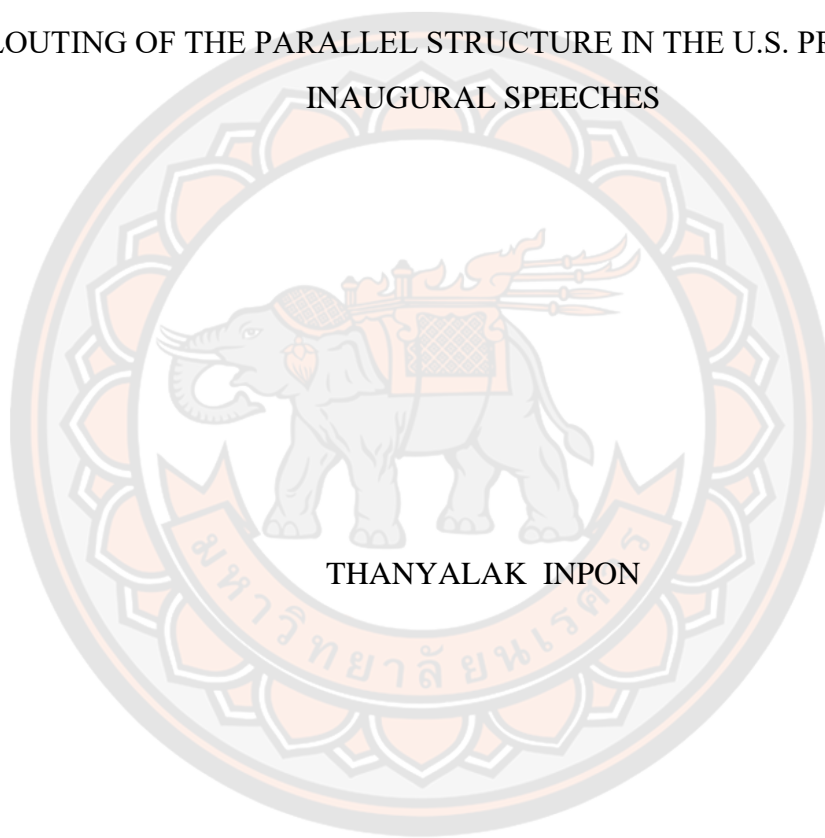




AN ANALYSIS OF THE SYNTACTICAL PARALLEL STRUCTURE AND THE  
FLOUTING OF THE PARALLEL STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTS'  
INAUGURAL SPEECHES



A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Naresuan University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Master of Arts in (English)  
2019  
Copyright by Naresuan University

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SYNTACTICAL PARALLEL STRUCTURE AND THE  
FLOUTING OF THE PARALLEL STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTS'  
INAUGURAL SPEECHES



A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Naresuan University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Master of Arts in (English)  
2019  
Copyright by Naresuan University

Thesis entitled "AN ANALYSIS OF THE SYNTACTICAL PARALLEL  
STRUCTURE AND THE FLOUTING OF THE PARALLEL STRUCTURE IN THE  
U.S. PRESIDENTS' INAUGURAL SPEECHES"

By THANYALAK INPON

has been approved by the Graduate School as partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Master of Arts in English of Naresuan University

**Oral Defense Committee**

..... Chair  
(Assistant Professor Sakon Kerdpol, Ed.D.)

..... Advisor  
(Assistant Professor Usa Padgate, Ph.D.)

..... Internal Examiner  
(Associate Professor Watana Padgate, Ph.D.)

..... Internal Examiner  
(Assistant Professor Usa Padgate, Ph.D.)

**Approved**

.....  
(Professor Paisarn Muneesawang, Ph.D.)

for Dean of the Graduate School

<b>Title</b>	AN ANALYSIS OF THE SYNTACTICAL PARALLEL STRUCTURE AND THE FLOUTING OF THE PARALLEL STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTS' INAUGURAL SPEECHES
<b>Author</b>	THANYALAK INPON
<b>Advisor</b>	Assistant Professor Usa Padgate, Ph.D.
<b>Academic Paper</b>	Thesis M.A. in English, Naresuan University, 2019
<b>Keywords</b>	Parallelism, Parallel structure, Marked structure, Flouting parallelism, Inaugural speech, U.S. president

### ABSTRACT

This research study aims to analyze the syntactical parallel structure and the flouting of the parallel structure in 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents. The results reveal that although the use of the unmarked parallel structure is found at a much higher frequency than the use of the marked parallel structure (78.64%: 21.36%), the use of the marked parallel structure is neither infrequent nor inconsequential. The most frequently used feature of the unmarked parallel structure is “two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions” whereas the least frequently used feature of the unmarked parallel structure is “elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also”. On the other hand, the most frequently used feature of the marked parallel structure is “no coordinating conjunction between constituents” and the least frequently used feature of the marked parallel structure is “incomplete conjunction”. Furthermore, the reasons for flouting the parallel structure are for emphasis (63.99%), elaboration (26.22%), evaluation (9.44%), and exaggeration (0.35%) respectively. These findings implicate that the knowledge of the use and the purposes of the marked parallel structure could facilitate the learning and understanding of the English language as used in real communication by English native speakers, in these cases by national leaders.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my thesis advisor, Assistant Professor Dr. Usa Padgate, Department of English, Faculty of Humanities, Naresuan University, for her invaluable advice, supervision and her constant inspiration throughout the study. She guided and encouraged me to be professional and her patient proofreading and kindness in writing format proofing contributed greatly to the completion of this thesis. Without her persistent help, the goal of this study would not have been realized.

I also wish to express my deepest gratitude to the thesis defense committee chair, Assistant Professor Dr. Sakon Kerdpol, and the thesis defense committee members, Associate Professor Dr. Watana Padgate, and Assistant Professor

Dr. Jantima Simpson for their encouragement, insightful comments, and their helpful suggestions.

Additionally, I would like to thank those whose names are not mentioned here but have greatly encouraged me until this thesis has come to its completion.

THANYALAK INPON



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

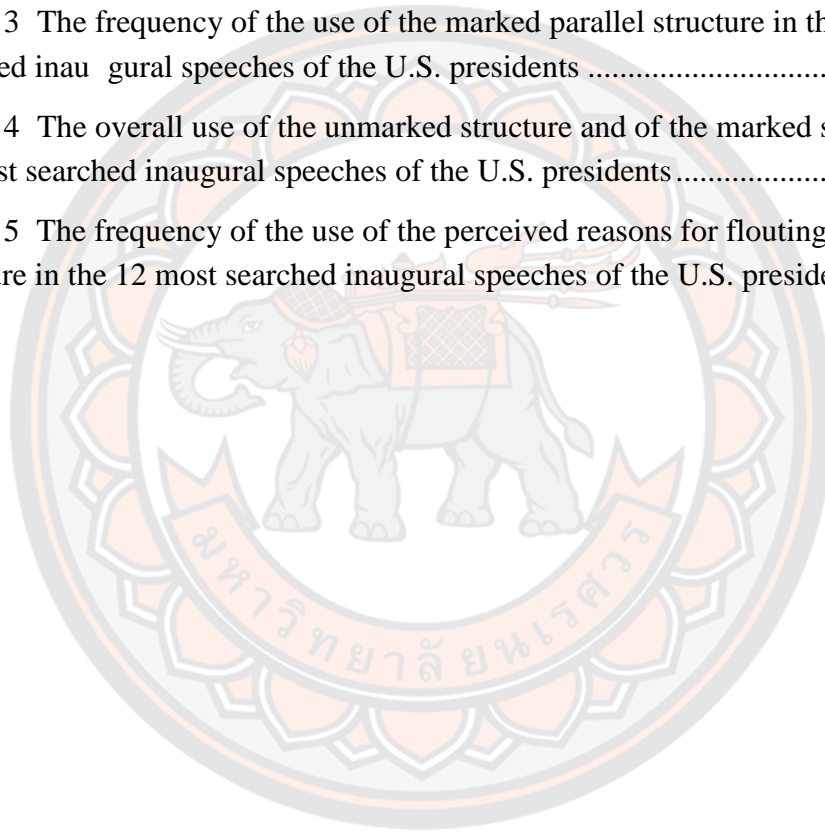
	<b>Page</b>
ABSTRACT.....	C
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	D
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	E
LIST OF TABLES.....	G
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
Rationale for the Study.....	1
Purposes of the Study.....	4
Research Questions.....	4
Significance of the Study.....	5
Scope of the Study.....	5
Definitions of Terms.....	5
CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
Definitions of Parallelism.....	7
The Concept of Markedness in Language Use.....	10
Definitions and Characteristics of Speeches.....	11
Related Studies on the Parallel Structure.....	12
Related Studies on Political and Inaugural Speeches.....	15
CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	18
Data collection.....	18
Data Analysis.....	18
Framework for Analysis.....	18
Reliability.....	24
CHAPTER IV RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	25
Findings.....	25
CHAPTER V CONCLUSION.....	42

REFERENCES .....46  
APPENDIX.....51  
BIOGRAPHY .....103



## LIST OF TABLES

	<b>Page</b>
Table 1 Overall information of the use of the unmarked structure and the marked structure of the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents.....	26
Table 2 The frequency of the use of the unmarked parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents.....	36
Table 3 The frequency of the use of the marked parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents .....	37
Table 4 The overall use of the unmarked structure and of the marked structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents .....	38
Table 5 The frequency of the use of the perceived reasons for flouting the parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents .....	38





# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **Rationale for the Study**

Parallelism is a similarity at one or more levels of linguistic structure. In English, it can occur at various levels of the language from phonology to syntax, semantics, and discourse. The parallel structure which can happen at the level of word, phrase, or clause, therefore, dictates “the repetition of the chosen grammatical form within a sentence.” (Evergreen Writing Center, n.d.)

