundamental core values; Roosevelt's emphasis on happiness recalls the famous "pursuit of Happiness" phrase from the Declaration of Independence.

Roosevelt made use of allusion in the statement “We are stricken by no plague of locusts.” - “A plague of locusts” refers to the story in the Bible about Moses and Pharaoh of Egypt implying that the American people did not do anything wrong but were now being punished for it.

Kennedy proposed: “Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to ‘undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free’”. - this Biblical quotation supports Kennedy's calls for unity. By utilizing a quote from Isaiah, “..to undo heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free”, Kennedy tried to persuade for the pursuit of freedom because it is a God given right and a patriotic duty.

Kennedy's expression “the trumpet summons us” has Biblical origin and was used to stir Americans into battle with those “common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.”

The quote “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation” is from St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in the Bible's New Testament.

The word “pledge” is an allusion to the Declaration of Independence, “We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor” emphasizing the aim of the President.

Kennedy's salutation “fellow citizens” was customary ever since George Washington's First Inaugural Address. The first sentence "not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom” echoes the language of Winston Churchill.

Kennedy's use of the tiger metaphor, “those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside”, originates from the limerick “There was a young lady of Niger, who smiled as she rode on a tiger, they returned from the ride with a lady inside, and the smile on the face of the tiger”.

His reference to the United Nations as “our last best hope” echoes the language of Thomas Jefferson and of Lincoln, who, in addressing Congress in 1862,
remarked, “We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth” (Tofel, 2005: 105).

Kennedy’s statement “In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine” comes directly from Lincoln's First Inaugural address, in which Lincoln was trying to dissuade the Southern states from taking action. Kennedy, on the other hand, introduced a call to action.

Interestingly, W. Jefferson Clinton invoked religious text, by quoting from the King James Bible's version of Paul's letter to the Galatians. Clinton revealed the authority of God in the opening and concluded his address with a quote from Galatians 6:9. The scripture says: “And let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season, we shall reap, if we faint not.” The quote contributes to the President's call for sacrifice. Furthermore, Clinton placed himself and the entire nation in the hands of God. “And now, each in our way, and with God's help, we must answer the call.”

To achieve persuasiveness, Clinton used the trumpet metaphor from Kennedy's Inaugural. The following quotes illustrate the analogies between the two Inaugurals:

Kennedy: “Now the trumpet summons us again.”
Clinton: “We have heard the trumpets; we have changed the guard.”
Kennedy: “Let us begin.”
Clinton: “Let us begin anew, with energy and hope.”
Kennedy: “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.”
Clinton: “My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal.”

The image of the valley versus the mountain top, draws reference to Martin Luther King’s speech I have a dream. Although, Clinton contrasted the joy of the mountaintop with the valley, a place of service.

Clinton directly quoted G. Washington, T. Jefferson and FDR. He reflected W. Churchill’s “forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here.” In conclusion, Clinton alluded to FDR.

“Let us resolve to make our government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called “bold, persistent experimentation, a government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays.” Let us give this capitol back to the people to whom it belongs.”

G.W. Bush quoted a letter to Thomas Jefferson that includes a statement about an angel, and used a reference to the quote in his conclusion. Bush concluded, “This work continues. This story goes on. And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.” - Here the angel image is used to make it appear that Heaven is directing the American people, as well as his Administration.
Bush’s reference to Jefferson was used to accomplish a very different goal. He was elected by a controversial Supreme Court decision in 2000, and incorporated the Jefferson reference to contextualize his election and upcoming Presidency. Bush said, “After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson: “We know the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?”

Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate. But the themes of this day he would know: our nation’s grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.” By saying this, Bush probably wanted to send a message that everything, including the “storm” of his election controversy, happens for a reason.

In the statement “Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with great love.” - George Bush alluded to the words of Mother Teresa, who once said: “We are called to do no great things, only small things with great Love.”

Obama drew upon a line from the Dorothy Fields’ song “we must pick ourselves up” used in the movie “Swing time” from 1936: “Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.”76, which lifted American spirits in hard times during the Great Depression. Obama might have incorporated the song to draw parallels to the situation in the 1930’s, to inspire the American people to move forward. (Rich, 2009)

At the end of his Inaugural address, Obama quoted Thomas Paine’s words, ordered by George Washington to be read to his troops during the American Revolution: “Let it be told to the future world that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet it.”77 Those words should have given the troops hope for better times and Obama’s quote served the same purpose.

Further on, Obama made a reference to British revolutionary activist Thomas Paine and his lines “With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents” from The Crisis.

“Let it be told to the future world that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet it.”

76 ll.59-60
77 ll.188-190
He paraphrased the Declaration of Independence, by saying, “the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness”.

Obama included a reference to the Bible in “We remain a young nation, but in the words of scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things.” - This is a reference to the Paul’s letter to the Corinthians - “When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things”.

The phrase “still waters of peace” recalls the lines in Psalm 23: “The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters.”

The collocation “full measure” from the line “…and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.” recalls Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg address: “That from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.”

“We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began.” - Chicago Tribune reporters Julia Keller, Patrick T. Reardon and Steve Johnson see the correspondence in FDR’s first Inaugural: “Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance… Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.”

Obama claimed: “We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears.” - “We the People” is a direct reference to the text of the Constitution, which begins by referencing “We the People of the United States”. It expresses the preservation of the values of the forefathers and the confidence in these values.

It can be concluded that intertextuality is one of the key features in the discourse of Presidential Inaugural addresses. Among the frequent intertextual devices are references, direct and indirect quotations and proverbs.
7.11 Metaphors

Metaphors occupy a central place in the rhetoric of politicians. Metaphors are in essence comparisons between entities or ideas, and as mentioned earlier, crucial components for categorising reality (Bolinger, 1980). According to Beard (2000), the most commonly used metaphors in politics relate to sports or war. Metaphoric language in political discourse depends on the ideologies of the writer and the speaker. Beard claims that there are two common sources of metaphors in the American environment and these are ‘war’ and ‘sport’, namely baseball.

Politicians use metaphors that represent their theories and plans. The speaker makes an active choice of words and a decision whether to use metaphors or not, in order to make a point more vivid or persuasive (Charteris-Black, 2005: 17). Metaphors in political discourse are tools for making abstract political issues accessible and they are frequently used to emphasize or soften certain issues.

In his discussion on metaphors, Miller writes that “We make use of these words regularly in our political speech, as, for example, when we speak of ... the ‘fall’ of a government, or opinions on the ‘left’ or the ‘right’” (Miller, 1979: 157). These “hidden metaphors” have become a part of political discourse to a much greater degree than many of the metaphors Presidents often invoke in their speeches.

Metaphors are powerful, claims Charteris-Black, because they exploit “the associative power of language and represent “a certain way of viewing the world that reflects a shared system of belief as to what the world is and culture-specific beliefs about mankind’s place in it...Metaphor provokes affective responses because it draws on value systems...embedded in a culture where certain types of entity are associated with positive or negative experiences or may be universal.” (Charteris-Black, 2005: 20) Charteris-Black suggests that in both British and American political speeches the most common lexical fields for metaphors are conflict, journeys and buildings. (Charteris-Black, 2002: 149)

Conflict metaphors such as argument is war and politics is conflict are frequently used because they emphasize the personal sacrifice and physical struggle required to achieve social goals (ibid.: 138). Metaphors deriving from the concept of plants such as business to flourish and nurture investment are also common. (2002: 145-146). It is also argued that metaphors, connected to the physical environment, are used only in American rhetoric, for example, Circumstances are weather and A Social condition is a weather condition. (ibid.: 146-147). Fire and light metaphors such as hope is light are frequently used by American politicians (Charteris-Black, 2002: 143-147).

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78 Metaphors deriving from source concept.
Howe (1988) concludes that politicians draw heavily and systematically on *politics is war* and *politics is sports* conceptual metaphors.

Metaphors can be used to convey the problem as well as to imply the solution. The values of the speaker are often revealed and influence the receiver’s interpretation. The truth may easily be altered since metaphors are received, understood and categorized differently by different people and therefore open to interpretation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 163).

According to Lakoff and Johnson, “*conceptual metaphor is a natural part of human thought and linguistic metaphor is a natural part of human language*” (1980: 246-247).

The conceptual metaphor *the world as a community* can be broken down into *nation as person* which furthermore can be divided into *nation with human attributes* and nation acting human metaphors. According to Lakoff (2003), the *nation is a person* metaphor is often adopted to describe some phenomena in human terms. The *nation as family* metaphor is very common in political discourse where the nation is seen as a family, the government as a parent and the citizens as children. (Lakoff, 2002: 13). Examples are seen in expressions like “*Founding Fathers*” and “*Uncle Sam*”. (2002: 154).

The metaphor *politics is war* is frequently expressed in daily language and has been deeply rooted in people’s mind. War metaphors are also employed in the Presidential Inaugural discourses to highlight that, in order to achieve social goals that are worthwhile, personal sacrifice as well as physical struggle is essential. They also attempt to imply that certain short-term hardships are necessary to obtain worthwhile long-term goals. The war language is powerful because it reaffirms the urgency of the situation, but also “*skillfully plays on the emotional evocations of militaristic language in order to declare a figurative war on a serious economic condition*” (Ryan, 1988: 82).

The social evils or drawbacks of a country that hinder the progress of a country can be considered as enemies. (*social evils are enemies* metaphor) When confronted with these enemies, people have to defend themselves and fight for themselves. (*people are defenders / people are fighters* metaphor) People are considered as travelers who go toward a destination by certain routes on which there will be obstacles, landmarks and crossroads. Similarly, the country and its people will also encounter difficulties. (*journey metaphor*)