Parallelism can be divided into 3 categories: lexical parallelism, phonological parallelism and syntactic parallelism. Lexical parallelism features the repetition of words that are synonymous or opposite in meaning to emphasize their importance and underline their denotative as well as aesthetic values. Phonological parallelism focuses on similar, repetitive and corresponding phonemes that contribute to parallel phonetic consequences and increased connotative intensity. Syntactic parallelism pays special interest in linguistic linkages that form the grammatical functions of the discourse. (Montgomery et al., 2000, pp. 125-126).

Since parallelism, or the parallel structure, in the English language is considered an important aspect of proficient language use in various discourse types such as literature, speeches, advertising, and English language examinations, it is usually introduced in an advanced English class for EFL students, especially a writing class. Quayum, & Talif (2000 as cited in Ikbal , 2016) assert that parallelism is a device of writing in which elements of equal importance are balanced out in similar grammatical constructions of a sentence, a paragraph, or even a larger unit of composition to emphasize something or add an aesthetic value to the work, and that parallelism can be particularly useful in academic writing, persuasive writing or public speaking. Parallelism is a powerful instrument in both speech and writing because it evokes an emotion, expression and understanding of an audience or reader and creates a rhythmic flow (VOA Learning English. The Power of Parallelism, 2015). Moreover, Al-Faki (2014) also emphasizes the persuasive effect of the use of parallelism by stating

that politicians use parallelism when they need to persuade and appeal to the audience's attention by projecting a sense of symmetry and rhythm that renders their speeches more powerful and memorable.

Despite the usefulness of the parallel structure and the emphasis it routinely receives in EFL grammar and writing classes, EFL learners make mistakes at the syntactic level, contributing to unbalanced, thus 'ungrammatical' structures in their writing. Since it is more complicated to write in a second language, many studies have intended to identify the errors which EFL students make in writing, to explore types of errors and the source of errors in EFL writing processes. These help guide teachers to know more about students' difficulties in learning English language and help the teachers to provide appropriate teaching strategies to their learners.

Rattanadilok Na Phuket (2015) observed sources of errors in the writing of EFL learners and found that the most frequently found types of errors were committed at the syntactic level. Furthermore, Al-Khresheh (2011) studied the English language errors at the syntactic level focusing on the coordinating conjunction 'and' used by Arabic-speaking Jordanian learners and revealed that the main cause of these errors was derived from an interlingual interference. This study implicated the error could be improved by a pedagogical intervention.

In addition, Hamed (2014), investigated the use of conjunctions in argumentative essays written by Libyan students who learned English as a foreign language. The study demonstrated that the Libyan EFL students used the conjunctions inappropriately at the syntactic.

Watcharapunyawong, & Usaha (2013, pp. 67-78) studied interlingual errors in EFL writing and found the parallel structure as one main aspect of the errors in EFL writing.

From these research studies, it might seem that the parallel structure is a rule of thumb, not to be broken when producing good English. However, Padgate (2018) who analyzed the parallel structure in Nobel laureate Alice Munro's short story "Amundsen" revealed that approximately one out of four instances of the use of the parallel structure in the short story flouted the rules of syntactic parallelism. This finding begs the inevitable question whether the strict instruction of the use of the parallel structure in language production essentially reflects the real use of the English

language. In order to answer this question, more findings need to be acquired regarding the use and the violation of the parallel structure across different discourse types. Although the parallel structure has always been a default feature in language use, due to the deceptive simplicity of its concept, not many academic studies have explored its actual applications and shed light on instances where the rules of the parallel structure are not “strictly” followed. To explore this area of analysis, the present study aims to study the parallel structure and the violation of the parallel structure in cases where the language use is generally regarded as grammatical and even exemplary. The cases in question are the inaugural speeches of the presidents of the United States of America, of which the language, though delivered orally, is undeniably scripted and resembles any good persuasive writing for which elements of parallelism constitute a hallmark.

An inauguration of the president of the United States is a special event which marks the commencement of a new four-year term of the president. Many people take keen interests in the president’ speech given during the inaugural ceremony at the beginning of each new presidential term. Because of this interest, the speeches themselves have become subjects of analysis – linguistic, social and political – as well as indicators of social changes and expectations. As with most other occurrences, the significance of different inaugural speeches has had different levels of social impact. In other words, some inaugural speeches are more central to the public life and interest, hence more studied, than others.

In terms of linguistic features, the inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents, invariably well-written and well-delivered, can be perceived as models of good writing. Thus, the inaugural speeches have been analyzed in various aspects.

For instance, Pu (2007) studied the pragmatic interpretation of President George W. Bush’s speech based on various linguistic and contextual factors, and Wang (2010) analyzed Barack Obama’s presidential speeches using the frameworks of discourse analysis and systematic functional linguistics. Al-Ameedi , & N. Mukhef (2017) investigated the use of parallelism in political speeches to emphasize and reach their aims. The finding shows that there are different types of parallelism: lexical, syntactic, semantic, synthetic, binary, antithetical. The Syntactic parallelism in this study consists of parallelism at the word level, the phrase level, and the clause level.

This paper also mentioned that the rhetorical function of parallelism in political speech is to strengthen, empower, emphasize, persuade and have an influence on the audiences.

Sharndama, & Mgbemena (2015) studied the language of political discourse focusing on the linguistic features in Nigeria to investigate the parallel structure at lexical and syntactic levels that the speakers used to achieve effective persuasion. The study found that the speakers used the syntactic parallel structure; compound structures, subordination, the manipulation of interrogatives and declaratives as a strategy to their speeches.

The present study, therefore, proposes to study a different aspect of the language use in the inaugural speeches of the presidents of the United States of America. The aspect to be analyzed in this study is the parallel structure. The analysis will provide linguistic insights into some of the best-known speeches in English in terms of the regular use of the parallel structure (the unmarked structure) and the exceptions of this use (the marked structure). This study aims to analyze the use of parallel structure including both the unmarked structure and the marked structure at the syntactic level in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents according to [inauguratespeeches.com](http://inauguratespeeches.com).

### **Purposes of the Study**

1. To analyze the characteristics of use of syntactic parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents.
2. Where the marked parallel structure is found in the speeches, to analyze how the parallel structure is flouted.
3. To analyze the purposes for flouting the parallel structure in the inaugural speeches.

### **Research Questions**

1. What are the characteristics of the use of syntactic parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents?
2. Where the marked parallel structure is found in the U.S. presidents' inaugural speeches, how is the parallel structure flouted?

3. What are the purposes for flouting the parallel structure in the U.S. presidents' inaugural speeches?

### **Significance of the Study**

The findings of this study will contribute to the body of knowledge on the pragmatic studies of the parallel structure which is still lacking quantitatively. In addition, more knowledge on the use of the marked and unmarked parallel structure will help EFL learners become more confident in their use of English and will help guide EFL teachers to implement more practical approaches in their instruction of the parallel structure.

### **Scope of the Study**

This research study analyzes the parallel structure of the inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents at the syntactic level only. The analysis includes 12 most searched inaugural speeches of 12 U.S. presidents which are selected based on the search records on Google from 2004 to 2016, as presented in the website [inauguratespeeches.com](http://inauguratespeeches.com). For the presidents who served more than one term in the presidential office, only the speech from their first inauguration is selected for the study, as well as for the website. The framework for the analysis follows that of Padgate (2018) as described in detail in the Theoretical Framework section.