To examine whether these theories on metaphors comply with the rhetorical objectives of the Inaugural addresses I examined the nine Inaugural addresses for the particular metaphors they incorporate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Washington, 1789 | • “to which the voice of my country called me” - The expression “voice of my country” is used figuratively and describes Washington's victory in the Presidential election. The ’voice’ can therefore stand for the voice of the voters.  
• the expression “preservation of the sacred fire of liberty” - A fire metaphor, which can be interpreted as the necessity to preserve the Republican form of government and its democratic organisation, which was in danger of being extinguished. On the other hand, ’fire’ could also refer to passion and belief in the democratic values, for the people’s support of democracy, which might well be endangered. In addition, the word ‘sacred’ highlights the magnitude and significance of the new liberty. |
| Jefferson, 1801 | • “I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are embarked amidst the, conflicting elements of a troubled world” – A nautical metaphor was used to reassure the audience that he would look to the members of Congress to “rely under all difficulties.”  
• “...let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.” - A road metaphor serves to remind people that if they wander from the basic principles fought for by their ancestors, they should return to those principles as the only pathway that “leads to peace, liberty, and safety.” |
| Lincoln, 1860   | • “The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.” - An angel metaphor brought forth a very eloquent plea for calm deliberation in the face of mounting tensions throughout the nation. Lincoln appealed to a common heritage, stretching back to the Revolution. The Union, he suggested, speaks to the very ideals of what it means to be an American. Devotion to the Union brings out the best (“the better angels”) in his fellow-citizens.  
• Referring to the Union – “It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured ... by the Articles of Confederation in 1778.” – The Union as a person metaphor was used to address the continuity and perpetuity of the Union; this metaphor was extended - “...the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.” |
| Roosevelt, 1933 | • “these dark days” – This metaphor refers to the Great Depression disappointments.  
• “the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side.” – through this nature metaphor, FDR made an analogy between autumn and the Great Depression.  
• Metaphorical idea the “spirit of the gift” related to God whose guidance he needed. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Roosevelt, 1933 | • “With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.” - The phrase “great army of our people” is a war metaphor used to ask for the support of the American people by declaring war on the Great Depression. He declared, the government would help by “treating the task as we would treat the emergency of war”. He asked the public to join his army to fight the war on the Depression. He actually referred to his plan as “the lines of attack” and declares, “we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline”
• “In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor: the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.” - Roosevelt used the metaphor of a good neighbour to describe his international policy. The metaphor functions as a way of clarifying the complexities of international policy.
• “We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.” - The plague of locusts metaphor is a biblical one, where God released a plague of locusts over Egypt to urge the Pharaoh to release the Israelites from his custody. By referencing “we still have much to be thankful for” Roosevelt was pleading to reference back to ideas such as Thanksgiving, an idea that emphasizes the importance of family. He underlined the idea of happiness valued at the level of “achievement, in the thrill of creative effort”.
| Kennedy, 1961 | • “the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans...” - This fire metaphor is an association to the Olympic fire being passed on to reach its final goal, in this case - a free society in a world of peace. Kennedy himself can be seen as the member of a new generation since he was the youngest President in the history of the United States.
• “Now the trumpets summons us again...” – An implication of the instrument metaphor lies in summoning people together against the common enemies of man such as “tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself”.
• “The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it. And the glow from that fire can truly light the world.” - A fire and light metaphor illustrates the idea of influencing the world as an incendiary nation.
• “remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.” - The tiger metaphor was used to warn against those seeking power through the guise of helping newly emancipated nations.
• “And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.” – A nation/state as a person metaphor refers to the U.S. as a superpower.
• ”the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in […] self-destruction.” – A death metaphor is engaged to describe nuclear war. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Reagan, 1981 | • “With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America at peace with itself and with the world.” - With a **nation with human attributes metaphor** Reagan implied that America could be at peace with itself and with the rest of the world. He implied that America would act in self-defence if action is needed. He invited solidarity.  
• “Now, there will be no misunderstanding, it is not my intention to do away with government. It is, rather, to make it work – work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not to ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.” - Through the use of the **nation acting human metaphor** Reagan expressed his opinion that the government was not the path to prosperity. The government was presented as the one smothering and limiting the nation's opportunities.  
• “To those neighbours who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.” - The **world as a community metaphor** and **nation as a person metaphor** aim to define America’s place in the community of the world. Reagan emphasized the influence that America has on other nations and the importance of loyalty, support and commitment for mutually beneficial relations. America has had enemies in the past and will continue to have enemies in the future; therefore America will be in need of support and allies, hence Reagan’s concern for commitment towards neighbours and friends. |
| Clinton, 1993 | • “This ceremony is held in the depth of winter. But, by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring. A spring reborn in the world’s oldest democracy, that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America.” - A **seasonal metaphor** of spring could symbolize a new beginning, a rebirth of the state coming with the new President. The spring can also symbolize a new generation, perhaps his own; Clinton was the first President born after WWII and the Depression. In addition, his entry into the White House brought to an end 12 years of Republican rule.  
• “Instead, we have drifted, and that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence.” – A **nation as a person metaphor** displays the USA's weakness. Clinton emphasized the adversities that had affected the nation. He aimed to make people realize that the situation was unacceptable and action had to be taken.  
• “An idea infused with the conviction that America's long heroic journey must go forever upward.” - The **journey metaphor** implies that the people and the country have a bright future.  
• “From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the Civil Rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history.” – A **military metaphor** and **architectural metaphor** serve the purpose of invoking people. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clinton,</td>
<td>“‘shadows of the cold war’, “new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom””. Two <strong>physical environment metaphors</strong>, the former referring to the past and the latter referring to the present, supported Clinton’s pledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>“From this joyful mountaintop of celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard.” - The <strong>trumpet metaphor</strong> incorporates Clinton’s call for change and renewal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush,</td>
<td>“Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life. This work continues. This story goes on.” - By using the <strong>story metaphor</strong>, Bush aimed to awake feelings of hope and confidence. It supports the <strong>God is guiding us</strong> message.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>“America’s faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations” - A <strong>physical environment metaphor</strong> is used as the invocation of faith in democracy and freedom. It may also communicate Bush’s imperialist attitudes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“And I can pledge our nation to a goal: When we see that a wounded traveller on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.” – A <strong>biblical metaphor</strong> of the Good Samaritan illustrates the American nation as a compassionate person who is not afraid to reach out to help others; America is portrayed as a democratic country reaching out to help other countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama,</td>
<td>“Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted - for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame.” - A <strong>journey metaphor</strong> shows the struggles faced by the nation’s ancestors and the sacrifices made; it is used to encourage people to keep the enduring spirit; the <strong>journey metaphor</strong> should reassure the American people that even though times are hard, based on historical facts, they will persevere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>“Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things – some celebrated but more often men and women obscure in their labour, who have carried us up the long, ragged path toward prosperity and freedom.” – The <strong>road and destination metaphor</strong> are used to comfort people who work hard, and to remind them that a bright future is waiting for them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms.” - <strong>Water metaphors</strong> are used to create a vivid picture of prior conditions when the country enjoyed the full extent of peace and prosperity; the <strong>storm metaphor</strong> implies a resemblance with the situation at the time and bad times in general; it can also refer to the feeling of anxiety felt by the American people about the bad economic conditions; Obama illustrated the various conditions under which the US Presidents were elected.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the American Inaugural addresses, America is often personalized as a traveller on its way to achieving the goals. Its people are also presented as travellers, unified in a journey towards the destination.

Inevitably, there are barriers in the way, but upon confronting them, people have to endure and make efforts to overcome them. The *difficulties as barriers* metaphor is adopted to highlight the need for patience and endurance to reach the destination, to emphasize the necessity for effort to achieve something and to ask people to keep an optimistic attitude. This is an effective way to deliver the information that people should not expect instant results from the incoming Administration. The final destinations to be reached are democracy, freedom and liberty (*values as destination* metaphor).

One common metaphor of the examined Inaugural addresses is a journey metaphor, indicating that the American people are travelers on a journey to a certain destination. However, the journey isn’t easy. There are obstacles, and there are crossroads. Other metaphors deriving from the concepts of *person* and *building*, are also very frequent.

From all the examples provided, we can conclude that metaphors are a part of Inaugural addresses. They are adopted to make people understand, to convey the incoming policies, to persuade the public of the main arguments, to encourage people, to appeal to their emotions etc. The Presidents try to invite people to stay
united, without fear to face the challenges ahead, and to make people always believe that a bright future awaits them.

It has to be added that the use of metaphoric language depends on the ideology of the speaker. Metaphors are highly dependent on and make sense, in context. Bosman explains that "[d]escribing a political problem in metaphorical terms will obviously not produce the same effects in all participants. Not everyone is receptive or sensitive to metaphorical language" (Bosman, 1987: 104)

7.12 Length of Speeches
The following table provides a general overview of the most basic data from the nine speeches examined, their sentence length and word count.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of speech</th>
<th>Place of delivery</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Number of total words 79</th>
<th>Number of sentences 80</th>
<th>Average No. of words in a sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 30, 1789</td>
<td>Federal Hall, New York City</td>
<td>G.Washington</td>
<td>1419</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4, 1801</td>
<td>Senate Chamber, Capitol</td>
<td>T.Jefferson</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>37+4= 41</td>
<td>41.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4, 1861</td>
<td>East Portico, Capitol (EPC)</td>
<td>A. Lincoln</td>
<td>3628</td>
<td>113+22= 135</td>
<td>26.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4, 1933</td>
<td>EPC</td>
<td>F. D. Roosevelt</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>20.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 20, 1961</td>
<td>EPC</td>
<td>J.F. Kennedy</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>50+2=52</td>
<td>26.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 20, 1981</td>
<td>West Portico Capitol (WPC)</td>
<td>R. Reagan</td>
<td>2463</td>
<td>128+5=133</td>
<td>18.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 20, 1993</td>
<td>WPC</td>
<td>W.J. Clinton</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>19.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 20, 2001</td>
<td>WPC</td>
<td>G.W. Bush</td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>96 + 1=97</td>
<td>16.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 20, 2009</td>
<td>WPC</td>
<td>B. Obama</td>
<td>2404</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>22.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Basic data from the nine Inaugurals

79 The number of words was retrieved from http://inaugural.senate.gov/history/chronology/index.cfm
80 Sentences were defined by the occurrence of a period, question mark, or exclamation mark after one or more principal clauses.
A number of scholars claim that political speeches have become shorter from the beginning of the twentieth century (Denton, 1988: 4) or since the advent of the broadcast media (Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988: 96).

Indeed, each President uses sentences of various length. The average number of words per sentence varies from Bush's short sentences of 16 words, through to Jefferson with 41 words, to Washington's extreme with 64 words.

The graph 1 shows average sentence length of Inaugural Addresses from 1789-2005 (Lim, 2008: 35)

![Graph 1: Length of Inaugurals](image)

It is clear that the sentences in the Inaugural addresses throughout the 200-year history of delivery show a tendency to shorten.
7.13 Tense

Tense is the timeframe of a clause. Halliday (1994) points out that tense primarily means past, present or future at the moment of speaking; it is the time relative to "now". The table below presents how the nine Presidents utilized the tenses in their Inaugural addresses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Verbs in the present tense</th>
<th>Verbs in the past tense</th>
<th>Verbs in the perfect tense</th>
<th>Verbs in Future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>33+20 Modals in present aspect</td>
<td>9 +2 Modals in past aspect</td>
<td>14 – Present perfect tense+ 1 - Past perfect</td>
<td>12 – will Future + 12 Modals in future aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>53+17 Modals in present aspect</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13+2 past perfect</td>
<td>9 will Future + 6 shall +11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>157 + 40 Modals in present aspect</td>
<td>15 + 1Modal</td>
<td>14 + 2 – Past perfect</td>
<td>29 will Future+ 13 shall + 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>88+29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11- will Future + 7- shall + 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>46 + 3-dare not+18 other Modals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7- Will Future + 9 - Shall + 2 other Modals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>119 + 28 Modals in present aspect</td>
<td>19+1 Past perfect +1 Modal in past aspect</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28 – will Future + 4 Modals in future aspect + 2 – going to Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>91+32</td>
<td>9+3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6 – will Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>116+16 Modals in present aspect</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24 will Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>126+35 Modals in present aspect</td>
<td>32+1 Modal in past aspect</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20 will Future + 3 shall + 1other Modal in Future aspect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: Tenses

The most frequently used tense is the present tense. This might be to achieve timelessness of the address. Regarding the "epideictic timelessness" (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990:36) of the Inaugural addresses, the two authors also observe that "the language of great Inaugurals captures complex, resonant ideas in memorable phrases." (1990: 28).

Inaugural addresses represent "the fusion of the past and future of the nation in an eternal present." (1990:36) Timelessness of the occasion is therefore central and it affirms the continuity of the constitutional government, reveals the immortality of the institution of the Presidency. (1990: 27)

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* Past participles as Adj are not included
The past aspect is used when referring to the American past. That is ascribed as a symbol of heroism. From the heroic past the Americans can draw the strength to persist in difficult times. The Presidents appeal to people to find strength by returning to old American values.

Simple past and present perfect tenses are used to refer to the achievements in the founding of the country or recall the positive or negative experiences of the past as the basis or incentive of his following actions. By this means, the President's respect for the past is displayed. (Cheng Yumin, 2007).

Future tense is primarily used to help the President lay out his or his government's plans to foster the buildup of the country and the corresponding change or results of these measures in the future. In this way, the government's objectives are shown and at the same time, the audience's confidence is built by the prospect of the beauty and prosperity of the future life. It will be the natural result that the American people will follow the government's direction and guidance for the next four years and thus the addresses' goal in seeking support is achieved. (Cheng Yumin, 2007).

7.14 The use of passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Passive constructions / all finite verb forms</th>
<th>Passive constr. in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>21/103</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>8/116</td>
<td>6.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>43/310</td>
<td>13.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>12/170</td>
<td>7.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>7/97</td>
<td>7.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>20/244</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>7/163</td>
<td>4.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>9/173</td>
<td>5.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>17/248</td>
<td>6.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: Passive constructions

The passive voice does not occur often within any of the examined addresses. Afterall, this is not a scientific style text and it involves the relevant people. Though the occasion of Inauguration is formal, the analysis of the nine addresses reveals the use of active verb forms. The addresses include subjective opinions or
evaluations. Besides, the focus of the text is on the people and the message and not on the objective phenomena.

Putting sentences in the active or passive voice may show, to what degree, a speaker wants to be related to various ideas. Passive voice may be employed to minimize the level of personal responsibility of the speaker.

Passive voice is employed at the highest rate by G. Washington followed by T. Jefferson. Washington might have included that many passive verb forms due to the fact that he delivered the address to the House and Senate behind the closed doors of the Senate Chamber and not to the general public and therefore he wanted to sound very objective.