### **Definitions of Terms**

*Parallel structure* in the analysis of this study refers to syntactic parallel structure.

*Syntactic parallel structure* refers to the parallelism among two units of a text that have the same syntactic elements. The elements in the parallel section may also be omitted by ellipsis. (Montgomery et al. 2000, pp. 126) Syntactic parallel structure is the result of the use of a coordinating conjunction, a comparison, a punctuation, a semicolon, and a listing comma. (Padgate, 2018)

*Unmarked Parallel Structure* is the aspects of parallel structure with the following features (Padgate, 2018):

1. words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions “and”, “but”, “or”.
2. A series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row.
3. A comparison
4. Elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also”.
5. Punctuations can be used in place of coordinating conjunctions; the listing comma can substitute the conjunction “and” when two or more adjectives independently modify a noun and a semicolon can be used between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted.

**Marked Parallel Structure** is the use of the parallel structure that diverts from Rules Numbers 1-5 above (in the term for “Unmarked Parallel Structure”) or a sentence that begins with a conjunction, thus flouting the rules of parallelism and resulting in a language fragment. (Padgate, 2018)

**To flout the parallel structure** is to violate of the rules of the syntactical parallel structure, making the parallel structure unmarked with one or more characteristics of the unmarked parallel structure listed above.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Definitions of Parallelism

Parallelism refers to “the state of being similar; a similar feature” (Wehmeier, 2005). Parallelism also means “syntactic constructions in which the constituents of one construction correspond to those of other.” It is “the repetition of a syntactic construction in successive sentences for rhetorical effect” (Collins concise dictionary plus, 1989).

Moreover, Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary states that “parallelism is the correspondence or similarity of construction in successive passages or clauses, especially in poetry”.

According to Oshima (1999), Parallel structure is a significant element in English writing, especially when listing and comparing and contrasting items or ideas. Parallel structure also rules that each item in a list or comparison should follow the same grammatical pattern. For example, if the first item in a list is a noun, all the following items should also be nouns.

In addition, Parallelism means the expression of two or more equivalent sentence elements in the same grammatical form: nouns paired with nouns, verbs with verbs, and so forth. Parallelism is also a part of active grammar. It helps create memorable phrases. (Franklin, & Marshall College Writing Center, n.d.)

Parallelism, referred to in this study as the parallel structure, occurs in a context when some element of the pattern or the meaning of a context is related to some other element at some abstract level of description. Parallel structure is effected by using the same pattern of words to show that two or more elements have the same level of importance. It occurs at the word, phrase, or clause level, normally joined by the use of coordinating conjunctions. (Purdue Online Writing Lab, n.d.).

Furthermore, the parallel structure features repetition of a chosen grammatical form within a sentence (Kathleen Jones White Writing Center, n.d.). In other words, it is a resemblance of the grammatical structure among components in a sentence or

among sentences employed in series, comparisons, lists, and headings combined with coordinating conjunctions such as and, but, or, nor, yet and correlative conjunctions such as either...or, not only...but also.

Kennedy, & Gioia (2007, p. G11) project that “parallelism organizes ideas in a way that demonstrates their coordination to the reader” and give the definition of parallelism as “an arrangement of words, phrases, clauses, or sentences side-by-side in the same grammatical or structural way.” The rule of parallelism could be put simply as single words balanced with single words, phrases with phrases, clauses with clauses. When this is violated, “a sentence will be needlessly awkward.” (Kathleen Jones White Writing Center, n.d.)

Parallelism is common in various English contexts such as literature, textbooks, speeches and spontaneous talks. It is both a grammatical and literary tool.

To illustrate, the following example from William Blake’s *Poetical Sketches* (1783) shows the parallel structure both in form and in meaning:

*He caught me in his silken net.*

*And shut me in his golden cage.*

These two sentences are similar at the level of sentence structure in the category of syntactic structure. The two sentences are similarly structured except that the second sentence begins with a coordinating conjunction and its subject is implied. (Montgomery, 2000, p.123).

Parallelism involves noticeable forms of repetition at the level of sound, grammatical structure and meaning. Therefore, it can be divided into three main types: lexical parallelism, syntactic parallelism, and phonological parallelism.

Firstly, lexical parallelism involves the repetition and the meaning of words, phrases or images. Essentially, lexical parallelism consists of two or more words which have similar meanings. This is sometimes called semantic parallelism.

For example,

“The woods are lovely, dark, and deep,

But I have promises to keep,

And miles to go before I sleep,

And miles to go before I sleep.”

(“Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” by Robert Frost)



The writer uses a repeated refrain in only the last stanza, as he utters, “And miles to go before I sleep.” It gives rhythm to the poem, and emphasizes the idea of doing many things before dying. (Literary Devices, n.d.)

Secondly, phonological parallelism features the repetition of the same or similar sounds. In English literature, phonological parallelism consists of four basic types: alliteration, assonance, rhyme and rhythmic patterns.

Alliteration is the repetition of the initial consonant of words. For instance, “Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers. A peck of pickled peppers Peter Piper picked. If Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers, how many pickled peppers did Peter Piper pick?”

This technique plays a crucial role in poetry by lending a strong rhythm and musical structure to any verse. (Yourdictionary, n.d.)

Assonance is the repetition of a similar vowel sound. For example, “I must confess that in my quest I felt depressed and restless.” (With Love, by Thin Lizzy)

Rhyme is the repetition of a similar vowel sound and the final consonant. For example, “Tyger Tyger, burning bright, In the forests of the night.” (The Tyger by William Blake)

The repetition of rhythmic patterns is termed meter and is applied strictly especially in verses. For example, “...If music be the food of love, play on;

Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,  
The appetite may sicken, and so die.  
That strain again! it had a dying fall...”

This is an example of rhythmic patterns which contains an unstressed syllable first, and a stressed syllable second. Each line consists of accented and unaccented syllables underlined. (Literary Devices, n.d.) Lastly, Syntactic parallelism or arallelism in the sentence structure is a parallelism between two sections of text which have the same syntactic components. It is possible to have the components in the same order, or to reverse the order. The components can be omitted by ellipsis in the parallel sections. For example, "We've seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers." (George W. Bush, 2001)

The syntactic parallel structure is common in literature, textbooks and advertisements. It is also used in formal speeches. When sentences fail to create

grammatically parallel structures, where parallelism is appropriated, it is sometimes referred to as “faulty parallelism”. In this study, faulty parallelism is referred to as the “marked structure.”

### **The Concept of Markedness in Language Use**

The concept of Markedness was introduced by the Prague School scholars, Nikolai Sergeyevich Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson. Markedness is a state in which one linguistic constituent is more distinctively identified (or marked) than another (unmarked) constituent. (Nordquist, 2020).

According to Leech (2006), marked and unmarked in the parallel structure refers to a contrast between two or more members of a category such as number, case or tense, one of them is called ‘marked’ if it contains some extra affix, as opposed to the ‘unmarked’ member which does not. For example, the regular plural (such as tables) of a noun is the marked form in comparison with the singular (table) because it has an extra affix, the -s (or -es) plural inflection. In a similar way, the ordinary form of an adjective such as old is unmarked in contrast to the comparative and superlative forms, older and oldest. By extension, the marked form can also be marked syntactically, by having more words. For example, the passive ‘was eaten’ is marked in relation to the unmarked active ‘ate’. Generally, the unmarked form is the more frequent option, also the one that has the most neutral meaning.

Zhang, & Tian (2015) mentioned that Markedness Theory proposes that in the languages of the world certain linguistic elements are more basic, natural, and frequent (unmarked) than others which are referred to as marked. The concept of markedness is widely applied to phonetics, semantics, pragmatics, and psycholinguistics. Consequently, the study on markedness focuses not only on the structural form of language, but also on the implicit meaning of language. Moreover, markedness is not only used in grammar textbooks, classrooms and literary works, but it is also used in other daily communicative aspects.

## **Definitions and Characteristics of Speeches**

Speech is an important social tool used in daily communication to develop relationships, convey attitudes and ideas and express emotions. Speech can be used for various purposes such as to inform, to instruct, to entertain, and to persuade. Based on these purposes, speeches are categorized as demonstrative speech which is used to educate the audience on something, entertaining speech, informative speech, persuasive speech, motivation speech, debate speech, and oratorical speech which includes political speeches. An inaugural speech is commonly considered as an oratorical speech. When an inaugural speech is delivered in a political context, the way language is used is very significant because it helps the orator to manifest his/her ideas precisely, to determine whether or not the orator's speech will be successful. (Osborn, & Osborn, 1988 as cited in Al-Ameedi, & Mukhef, 2017) Moreover, Liu (2012) mentioned that "speech in politics should consist at least these functions: to present the sound and correct political opinion, to attract the audience and make them into serious thinking, to move and persuade them to accept the speaker's viewpoints, to encourage the audience to do what the speaker wants them to do".