### 7.15 Contracted forms

It is generally known that contracted forms are primarily a feature of spoken, informal English. The contracted forms dealt with in this paper are the reduced forms of the verbs be, have, and will, would, and also not, reduced to n’t and joined to all types of auxiliary verbs (not contractions).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>The contracted forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>this Government, the world’s best hope, his country’s love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>the exchange of mankind’s goods, people’s money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>mankind’s final war, God’s work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>children’s future, this administration’s objective, heroes just don’t know, the world’s strongest economy, today’s world, city’s special beauty, God’s help, shouldn’t we believe e.g. From time to time we’ve been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>the world’s oldest democracy, America’s independence, America’s ideal, world’s strongest, child’s eyes, Communism’s collapse, America’s cause, Trumpet’s call, America’s long heroic journey, God’s help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>America’s leaders, America’s faith, nation’s promise, America’s schools, nation’s promise, a mentor’s touch or a pastor’s prayer, nation’s grand story, story’s author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>God’s grace, children’s children, America’s birth, e.g. We’ll begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we’ll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat and roll back the specter of a warming planet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25: Contracted forms
Contractions occur very rarely. As manifested, contractions occur mostly in the genitive case; there are two examples of contracted auxiliary verbs. However, let's is covered in the chapter Imperatives.

7.16 Imperative

Imperative clauses play an important role in a speech in that they appeal to the audience to follow the addressee’s instruction and can also build up the authority of the addressee.

Halliday (1970: 140-165) distinguishes two kinds of messages conveyed by imperative clauses are: one is to command others to do something, the other is to invite the audience to do something together. The latter is always effected by the format of “Let’s” - hortatory subjunctive. It is the first person plural form of the subjunctive mood positioned near the beginning of the sentence.

The imperative let us is a rhetorical tool used to invite the audience to be part of the answers, (Halamari 2008: 247-270). It can be found in nearly all of the nine inaugurals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Let us..</th>
<th>Let....</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Let history...” / “Let them...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>“Let me assert...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>“Let both sides...” / “let the word go forth...” / “let every nation...” / “let all our neighbours know...” / “let every other power know...” / “Let the oppressed go free...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“Let there be no misunderstanding...” / “Let that be understood...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“Let clean waters flow...” / “Let it be said/Let this journey end...”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26: Imperative Let us/Let’s

President W.J.Clinton is the one who urged the audience to join some action most frequently. On the contrary, G.W. Bush, F.D.Roosevelt and G.Washington did not apply the Let us ... structure at all.
Table 27: Other Imperative verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Other Verbs in imperative mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>2 &quot;Think calmly ...&quot; / &quot;Think, if you can, of a single instance ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>5 &quot;Ask not ...&quot; / &quot;Ask ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>6 &quot;Work with us not over us...&quot; / &quot;Reach out a hand ..., heal them ..., provide opportunity ...&quot; / &quot;help me God&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>5 &quot;Know this ...&quot; / &quot;Know that...&quot; / &quot;Recall...&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the President with the highest rate of used imperative verbs is J.F. Kennedy. With the verbs in imperative mood Kennedy supported his calls for renewal of international relations, calls for nation's sense of duty and willingness to serve the greater good. The total opposite would be G.Washington with no verbs in imperative mood.

Roosevelt's phrases, such as "we must act and act quickly" establish the exigent circumstances. He claimed, "Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment" telling American citizens "the Nation asks for action, and action now". His use of imperative language implied a sense of command.

Reagan's use of imperative language might have helped him in his persuasion of the Congress to pass his economic programme, which reduced individual income tax rates and cut the budgets of some social programmes.

### 7.17 Modality

Modality is used to express the extent to which senders affiliate themselves with or distance themselves from, their sentences and the social practice they write or speak about (affinity). (Fairclough, 2006: 76)

The absolute modal verbs, such as must, need, and will, signal necessity, urgency, and agency, the relative modal verbs, such as can, may, and would convey indecisiveness and reluctance.
**Will** predicts the future and shows a “strong wish and determination”. The modal verb *will* is used to show willingness and prediction. Among the nine Presidents, A. Lincoln and R. Reagan adopted *will* at the highest rate. **Lincoln** used *will* in an attempt to bridge the chasm that divided the country and to avoid the war between the two sides. With the help of *will*, Lincoln passionately argued to preserve the Union because he believed that nothing was more important than saving it. This verb helped him develop a strong argument - if the secession was allowed to succeed, it would “make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them”.

The modal verb *will* served **Reagan** as a tool to express his firm belief that with his help, the nation could overcome an economic slowdown. A quote incorporates *will* and much needed optimism. “It is time to reawaken this industrial giant. . . . And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.”

*Will* can also provide some level of reassurance - e.g. “*But know this, America – they will be met.*” - Obama encouraged his audience to gain self-confidence to build their future.

**Can** indicates “having the ability to do something”; Lincoln applied this modal verb to express his view that the States had no right to secede because the Constitution was akin to a contract. In the case of the North and South, only the Southern states attempted to end the contract. He supported the argument with the question, “*Can it . . . be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it?*” He challenged the slave owners - “*Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied.*” – to indicate that no Constitutional rights had been violated. Lincoln applied excessive use of *can* as a persuasive strategy in an attempt to bridge the chasm that divided the country.

The application of *can* may also serve the purpose of encouragement. e.g. “*Our spirit is stronger and can not be broken.*”- With this statement, Obama encouraged Americans to believe in themselves and to be confident that they have the ability to do anything; telling the nation that, even though the country was probably in its darkest days, there was hope; there was a chance to turn it around and climb back into the light.

**Must** is used in the address to express obligation, official necessity, certainty, and the direction the nation will and must go in the future. It signals the strongest degree of pressure on the other person to carry out a command. Thus, “*must*” is sometimes engaged in a political speech to show the speaker's strong
determination, to call for the audience to be determined to take action to achieve their common objective.

Clinton was the President with the highest rate of must usage, he looked at existing problems in America and asserted that change must be enacted and embraced to secure the future: "To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future..... and we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity."

Surprisingly, John Kennedy used must in his address just once. Instead, he relied on the phrases “we pledge” and “let us...” to deliver the message.

Through “must” and “will” Obama made it clear that responsibility sits with the government as well as its people. He elaborated that Americans have the responsibility to their ancestors, whose blood and sweat the country had been built upon. He called upon Americans to rebuild America and not to deny responsibility.

Should and ought to are to be found in the addresses of the 18th and 19th century, whereas in those of the 20th century we find neither. Washington said of himself: "...one who... ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies..."

Abraham Lincoln asked: “And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?”

Thomas Jefferson combined the use of should and the 2nd person plural : "...it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government...". In this example should is used almost as a substitute for would, but there is a hint of obligation.