According Sharndama, & Mgbemena (2015), when politicians make political speeches, they convey powerful expressions and their political ideologies and manifestoes to the electorates. The language of politicians is characterized by their ability to operate the linguistic features to convey the meaning to the audience. Along the same lines, Rozina, & Karapetjana (2009) state that linguistic manipulations can be used as an influential tool of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political decisions.

This study specifically explores one type of political speeches, namely inaugural speeches. An inauguration speech is a speech delivered by the person who has been elected president on the inauguration day. Although an inaugural speech is not required by the constitution, it has somehow become a tradition established by George Washington, the first president of the United States of America. Since then, new presidents have given their inaugural speeches every four years at the beginning of a new presidential office. An inauguration address is important because the speech can

reveal the political attitudes and persuade the people to perceive the orator's objectives. (Liu, 2012)

Wilson (2001 as cited in Pu, 2007) claimed that linguistic structures, general grammar and single words or phrases are used by politicians in order to achieve political aims. An analysis of the linguistic structure in inaugural addresses is one way to explore linguistic choices and levels available for political objectives.

### **Related Studies on the Parallel Structure**

Several academics have studied the use of the parallel structure in different types of writing such as advertisements, magazines, political speeches and literary works.

Hong (2011) used the concept of parallelism to analyze the discourse of job advertisements in English and Vietnamese and found that parallelism was a device that provided connection because the form of one sentence or clause was repeated in another sentence or another clause in nearly every part of English job advertisements at various levels.

M.I. Mehawesh (2013) examined grammatical parallelism in advertisements translated from English into Arabic. The study aimed to show the differences between two cultures with two visible distinctive characteristics. A distinct issue in translating grammatical parallelism was particularly a challenging task. The difficulty lied in creating textual semantic units and retaining their forms while maintaining their translation equivalence. It was found that parallelism was maintained in both languages. However, the function was different. In Arabic, parallelism served as a figure of speech, while English parallelism served as a text-structuring device. In addition, M.I. Mehawesh (2017) continued to study grammatical parallelism in the translation of advertisements with particular reference to English and Arabic, following the grammatical parallelism of Jakobson's model (1960). It was found that grammatical parallelism was an important tool to satisfy the readers aesthetically as well as to persuade people. Moreover, grammatical parallelism was found to be a tool to harmonize elements across texts.

Motaqed, & Annapurna (2016) used parallelism to analyze syntactic devices in English magazines and found that syntactic devices were frequently used in advertising slogans.

Furthermore, studies have shown results of the pedagogical applications of the parallel structure in EFL classrooms. For example, Watcharapunyawong, & Usaha (2013, pp. 67-78) classified interlingual errors in Thai EFL students' writing into 16 categories: Verb tense, word choice, sentence structure, article, preposition, modal/auxiliary, singular/plural form, fragment, verb form, pronoun, run-on sentence, infinitive/gerund, transition, subject-verb agreement, parallel structure, and comparison structure, respectively.

Al-Khresheh (2011) studied the errors of using the coordinating conjunction 'and' by Arabic-speaking Jordanian EFL learners and found that the errors could be attributed to interlingual interference.

Furthermore, Hamed (2014) investigated the use of conjunctions in argumentative essays written by EFL Libyan students and found that the students used the conjunctions inappropriately. It was suggested that the instruction of the syntactic parallel structure in the Libyan context could be beneficial for the EFL Libyan learners.

The parallel structure has also been employed to investigate literary works.

(AL-Subhi (2008)) examined the phonological parallelism, grammatical parallelism, and lexical or semantic parallelism in poetry. The researcher selected a corpus of twenty- five poems from illustrious works of Eloise Greenfield's poetry and analyzed them according to the different categories of parallelism in order to discover unexpected effects that parallelism created upon the readers. The study confirmed that phonological parallelism, especially the rhymes, was the most frequently used pattern, followed by grammatical parallelism and semantic parallelism.

Zhao (2012) studied parallelism in a novel through an examination of parallelism density and variety in Virginia Woolf's novel *To the Lighthouse* by comparing Woolf's novel to other modernist novels and discussing particular lexical and syntactic features contributing to Woolf's parallelism. The study suggested that the rhetoric of opposition determined Woolf's lexical choice of certain paralleled parties.

Kousar (2013) studied the various types of verbal parallelism in poetic composition "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" to explore the role of anaphora,

epistrophe, symploce, homoioteleuton, polyptoton and some other stylistic devices that T.S. Eliot used in the actualization of his poem. The result showed that verbal parallelism provided some of the rhetoric and literary techniques that helped the readers to understand the message in the poem.

Mueller (2015) investigated parallelism in two poems by an Estonian poet Betti Alver (1906–1989). The study demonstrated that structural patterning, or parallelism, was a proponent of both poetic intuition and functional linguistic selection on all levels of language: phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexico-grammatical, and lexico-semantic.

I. A. (n.d.) studied structure and stylistic peculiarities of syntactic parallelism in modern English dramas by Susan Glaspell, Arthur Miller and Lillian Hellman. This study considered the syntactic structural, functional and stylistic features. The finding revealed that the dramas employed stylistic repetition as a tool to depict semantic contents as well as emotional, rhythmic and poetic markings.

Finally, Padgate (2018) investigated the use of the marked parallel structure in Alice Munro's short story "Amundsen." The researcher applied the concept of linguistic markedness to explore the pragmatic usage of parallelism as opposed to the grammatical usage listed in general commercial grammar textbooks. The result showed that approximately one out of four instances of parallel structure was flouted to effect emphasis, exaggeration, elaboration and evaluation. Padgate, in addition, classified five types of flouting the parallel structure, namely starting a sentence with a conjunction, no coordinating conjunction between constituents, unparallelled constituents, incomplete conjunction, and multiple conjunctions, and four purposes for flouting the parallel structure, namely to emphasize, to exaggerate, to elaborate, and to evaluate.

In summary, there have been studies related to the use of the parallel structure in the English language, showing that this linguistic feature is generally accepted as a stylistic device in various types of language use. Many researchers have expressed their interest in parallelism and some have investigated the use of parallelism in different types of writing. However, the investigation of the violation, or the flouting, of the parallel structure is still limited. The data so far point to the direction that the parallel structure is flouted fairly regularly, but without more research findings, this information

can never be regarded as conclusive. The present study expects to provide more information on the use as well as the violation of the parallel structure to contribute to the existing body of knowledge in this area.

### **Related Studies on Political and Inaugural Speeches**

Political speeches and inaugural speeches have been a subject of interest in different linguistic fields such as genre analysis, critical discourse analysis and lexical analysis, a selection of which is presented as follows.

#### **Language Analyses of Presidential Speeches:**

Pu (2007) studied the pragmatic interpretation of President George W. Bush's speech given to students at Tsinghua University. This study employed the theory of political discourse analysis in order to show Bush's skillful use of rhetorical strategies. The finding revealed that the using various linguistic features influenced interpretation, and that other contextual factors were important to fully understand the meaning of the speech.

Ardriyati (2012) studied the linguistic features in the speeches of the Indonesian president. The finding revealed many linguistic features in the president's speeches employed throughout to convince the audience and fellow citizens such as compound/complex sentences, metaphors, coreference pronouns, conjunctions and word repetition.

Horváth, J. (2009) conducted a critical discourse analysis of President Barack Obama's political discourse to explore the ideological components enshrined in his inaugural address. The result showed that the ideological components in Obama's speech could be grouped into concepts of pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity.

Wang (2010) also analyzed President Barack Obama's presidential speeches using the theory of critical discourse analysis and systematic functional linguistics. This study revealed that simple words and short sentences helped connect him to his audience. It was found, furthermore, that the president employed modality to make the audience understand and accept his political speeches more easily.

Liu (2012) analyzed the genre of American presidential inaugural speeches in the field of applied linguistics. The purpose was to investigate the genres and the

communicative functions in the speeches. The findings showed that the speeches employed salutations, announcing entering upon office, articulating sentiments on the occasion, making pledges, arousing patriotism in citizens, announcing political principles to guide the new administration, and appealing to the audience.