There are examples where the speeches used the interplay of modal verbs in short sentences. – e.g.

“It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done, and done fairly.” - Clinton

“For as much as government can do and must do, it is ultimately...”.- Obama

“...with God’s help, we can and will resolve the problems which confront us.” - Reagan

“My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you - but what together we can do for the freedom of man.” - JFK
In some cases **modal verbs were used successively.**

“Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which **shall** restrain men from injuring one another, **shall** leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and **shall** not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.” - Jefferson used **shall** successively when enumerating **liberty** as the value which governments should strive to protect.

**Lincoln** posed three successive questions, each with a different modal verb, to assert that nothing in the Constitution expressly said what either could or could not be done regarding slavery in the Territories.

“**Shall** fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. **May** Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. **Must** Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.”

With the application of modal verbs, **Roosevelt** proposed his solutions to overcome the crisis.

“The task **can be helped** by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products, and [...]. It **can be helped** by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss [...]. It **can be helped** by insistence that the Federal, the State, and the local governments act forthwith [...]. It **can be helped** by the unifying of relief activities [...]. It **can be helped** by national planning [...]. There are many ways in which it **can be helped**, but it **can never be helped** by merely talking about it.”

**Bush** made a direct statement to other nations using four-fold repetition of modals.

“We **will defend** our allies and our interests. We **will show** purpose without arrogance. We **will meet** aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we **will speak** for the values that gave our nation birth.”

Or in

“But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it **will not be led**. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we **will lose** their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable **will suffer most.**” – The successively used verb **will** serves the purpose of conveying the message that unless people get involved in the stated affairs, they can not look forward to anything positive.

I have looked for the examples of the verbs **need**, **dare** and **used to** since some grammar books rank them with modals/semi-modals (Quirk et al., 1985: 217).
For instance, Kennedy adopted *dare* in his warning, “*those nations who would make themselves our adversary*” by “*We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed*.” - Kennedy was committed to US interests and peaceful co-existence; after all, the address was a forceful response to an escalating Cold war.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Will / shall</th>
<th>must / had to / have to</th>
<th>can / can not could</th>
<th>would</th>
<th>may / might</th>
<th>should / ought to</th>
<th>need</th>
<th>dare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, 1789</td>
<td>12 + 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11 + 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 + 2</td>
<td>1 + 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, 1801</td>
<td>9 + 6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9 + 1</td>
<td>7 + 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 1860</td>
<td>29 + 13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30 + 3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15 + 3</td>
<td>6 + 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, 1933</td>
<td>11 + 7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, 1961</td>
<td>7 + 9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 + 4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan, 1981</td>
<td>28 + 13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8 + 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, 1993</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20 + 1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 + 1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush, 2001</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama, 2009</td>
<td>20 + 3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5 + 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 28: Modals**

7.18 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality has to do with the judgment of the truth in propositions. It is defined as “*a speaker’s evaluation of the likelihood of a state of affairs, as expressed in language*” by Nuyts (2000: xv).

Modality is a relatively complex aspect of language, as the “*writer commitment can be expressed in an enormous variety of ways and these expressions can convey a wide range of meanings*” (Hyland and Milton, 1997:184). Hyland and

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82 Verbs from quotes are not counted.

83 without the verbs in the quotation of Treptow’s Pledge

84 Verbs in the quotes from the articles are not counted.
Milton’s study of epistemic expressions includes modal verbs, lexical verbs, adverbs, adjectives and nouns.

Modality can be expressed by various grammatical and lexical means. Among these are the main verbs (believe, permit, order), nouns (possibility, necessity, permission), adjectives (possible, necessary), adverbs (perhaps, certainly).

To induce a feeling of togetherness and sharing, the speaker will make use of expressions of epistemic modality like I think, I feel, I hope, I believe, or I suggest (Urbanova, 2002: 42).

Lexical verbs such as think, believe, appear, tend can be used to express epistemic modality.

e.g. “… the stakes of our debates appear small.” - In Bush’s statement the verb appear conveys epistemic meaning.

e.g. “You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.” - G. Washington, 1789

e.g. “I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern.” - Jefferson used the epistemic believe, which adds to the proposition of an opinion put across explicitly.

e.g. “I am certain that on this day my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency, I will address them with a candor… ” - FDR used subjective expressions of high probability i.e. adjective with the verb be in the first person singular.

e.g. “We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline,… ” - FDR adopted a subjective expression of high probability.

e.g. “True, they have tried.” - FDR used a neutral expression of high probability.

e.g. “It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each inaugural day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.” - Reagan used a mental state verb.

e.g. “Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.” - Clinton’s argument is introduced by an adverb with epistemic meaning, i.e. by an intersubjective adverb of high probability.

e.g. “To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?” - Lincoln’s address engaged the epistemic adverb really; it strengthens the true value of the verb love.
e.g. “….all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good.” – The epistemic adverbial of course expresses Jefferson’s judgement that can easily be shared in view of the evidence available.

7.19 Pronouns and Inclusion

According to Beard, it is worth looking at pronouns since they play a major part in how politicians are viewed and “they make a significant contribution to the overall effect”. Pronouns give agency to actions and help provide cohesion to the overall speech (Beard, 2000: 44-45). Thus, the use of pronouns influences the impact the speech has on the audience. In order to convince the audience and to achieve power in speeches, certain elaborate ways are used. In addition, they provide cohesion to the overall speech (2000: 45).

In English there are two sets of first person pronouns accessible. The singular forms, I/me/myself/mine, showing a personal involvement which can be favourable when delivering good news and when giving an account of successful accomplishments. The disadvantage of using this pronoun can be, if the ‘good news’ turn out to be ‘not so good’ after all; in this case the speaker would have to take the blame (Beard, 2000: 45).

When facing difficult decisions where the outcome is hard to predict, or the failure is already a fact, we is preferred to share the orators’ blame with the government, the party, colleagues etc. We is also used to embrace a large group of people, making them a part of the struggles or opinions of the speaker. We can stand for ‘the nation’ or ‘the world’ (Beard, 2000: 45). First person plural pronoun indicates sharing of interests between the speaker and audience (Charteris-Black, 2005: 4)

It is clear that personal pronouns are used to emphasize or conceal agency and consequently responsibility.
Of the nine Presidents, Obama was the one who used the inclusion strategy most. Obama was the one for whom we can say, that displayed the least self-centeredness. On the other hand, the highest prominence to one's own personage was given by A. Lincoln.