Furthermore, Olajoke (2015) studied the language of Nigerian politics to explore the pattern and functions of lexical devices in the Inaugural speech of the Speaker of State House of Assembly as an avenue to expand the frontiers of knowledge on language of politics by legislators. The result reflected that in the process of negotiating meaning in their use of language, the politicians used lexical cohesive devices such as repetition, synonymy, antonym, collocation, super ordination to achieve their objectives; for instance, interconnectivity, directness, emphasis, appreciation and appeal.

#### **Studies of the Parallel Structure in Political Speeches**

An (2010) investigated syntactic and pragmatic parallelism in political speeches both in English and Vietnamese. The results showed that parallelism in both languages was largely employed in order to achieve the aims of the politicians' speeches, to focus on a certain issue, to have firm impressions on listeners and to convince the audience of the speakers' point of view or solution and then perform a certain action.

Shamaileh (2011) examined parallelism in political speeches in terms of its role, frequency of occurrence and impact on the readers. The data consisted of ten speeches in Arabic together with their ten official English translations. It was found that parallelism was an effective rhetorical device as it occurred in Arabic. In contrast, English parallelism was not as common. In terms of the stylistic aspect, Arabic parallelism was a comprehensive device for the Arabic language, and it contained rhetorical, stylistic, persuasive and cohesive devices. On the other hand, English parallelism was different; it tended to use a series of three main elements, namely, pronouns, reminiscence and the use of contrastive pairs, among others.

Olajoke (2015) examined the patterns and functions of lexical devices in the inaugural speeches of the Speakers of State House of Assembly. The results demonstrated that lexical cohesive devices which constituted parallelism such as the



use of repetition, synonyms, antonyms, collocations, super ordinates were employed in their speeches.

Sharndama, & Mgbemena (2015) studied the language of political discourse focusing on the linguistic features of two important political speeches made by two presidential aspirants in Nigeria to investigate the parallel structure at lexical and syntactic levels that the speakers used to achieve effective persuasion. The study showed that the speakers used the parallel structure, compound structures, subordination, the manipulation of interrogatives and declaratives at the syntactic level. Moreover, at the lexical level, specific items, personal pronoun referencing, and endearing items were employed in the speeches to create persuasive effect on the audience.

Lastly, Al-Ameedi, & N. Mukhef (2017) investigated the use of parallelism in political speeches to emphasize and reach their aims. The finding showed that there were different types of parallelism: lexical, syntactic, semantic, synthetic, binary, and antithetical. The Syntactic parallelism, which was considered as the rhetorical function in this study, consisted of parallelism at the word level, the phrase level, and the clause level.

As mentioned earlier, since little has been mentioned regarding the manners in which and the reasons for which the parallel structure is flouted, the present study, therefore, attempts to contribute to the field by analyzing the characteristics of the use of the parallel structure as well as the violation of the parallel structure in formal political speeches delivered by 12 U.S. presidents in their inaugurations.

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### **Data collection**

The data for the analysis in this study comprise 12 inaugural speeches of 12 U.S. presidents based on the statistics of the 12 most searched inaugural speeches from 2004-2016 on the website: [inauguratespeeches.com](http://inauguratespeeches.com). For these presidents, only their first inaugural speech is chosen.

The inaugural speeches are those delivered by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald J. Trump.

#### **Data Analysis**

The analysis of the used of the marked and unmarked parallel structure in the 12 presidential inaugural speeches is based on the scripts provided by the website: [inauguratespeeches.com](http://inauguratespeeches.com). Where the analysis requires the features of the written language such as the punctuations, the researcher exclusively consults the written scripts, not the audio records of the speeches themselves.

The researcher analyzes the parallel structure in the inaugural speeches at the syntactic level according to the theoretical framework indicated in the following section.

#### **Framework for Analysis**

To explore the characteristics of the use of syntactic parallel structure and analyze the marked parallel structure in the U.S. Presidents' inaugural speeches, this study follows the guideline of Padgate (2018) below.

##### **1. The aspects of parallel structure focused on this study include:**

1.1 Two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions “and”, “but”, “or”.

For example:

On the bench outside the station, I sat and waited. (Munro, 2012, p. 1)

We, the citizens of America are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. (WhiteHouse, 2017a)

1.2 A series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row.

For example:

The doctor's office was similarly out of bounds, Matron's room being the proper place for all inquiries, complaints, and ordinary arrangements. (Munro, 2012, p. 6)

*... 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*. (Clinton, Inaugural Address, 1993)

... authoritarian powers seek to collapse the values, the systems, and alliances that prevented conflict ... (WhiteHouse, 2017b)

Our government's first duty is to its people, to our citizens—to serve their needs, to ensure their safety, to preserve their rights, and to defend their values. (WhiteHouse, 2017b)

There has never been a better time to hire, to build, to invest, and to grow in the United States. (WhiteHouse, 2018)

1.3 A comparison

For example:

The surgery he went in for was going to become as obsolete as bloodletting. (Munro, 2012, p. 15)

...we are guided by a power larger than ourselves who creates us equal in his image... (WhiteHouse, 2001)

Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country... (WhiteHouse, 2001)

1.4 Elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also”

For example:

We would consider negotiating with the rest, either individually, or perhaps as a group, if it is in the interests of all. (WhiteHouse, 2018)

... neither hiding from ourselves the gravity of the problems before us nor fearing to approach these problems with the unbending... (Yale Law School, 1905)

...and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny... (Lincoln, 1861)

**2. Punctuations can be used in place of coordinating conjunctions in cases as follows:**

2.1 The listing comma can replace the conjunction “and” when two or more adjectives independently modify a noun.

For example:

A long, white, wooden building in front of it. (Munro, 2012, p. 1)

2.2 A semicolon can be used between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted.

For example:

Their tone was friendly; they seemed to approve. (Munro, 2012, p. 16)

It will not be easy; it will require sacrifice. (Clinton, 1993)

I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. (G. W. Bush, 1989)

**3. When the language use deviates from the rules in (1) and (2), the parallel structure is considered flouted. Flouting the parallel structure may occur in 5 categories as follows:**

3.1 Starting a sentence with a conjunction

For example:

My mom never wanted me to hang around with kids that had TB anyway. But Reddy talked her into it. (Munro, 2012, p. 11)

From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself... (Washington’s, 1789)

And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered... (Lillian Goldman Law Library, n.d.)

But reflecting on the striking difference in so many particulars between this country... (Adams, 1797)

### 3.2 No coordinating conjunction between constituents

For example:

Drawing, music, stories preferred. (Munro, 2012, p. 6)

...necessary for our country, necessary for our taxpayer, necessary for our own thought process. (WhiteHouse, 2017b)

### 3.3 Unparalleled constituents

For example:

I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations... (Lincoln, 1861)

### 3.4 Incomplete conjunction

For example:

...not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them (Adams, 1797)

Today, she is the first in her family to graduate, not just from high school, but from college. (WhiteHouse, 2017a)

### 3.5 Multiple conjunctions

For example:

“Not just on bookshelves but on tables and chairs and windowsills and piled on the floor. (Munro, 2012, p. 13)

... they can meet challenges with ingenuity and determination, and bounce back from tough times, and emerge stronger than before. (White House, 2008)

**4. Although the Chicago Manual of Style (2003, p.193) and Webster’s Dictionary of English Usage (1989, pp.93-94) reveal that beginning a sentence with a conjunction is grammatically acceptable, this study opts to regard, as does the practice in general EFL classrooms, such usage as flouting the rules of parallelism and resulting in language fragments.**

For example:

And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe...”

(Lillian Goldman Law Library, n.d.)

But we will get the job done”. (WhiteHouse, 2017a)

But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile power. (Clinton, 1993)

**5. The perceived reasons for flouting could be classified into 4 types (4Es): Emphasis, Exaggeration, Elaboration, and Evaluation, as follows: (Padgate, 2018, pp. 64-65)**

#### 5.1 Emphasis

Parallel structure is found to be flouted for emphasis to stress the contradiction, addition, sequence and series in which each item listed is equally emphasized. For example:

The key to his house showed up on the floor of my room, slipped under the door when I wasn't there. But I couldn't use it after all. (Munro, 2012, p. 15)

In the above example, parallel structure is flouted in the second sentence to emphasize the contradiction between Vivien's uneasy feelings and the comfort of a heated house promised by the appearance of the house key provided by her suitor.

Then gradually he let his voice die down. Down, down, first to a mumble, then to a whisper, then to complete inaudibility. (Munro, 2012, p. 8)

A sequence of actions can also be stressed by omitting the use of coordinating conjunction altogether, as shown in this example in which Alister lowers his voice to different degrees of audibility. The lack of conjunction in this instance enables a sense of seamless transition from complete audibility to complete inaudibility.