G. Washington in a way differentiated himself from the audience, as the pronouns we/us/our were each used only once throughout his speech. Importantly, first person singular pronouns were used twenty three times, partly corroborating the notion of the charismatic rhetoric of his Inaugural. On the other hand, he established common ground between himself and the audience.  

*e.g.* “[…] it expresses your sentiments not less than my own […]”

*e.g.* “You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence”

*e.g.* “Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, […]” - Through these lines Washington linked himself to his audience, i.e. the members of Congress.

Roosevelt also tried to keep the address in the first person plural, in order to show the union. However, in the parts of the address regarding the leadership, he changed to the first person singular, showing his strength and his desire to be independent. He used inclusive language, telling America, “if I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but we must give as
well.” Windt (1986) stresses Roosevelt's need to unify the opposing parties. President Roosevelt did this with ease:

“The larger purposes will bind us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in this time of armed strife. With this pledge I take, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.”

His language was all encompassing, suggesting unison, such as “our...common...us...warm courage of national unity”. Roosevelt assured the public that the crisis was not permanent and by working together he would lead them out of the despair filled days. He told the public that there would be an end the conduct of banking and business, which had been too often callous and selfish. He highlighted, “our greatest primary task is to put people to work”.

Kennedy used the pronoun we thirty times throughout his address, which, according to Leff and Mohrmann “reinforces and controls the emotional association” which corresponds to the common theme of “we”. Afterall, Kennedy insisted all the I pronouns be changed into we. (Goldzwig et al, 1995: 41)

Reagan interestingly used the pronoun your instead of our setting himself as the leader in a subtle fashion. His focus was on the collective role in realizing the common goals of the nation. His emphasis was on the pronouns we, our and us instead of the individual.

Clinton also emphasized the unity of the country and reconstituted the American nation by using the collective pronouns.

With the frequent use of we - even anaphorically in successive lines - Obama created a personal, inclusive style, which most likely resulted in a covenant between himself and the audience; thus, he managed to persuade audience to share his views and proposals. Through inclusiveness, Obama attempted to unify the diverse American society, which is desirable, especially in times of national peril. Furthermore, his use of pronouns lowered the level of formality.

The use of we creates the sense of what Borgstrom calls “we-ness” (Borgstrom, 1982: 314), which elicits a sense of unity, shared goals and is important to spark the audience to agree with what is said. Those who do not agree with what is said and political opponents are referred to as they.

When Obama addressed the cynics, he referred to them as they; “Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system can not tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten
what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose and necessity to courage.”

Referring to foreign leaders “who seek to sow conflict” as well as “the people of poor nations” Obama used pronoun they.

When Reagan referred to those who question dreams he engaged they, e.g. “We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we’re in a time when there are no heroes -- they just don’t know where to look.”

FDR used they successively when talking about money changers; e.g. “True, they have tried. But their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They only know the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.”

7.20 The occurence of discourse markers
The Inaugural addresses are delivered in a public place on a special occasion which in turn determines its style, sharing features of both oral and written discourses (Zheng, 2001: 67-68). Even though Inaugurals are delivered orally to the public, they are not spontaneous speeches, but carefully planned and written by professional speechwriters. Therefore, the Presidential Inaugural addresses have some features of written discourses. On the other hand, Inaugurals are delivered orally by the Presidents, thus they should have some features of oral discourse.

Discourse markers are the lexical items which are used by the speaker to comment upon the discourse plan and goals. This covers a large assortment of lexical items in English, which do not otherwise fall into traditional parts of speech, such as oh, ah, uh, certain uses of well, say, y’know, like, and non-conjunctive uses of so and but, amongst others.

A sentence has the same truth value whether or not there is a discourse marker (Murphy,1993). This means that discourse markers themselves do not affect the meaning of the sentence and provoke the question of how their presence can be justified. Schiffrin (1987: 31-2) argues that, although discourse markers introduce sentences, they are independent of sentence structure. Schiffrin gives a detailed analysis of twelve discourse markers in English: and, but, or, so, well, then, now, because, oh, well, y’know and I mean. (1987: 31)
Discourse markers can be particles (oh, well), conjunctions (and, but, or, so, because), time deictics (now, then), lexicalised clauses (you know, I mean) and others (1987: 327).

Schiffrin writes that discourse markers impose a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment they are a part of, and some aspect of a recent previous discourse segment. For example, oh has a role in information site transitions because oh marks a focus of the speaker’s attention which then also becomes a candidate for hearer’s attention. This creation of a joint focus of attention not only allows transitions in the information state, but it marks information as more salient with a possible increase in speaker/hearer certainty as to shared knowledge. (Schiffrin, D., 1982)

The use of discourse markers by Fraser
Based on their function, there are the following categories of discourse markers:
- DMs which allow the derivation of a contextual implication (so, therefore, too, also)
- DMs which strengthen an existing assumption, by providing better evidence for it (after all, moreover, furthermore)
- DMs which contradict an existing assumption (however, still, nevertheless, but)
- DMs which specify the role of the utterance in the discourse (anyway, incidentally, by the way, finally) (Fraser, 1999)

As for the discourse marker and, it can precede support units of talk (explanation, evidence and clarification to previous units). It can indicate a speaker’s continuation. However, and does not provide information about what is being continued. Such information is derived from the discourse content and structure (Schiffrin, 1987: 150).

e.g. “And I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.” – Roosevelt, 1933

e.g. “And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house...” – Kennedy, 1961

e.g. “And we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.” – Bush, 2001

e.g. “And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.” – Bush, 2001

e.g. “And we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth.” – Obama, 2009

e.g. “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” – Kennedy, 1961
Well is used as a response marker which anchors its user in an interaction when an upcoming contribution is not fully constant with prior coherence options. Schiffrin argues that well can have a pragmatic function; it is used to indicate a request for elaboration and clarification (Schiffrin, 1987: 120).