After the sawmill, beneath us, were some ugly cuts in the woods and a few shacks, apparently inhabited, because they had woodpiles and clotheslines and rising smoke. (Munro, 2012, p. 10)

In the example above, parallel structure is flouted in the noun phrase in the underline to indicate signs of a residential area, with each sign receiving equal stress as an indicator of inhabitation.

## 5.2 Exaggeration

Parallel structure is found to be flouted for exaggeration of speed in imitation of a quick stream of thoughts and observations. For example:

The building, the trees, the lake were never again the same to me as they had been on that first day, when I was caught by their mystery and authority. (Munro, 2012, p. 9)

The stringing of different nouns in this example without a coordinating conjunction represents a quick mental listing of items that come to mind quickly and effortlessly through familiarity.

He asked about my life in Toronto, my university courses, my family. (Munro, 2012, p. 14)

In this example, Alister is questioning Vivien about her life. The lack of conjunction indicates the quick succession of the questions as well as the intensity of his interest in finding out more about the woman he is going to seduce.

## 5.3 Elaboration

Parallel structure is found to be flouted for elaboration on the similar and/or different aspects of the object/person being discussed and for affirmation of information already stated. For example:

But the birch bark not white after all, as you got closer. Grayish yellow, grayish blue, gray. (Munro, 2012, p. 2)

This example describes the colors of the birch bark as seen by the speaker. Although the bark is described to be in different shades of gray, the string of adjectives of color with no conjunction gives the impression of a passing observation which registers no striking distinction among them.

Across the tracks was the electric train, empty, waiting. (Munro, 2012, p. 1)

The phrase in the underline contains two words – an adjective “empty” and a verbal adjective “waiting” – both modifying the noun phrase “the electric train.” The two adjectives describe different aspects of the same train. The lack of a coordinating conjunction allows the writer to dissociate these characteristics of the train, making the emptiness felt more intensely and prolonging the wait.

I am the Captain of the Pinafore.

And a right good captain, too. (Munro, 2012, pp. 17-18)

In this example, the second line starting with the coordinating conjunction “and” affirms the information already stated in the first line, elaborating on the characteristics of the Captain of the Pinafore.

#### 5.4 Evaluation

Parallel structure is found to be flouted to set the tone of informality, particularly in spoken language, and to project the speaker’s evaluation of the situation, usually in a predictive or speculative manner. The three instances are as follows:

Here, I’ve got some things I’ve written out about the kids here and what I was thinking you might try to do with them. (Munro, 2012, p. 6)

The above example contains faulty parallelism. The noun phrase “the kids here” and the noun clause “what I was thinking you might try to do with them” are connected with the coordinating conjunction “and”, thus constituting a marked parallel structure as the two constituents (the noun phrase and the noun clause) are usually regarded as syntactically unequal. Coupled with the use of a wh-clef (i.e. “what I was thinking...”), the tone of spoken informality is hinted despite the fact that the sentence is delivered by a figure of authority (Alister).

He began to talk about thoracoplasty. Of course, removal of the lobe had also become popular recently.

“But don’t you lose some patients?” I said. (Munro, 2012, p. 15)

In this example, the use of marked parallelism registers Vivien’s speculation about the efficiency of thoracoplasty. It shows that in spite of the popularity of the practice, Vivien did not have full confidence in its effectiveness.

#### **Reliability**

In order to affirm the reliability of the analysis, the researcher acted as an intra-rater by making a re-analysis of the 12 speeches with at least a 7-day interval for each speech.

In addition, a native English speaker acted as an inter-rater by analyzing 3 randomly selected speeches from this study according to the study’s framework. Over 90% of the rater’s analysis corresponded with the researcher’s findings.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reports the findings of the study. As stated in Chapter I, the purpose of this research study is to analyze the use of the parallel structure including both the unmarked structure and the marked structure at the syntactic level in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents.

The research findings are reported in two sections: the first section concerns the characteristics of the use of syntactic parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents as well as the characteristics of the marked parallel structure found in the speeches, and the second section concerns the purposes for flouting the parallel structure in the speeches, in order to answer all the three research questions as follows:

1. What are the characteristics of the use of syntactic parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents?
2. Where the marked parallel structure is found in the U.S. presidents' inaugural speeches, how is the parallel structure flouted?
3. What are the purposes for flouting the parallel structure in the U.S. presidents' inaugural speeches?

#### **Findings**

In response to the first and second research questions, the results are illustrated in terms of frequencies and percentages as in the following table.

**Table 1 Overall information of the use of the unmarked structure and the marked structure of the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents**

President	Total														
	Unmarked Parallel Structure*						Marked Parallel Structure**						%		
Un/M	1	2	3	4	5	6	sum	%	1	2	3	4		5	sum
1. George Washington (1789)	63	46	4	7	-	-	57	90.48	3	2	1	-	-	6	9.52
2. Thomas Jefferson (1801)	95	77	8	-	-	1	85	89.47	4	5	1	-	-	10	10.53
3. Abraham Lincoln (1861)	164	131	5	12	3	-	151	92.07	9	-	3	-	1	13	7.93
4. Franklin Roosevelt (1933)	80	62	3	2	-	2	70	87.50	3	6	-	-	1	10	12.50
5. John F. Kennedy (1961)	68	44	3	-	1	-	49	72.06	9	7	1	-	2	19	27.94
6. Richard Nixon (1969)	93	50	1	8	-	1	62	66.67	4	24	-	1	2	31	33.33
7. Ronald Reagan (1981)	128	83	14	4	-	1	104	81.25	9	15	-	-	-	24	18.75
8. George H. W. Bush (1989)	161	88	6	3	2	4	107	66.46	27	21	3	2	1	54	33.54
9. Bill Clinton (1993)	96	56	7	1	-	2	68	70.83	16	10	-	2	-	28	29.17
10. George W. Bush (2001)	121	81	5	3	-	2	91	75.21	5	22	-	1	2	30	24.79
11. Barack Obama (2009)	177	112	10	7	-	2	135	76.27	10	21	3	2	6	42	23.73
12. Donald J. Trump (2017)	93	60	12	-	-	2	74	79.57	7	6	1	-	5	19	20.43
Total	1,339	890	78	47	6	16	1,053	78.64	106	139	13	8	20	286	21.36

+

**Note: \*Remark 1: Unmarked Parallel Structure**

1. Two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions
2. A series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row
3. A comparison
4. Elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also”
5. The listing comma can replace the conjunction “and” when two or more adjectives independently modify a noun.
6. A semicolon can be used between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted

**\*\*Remark 2: Marked Parallel Structure**

1. Starting a sentence with a conjunction
2. No coordinating conjunction between constituents
3. Unparalleled constituents
4. Incomplete conjunction
5. Multiple conjunctions

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the unmarked parallel structure and of the marked parallel structure in the inaugural speeches of the twelve U.S. presidents as well as the frequency of each characteristic. Explanations and examples of these characteristics in each speech are given below.

1. For the inaugural speech of George Washington, the total of 63 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 57 (90.48%) unmarked cases and 6 (9.52%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’ while the characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of starting a sentence with a conjunction’, followed by the use of ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’ and ‘unparalleled constituents’ respectively. No cases of ‘incomplete conjunction’ and ‘multiple conjunctions’ are found in the speech.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Washington’s inaugural speech are as follows:

“...*I was summoned by my Country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love...*” (Unmarked parallel structure: Two words joined by a coordinating conjunction)

“...*And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United Government...*” (Marked parallel structure: Starting a sentence with a conjunction)

2. For the inaugural speech of Thomas Jefferson, the total of 95 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 85 (89.47%) unmarked cases and 10 (10.53%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’ while the characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’, followed by ‘starting a sentence with a conjunction’ and ‘unparalleled constituents’ respectively. No cases of ‘incomplete conjunction’ and ‘multiple conjunctions’ are found in the speech.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Jefferson's inaugural speech are as follows:

"... *I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire.*" (Unmarked parallel structure: Two words joined by a coordinating conjunction)

"...*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...*" (Marked parallel structure: no coordinating conjunction between constituents)

3. For the inaugural speech of Abraham Lincoln, the total of 164 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 151 (92.07%) unmarked cases and 13 (7.93%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is 'the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions', followed by 'the use of comparison' and 'a series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row' respectively.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is 'starting a sentence with a conjunction', followed by 'unparalleled constituents' and 'multiple conjunctions' respectively. No cases of 'no coordinating conjunction between constituents' and 'incomplete conjunction' are found in the speech.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Lincoln's inaugural speech are as follows:

"...*that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered...*" (Unmarked parallel structure: Two words joined by a coordinating conjunction)

"...*In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself...*" (Unmarked parallel structure: A comparison)

"...*And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance...*" (Marked parallel structure: Starting a sentence with a conjunction)

4. For the inaugural speech of Franklin Roosevelt, the total of 80 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 70 (87.50%) unmarked cases and 10 (12.50%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’, followed by ‘the use of comparison’ and ‘the use of the listing comma to replace a conjunction’ respectively.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’, followed by ‘starting a sentence with a conjunction’ and ‘multiple conjunctions’ respectively.

No cases of ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’ and ‘unparalleled constituents’ are found in the speech.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Roosevelt’s inaugural speech are as follows:

“... *I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our people impels ...*” (Unmarked parallel structure: Two words joined by a coordinating conjunction)

“...*they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action.*” (Unmarked parallel structure: the use of the listing comma to replace a conjunction)

“...*it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort.*” (Marked parallel structure: No coordinating conjunction)

5. For the inaugural speech of John F. Kennedy, the total of 68 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 49 (72.06%) unmarked cases and 19 (27.94%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’, followed by ‘the use of comparison’, ‘the use of an elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also”’ and ‘the use of a semicolon between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted’ respectively.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘starting a sentence with a conjunction’, followed by ‘no coordinating

conjunction between constituents’, ‘multiple conjunctions’ and ‘unparalleled constituents’ respectively. No cases of ‘incomplete conjunction’ are found in the speech.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Kennedy’s inaugural speech are as follows:

“...*We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom...*”

(Unmarked parallel structure: Two phrases joined by a coordinating conjunction)

“...*Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world...*”

(Marked parallel structure: Unparalleled constituents)

“...*where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved...*” (Marked parallel structure: Multiple conjunctions)

6. For the inaugural speech of Richard Nixon, the total of 93 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 62 (66.67%) unmarked cases and 31 (33.33%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’, followed by ‘the use of comparison’, and ‘a semicolon between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted’ respectively.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Nixon’s inaugural speech are as follows:

“...*without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything...*” (Unmarked parallel structure: Semicolon between independent clauses)

“...*to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart...*” (Marked parallel structure: No coordinating conjunction).

7. For the inaugural speech of Ronald Reagan, the total of 128 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 104 (81.25%) unmarked cases and 24 (18.75%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’, followed by ‘a series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional

phrases and clauses in a row' and 'the use of comparison' respectively. Only one case of 'the listing comma' is found and no case of 'the use of correlative conjunctions' is found at all.

Two characteristics of the marked parallel structure are found: starting a sentence with a conjunction and no coordinating conjunction between constituents.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Reagan's inaugural speech are as follows:

*"...this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunity for all Americans..."* (Unmarked parallel structure: The listing comma in place of 'and')

*"But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending"* (Marked parallel structure: Starting a sentence with a conjunction)

*"In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem."* (Marked parallel structure: No coordinating conjunction between constituents)

8. For the inaugural speech of George H. W. Bush, the total of 161 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 107 (66.46%) unmarked cases and 54 (33.54%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is 'the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions'.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is 'starting a sentence with a conjunction'.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in George H. W. Bush's inaugural speech are as follows:

*...There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts and in our history..."* (Unmarked parallel structure: Two phrases joined by a coordinating conjunction)

*"...And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day; for today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact..."* (Marked parallel structure: Starting a sentence with a conjunction)



9. For the inaugural speech of Bill Clinton, the total of 96 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 68 (70.83%) unmarked cases and 28 (29.17%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘starting a sentence with a conjunction’, followed by ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’ and ‘incomplete conjunction’ respectively. No cases of ‘unparalleled constituents’ and ‘multiple conjunctions’ are found.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Clinton’s inaugural speech are as follows:

*“America has never been united by blood, birth or soil”* (Unmarked parallel structure: A series 3 or more words)

*“The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born”* (Marked parallel structure: no conjunction between constituents)

10. For the inaugural speech of George W. Bush, the total of 121 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 91 (75.21%) unmarked cases and 30 (24.79%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’. No cases of ‘unparalleled constituents’ are found.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in George W. Bush’s inaugural speech are as follows:

*“Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws.”* (Unmarked parallel structure: Two phrases joined by a coordinating conjunction)

*“It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along.”* (Marked parallel structure: no coordinating conjunction between constituents)

11. For the inaugural speech of Barack Obama, the total of 177 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 135 (76.27%) unmarked cases and 42 (23.73%) marked cases.

Moreover, the characteristic of the unmarked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’. ‘The use of elements joined by correlative conjunctions’, however, is not found at all.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Obama’s inaugural speech are as follows:

“...*as well as the generosity and cooperation...*” (Unmarked parallel structure: Two words joined by a coordinating conjunction)

“...*They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions...*” (Unmarked parallel structure: Comparison)

“*Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered.*” (Marked parallel structure: no coordinating conjunction between constituents)

12. For the inaugural speech of Donald J. Trump, the total of 93 cases of the parallel structure are found, with 74 (79.57%) unmarked cases and 19 (20.43%) marked cases.

Only 3 features of the unmarked parallel structure are found, namely ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’, ‘a series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row’ and ‘the listing comma’, with the first being the most frequently used.

The characteristic of the marked parallel structure with the highest frequency is ‘no coordinating conjunction between constituents’, which is closely followed by ‘starting a sentence with a conjunction’.

Examples of the unmarked parallel structure and the marked parallel structure in Obama’s inaugural speech are as follows:

“*We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.*” (Unmarked parallel structure: Two clauses joined by a coordinating conjunction)

*“Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.”* (Unmarked parallel structure: A series 3 or more items)

*“...the world, for many, many years to come...”* (Unmarked parallel structure: The listing comma in place of ‘and’)

*“... But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future...”* (Marked parallel structure: Starting a sentence with a conjunction)



**Table 2 The frequency of the use of the unmarked parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents**

<b>Unmarked Parallel Structure</b>		<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
1. Two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions		890	84.52
2. A series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row		78	7.41
3. A comparison		47	4.46
4. Elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also”		6	0.57
5. The listing comma in place of the conjunction “and” when two or more adjectives independently modify a noun		16	1.52
6. A semicolon between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted		16	1.52
Total		1,053	100.00

Table 2 shows the frequencies of the use of the unmarked parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents. It reveals that the most frequently used feature of the unmarked parallel structure is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’ (84.52%). ‘The use of an elements joined by correlative conjunctions “either... or”, “neither...nor”, “both...and”, “not only...but also,”’ on the other hand, is found to be the least frequently used feature, with only 6 cases found (0.57%).

**Table 3 The frequency of the use of the marked parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents**

<b>Marked Parallel Structure</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
1. Starting a sentence with a conjunction	106	37.06
2. No coordinating conjunction between constituents	139	48.60
3. Unparalleled constituents	13	4.55
4. Incomplete conjunction	8	2.80
5. Multiple conjunctions	20	6.99
Total	286	100.00

Table 3 shows the frequencies of the use of the marked parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents. The table shows that the most frequently used feature of marked parallel structure is ‘the use of no coordinating conjunction between constituents’ (48.60%). On the other hand, the least frequently used feature of the marked parallel structure is ‘the use of incomplete conjunction’ which is found at only 2.80%.

**Table 4 The overall use of the unmarked structure and of the marked structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents**

<b>The parallel structure</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Unmarked	1,053	78.64
Marked	286	21.36
Total	1,339	100.00

According to the table 4, it can be concluded that the use of the unmarked parallel structure is found in the 12 inaugural speeches at a much higher frequency than the use of the marked parallel structure (78.64%: 21.36%). However, the frequency of the use of the latter is high enough to be noticeable; that is in every 3.68 cases of the use of the unmarked parallel structure, there is one case of the use of the marked parallel structure. It could then be said that the marked structure is seen and used fairly regularly in real communication, and that students of the English language could benefit from an awareness of such usage.

In response to the third research question, the results are presented in terms of frequencies and percentages as in the following table.

**Table 5 The frequency of the use of the perceived reasons for flouting the parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents**

<b>The perceived reasons for flouting the parallel structure</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
1. Emphasis	183	63.99
2. Exaggeration	1	0.35
3. Elaboration	75	26.22
4. Evaluation	27	9.44
Total	286	100.00

Table 5 shows the frequencies of the perceived reasons for flouting the parallel structure in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents. It reveals

that the reasons for flouting the parallel structure are for emphasis (63.99%) followed by elaboration (26.22%), evaluation (9.44%), and exaggeration (0.35%) respectively.