A discourse marker such as but indicates that what follows it contrasts with what precedes it. But, according to Schiffrin, indicates ‘adversative’ relations in discourse. It conveys contrast between two ideas or topics or it can be used to mark the denial of the speaker’s expectation of something:

Schiffrin claims that now is used to indicate a speaker’s progression through a discourse which contains an ordered sequence of subordinating parts. It is also used to indicate the upcoming shift in talk, or when the speaker wants to negotiate the right to control what will happen next in talk (1987: 241).
e.g. “Now, so there will be no misunderstanding,...” – Reagan, 1981

e.g. “Now we must do the work the season demands.” – Clinton, 1993

e.g. “Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us.” – Bush, 2001

e.g. “Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation’s promise through civility,...” – Bush, 2001

**Then** is used in discourse to indicate succession between prior and upcoming talk—a succession from one topic to another.

e.g. “To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and ..., I look with encouragement for that guidance ...” – Jefferson, 1801

e.g. “Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others?” – Jefferson, 1801

e.g. “Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles,...” – Jefferson, 1801

The main difference between then and now is the direction of discourse marked. Now points out forward in discourse time, while then points out backward. Moreover, there are some other differences between these two markers: unlike now, which is used as a time deictic providing temporal index in discourse time, then can be either deictic or anaphoric. As deictic, then indicates reference time, i.e. temporal relations between a linguistic event and speaking time, but as an anaphor, it marks temporal relations between two linguistic events (Schiffrin, 1987:246).

According to Schiffrin, **because** is used by the speaker to indicate the relation of ‘cause and result’, while so is used to indicate a relation of ‘premise and conclusion’. Consider the following examples:

e.g. “If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on earth, it was because here in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before.” – Reagan, 1981

e.g. “Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.” – Roosevelt, 1933

e.g. “Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves, but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves.” – Bush, 2001

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85 Will is ellipted
e.g. “So first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself…” - Roosevelt, 1933

e.g. “So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof.” – Kennedy, 1961

e.g. “So as we begin, let us take inventory.” – Reagan, 1981

Discourse markers are characteristic of conversational style and their number increases diachronically in the Inaugurals.
8. Conclusion

The selected material is taken from nine American Inaugural addresses which were delivered in the period from 1789 to 2009. The aim of the thesis was to capture the content and the form of each individual address. The selected addresses were examined from phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic perspectives.

The structure of the Inaugural addresses is not fixed, though some elements at the beginning and at the end of the speeches are firm in their position. The nine Inaugurals vary in length. The content corresponds to the context of the speech. Inaugural addresses have not changed much with regard to style and delivery. This paper shows that the nine Inaugurals share similar features and similar strategies. Certain stylistic and linguistic elements such as repetitions, parallelisms, metaphors, contrasts, three-part lists and sound patterns recur. Long-winded subordinate clauses have been gradually replaced by shorter, coordinate ones. Over time average sentence length has become shorter and the fog index has dropped. The general complexity of the Inaugurals has decreased. The style has gradually become more communicative.

Ethos, logos, pathos are present in all nine addresses, supporting the hypothesis that they have been used consistently used throughout time regardless of historical, social and cultural circumstances. However, Inaugural rhetoric can be disingenuous on ethos and extensive on pathos. Most Inaugurals take advantage of emotional appeals.

Lexis is chosen to convey the message in the most persuasive way. Numerous abstract nouns are included to enhance the pathos appeal. The use of the pronoun I as the exclusion strategy seems to be on the decline. On the other hand, the use of inclusive strategy increases. By using inclusive pronouns, the Presidents try to bridge the gap between themselves and the audience. Thus, an atmosphere of equality is created.

Inaugural addresses belong to the genre of Presidential rhetoric. They are a fusion of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. They are not so much of a persuasive but rather of an inspiring character. They are about motivating the Americans to continue believing in the "American Dream". Inaugurals emphasize particular social, political and economic challenges. They thus reflect a certain period of time. Over time, Inaugural addresses encompassed a number of different themes, the common one being the theme of renewal and change.

The presidential persona is enacted appropriately through the address. Therefore, each address is somehow unique.

The strength and power of the USA is emphasized. The American nation is described in terms of being a “chosen nation” under God. The practices of the US are presented in the best possible way. The Constitutional system of the USA is praised, bringing out feelings of national pride and strengthening national identity.
Continuity and the progress of the American grand story winds through the Inaugurals as a motif. The journey and road metaphors conceptualize the American people as travellers toward some destination on a road that is full of obstacles and crossroads. Other metaphors such as fire and light, biblical metaphors, seasonal metaphors, and war metaphors are used to motivate the people to move forward together. The frequently conveyed message is that the nation can overcome anything if people stay true to their ideals.

The most common principles honoured are democracy, liberty and freedom. The traditional American values in the sense of *all are equal, all are free* are incorporated. The promoted values coincide with the "American Dream". References to previous American Presidents are made. Direct critiques of former Administrations are avoided.

Common past events are recollected to illustrate that the struggles throughout American history were necessary in order to achieve greatness of the USA and can now be perceived as a fountain of strength.

Numerous religious references are made to acknowledge the existence of some Deity and to call for guidance. References to the Declaration of Independence are made since it is a document of tremendous importance to Americans.

The foregrounded appeal is the appeal for unity. Appeals to patriotic feelings are no less important. We find frequent are appeals for cooperation, responsibility, hard work and sacrifice for the common good as well as appeals for solidarity and compassion.

Inversion is frequently used for the purpose of emphasis. The imperative is used as a rhetorical tool to invite the audience to be part of the agenda and to assure some sort of collaboration on common objectives. Features of oral discourse appear infrequently in the form of interjections and contracted verb forms.

The persuasive strategies utilized overlap and support the main message and theme. By selecting the most appropriate forms of expression, the President-elect can create an Inaugural that is hopeful and uplifting in tone.

This thesis contributes to a better understanding of presidential rhetorical discourse. The analysis sheds light on the changing character of American Inaugurals and the specific circumstances in which addresses were delivered. The paper shows an interesting trend of the Inaugurals moving from more formal and indirect to less formal and less complex, which is in line with the intention of the presidents to convey their message to ever broader masses. As such it may serve as a potential basis for further studies of this phenomenon and may provide stylistic references for speechwriters.
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IZJAVA

Podpisana Natalija Kocijan izjavljam, da sem magistrsko delo z naslovom COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN INAUGURAL SPEECHES izdelala sama, prispevki drugih so posebej označeni, uporabljeni viri in literatura so korektno navedeni.

Maribor, __________________  __________________

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