According to these findings, flouting for emphasis is employed at the highest frequency to underline the messages of the inaugural speeches. More than half of the cases of the marked parallel structure (63.99%) fall into this category. On the other hand, the use of exaggeration is found at the lowest frequency. Only 1 case is found (0.35%).

Explanations and examples of these features are given as follows.

### 1. Emphasis

The parallel structure is flouted for emphasis to stress the contradiction, addition, sequence and series in which each item listed is equally emphasized. For example:

“But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future”.(WhiteHouse, 2017a)

This marked parallel structure starting with a coordinating conjunction (But) is used to emphasize the contradiction of events that have already happened and those that are to happen later on. In other words, President Trump employs the marked parallelism to stress the contradiction between past and future events.

“Let us all take more responsibility, not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country.”(Clinton, 1993)

This marked parallel structure containing an incomplete conjunction (not only ... but [also]) is used to stress an addition. President Clinton flouts the parallelism in order to emphasize the importance of the responsibility every citizen should take for his/her communities and country, in addition to the responsibility he/she has for himself/herself and his/her family.

“...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". (Lincoln, 1861)

The marked parallel structure in the second sentence, which starts with a coordinating conjunction (And) is used to emphasize the sequence and continuation of events – that what happened in 1787 was part of a continued effort to unify the nation. The parallel structure is flouted to stress the sequence of these efforts.

“There are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction—drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums.”. (G. W. Bush, 1989)

In order to emphasize that welfare and demoralization could be as equally addictive as drugs, President George H. W. Bush puts the three items side by side with no coordinating conjunction. The parallel structure, therefore, is flouted.

## **2. Exaggeration**

The parallel structure is flouted for the exaggeration of speed in imitation of a quick process in only 1 instance as follows:

“The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds.” (G. H. W. Bush, 1981)

President George H. W. Bush uses a series of clauses without any coordinating conjunction. In this marked parallel structure, the president conveys an impression of a rapid sequence, which is in contrast to the actual process of gradual historical revelation, to compare the political history of the U.S. to a book, possibly a novel.

## **3. Elaboration**

The parallel structure is flouted to elaborate on the similar and/or different aspects of the object/aspect being discussed and to affirm the information already stated. For example:

“Progress may be slow—measured in inches and feet, not miles—but we will progress”. (Reagan, 1981)

This marked parallel structure omits the conjunction “but” that could emphasize the contradiction of different lengths mentioned in the statement, i.e. inches, feet and miles. In order to elaborate on the message that progress takes a long time, President Reagan instead explains this by putting the distance of miles right next to that of inches and feet without a conjunction. This gives an uninterrupted stream of different measurements of length.



“We find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness”. (Nixon, 1969)

This marked parallel structure has no coordinating conjunction between the noun phrases “the simple things” and “the basic things”. President Nixon omits a conjunction in order to explain that the simple things are indeed “basic” qualities such as goodness, decency, love and kindness.

#### **4. Evaluation**

Parallel structure is flouted to project the speaker’s evaluation of the situation, usually in a predictive or speculative manner. For example:

“And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles, there will be no compromise”. (Reagan, 1981)

This marked parallel structure features a sentence starting with a coordinating conjunction “and”. The structure reveals President Reagan’s speculation of the future, which follows the propositions he has proposed in the previous sentence. It evaluates his future policies.

“And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age”. (Obama, 2009)

In this example, President Obama employs a marked parallel structure starting with the coordinating conjunction “and” to predict the outcome of the course of actions he has proposed to perform. He predicts that following his policies, the American people will be able to increase the nation’s educational standard to compete with the changing world.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

This study investigates the use of the parallel structure (the unmarked structure) and the exceptions of this use (the marked structure) in the 12 most searched inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents in order to analyze the characteristics of use of syntactic parallel structure, observe the marked parallel structure found in the speeches, and explore the purposes for flouting the parallel structure.

The total of six features of the unmarked parallel structure has been found in the 12 inaugural speeches. Moreover, the findings show that the most frequently used feature of the unmarked parallel structure is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’, followed by ‘the use of a series of three or more words, infinitives, prepositional phrases and clauses in a row’, ‘the use of a comparison’, ‘the use of the listing comma in place of the conjunction ‘and’ when two or more adjectives independently modify a noun’, ‘the use of a semicolon between two independent clauses when a coordinating conjunction is omitted’, and ‘the use of elements joined by correlative conjunctions ‘either...or’ ‘neither...or’ ‘both...and’ ‘not only...but also’ respectively.

In addition, in terms of the marked parallel structure, the findings show that the most frequently found aspect of the violation of the parallel structure in the 12 inaugural speeches is ‘the use of no coordinating conjunction between constituents’, followed by ‘starting a sentence with a conjunction’, ‘the use of multiple conjunctions’, ‘the use of unparallelled constituents’, and ‘the use of incomplete conjunction’ respectively.

As for the final research question, the analysis reveals that the perceived reasons for flouting the parallel structure are for emphasis, elaboration, evaluation and exaggeration respectively.

Additionally, the present study has discovered that the unmarked parallel structure that is used with the highest frequency is ‘the use of two words, phrases and clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions’. Moreover, among the 12 inaugural

speeches, that of Abraham Lincoln features the highest number of unmarked paralleled items (92.07 %). This is possibly because the speech was given in 1861, and the syntactic parallelism was still more strictly observed than in formal speeches. The inaugural speech of George H. W. Bush, on the other hand, features the lowest number of unmarked paralleled items (66.46 %). The speech was given in 1989, hence quite recently in comparison with that given by Lincoln. Bush's speech, however, features a lower number of unmarked paralleled items than the more recent four speeches given by Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald J. Trump, all of which feature around 70-80 % of unmarked paralleled items. It could be said, therefore, that from the 1990s onwards, the use of unmarked parallel structure in the inaugural speeches has remained at the percentage of around 70-80.

The most frequently used feature of the marked parallel structure ('starting with coordinating conjunction') has also been found as the most frequently used feature of marked parallelism in George H. W. Bush's inaugural address.

It could also be observed that the inaugural speeches flout the parallel structure for emphasis at a much higher frequency than for other purposes. This is probably because emphasis (on the current presidential office and its promises to the people and the future of the nation led by a new leader) is intrinsically characteristic of inaugural speeches, and one way of delivering the emphasized message is through the use of marked parallelism.

It can thus be said that in deliberately flouting the parallel structure, the 12 U.S. presidents aim to lend additional emotional and intellectual weight to their linguistic delivery. They employed the marked parallel structure in real communication with their people for the effect of emphasis, elaboration, evaluation and exaggeration in their speeches.

In summary, previous studies have examined the use of parallel structure in various contexts. In general, researchers are more concerned with parallelism in the written contexts (in magazines, advertisements, novels, poems and English writing courses) than in oral communication. Their studies show that the parallel structure is used in writing in order to provide semantic contents, give emotional, rhythmic, poetic meanings, and harmonize elements across texts (Motaqed, & Annapurna, 2016). In addition, previous studies analyzing the use of parallelism in political speeches found

that parallelism was employed in order to achieve certain political purposes and to focus on certain social issues (An, 2010), and to convince the audiences and to emphasize certain political messages (Olajoke, 2015). These findings are relevant and overlapping with the findings in the present study.

Although this study employs the analytical framework suggested by Padgate (2018) who investigated the use of marked parallel structure in Alice Munro's short story "Amundsen" and has found cases where all the five types of violating the parallel structure can be applied, it is noticeable that the use of exaggeration is hardly present. Only 1 out of 286 marked incidents has been identified. This is likely due to the fact that Padgate's chosen target of analysis was of a fictional nature (a short story), that of the present study is based on real communication that does not really compromise an exaggeration (an inaugural speech). A president's exaggerated speech could easily be regarded as a lie, in other words. However, flouting the parallel structure at the rate of 10-30 % as seen in this analysis is not something that can be easily regarded as unusual. Therefore, it cannot be dismissed as a mere grammatical error. As shown in the analysis of the marked parallelism in the 12 inaugural speeches of the U.S. presidents, flouting the parallel structure is used and acknowledged by native English speakers.

Additionally, since the research findings reveal that the use of marked parallel structure is common in real communication, it is implied that the instruction of the English language could benefit from making the learners aware of such usage. The teacher should guide the learners to be aware of the use of the parallel structure and unparallel structure in their communication.

However, the present study is limited by the nature of the texts being studied – that is the inaugural speeches – which, though refined and well-planned, can be perceived as a 'spoken' form of the English language and might not be completely compatible to the investigating tools intended for written language. Further studies could be designed to investigate not only the purposes of the marked parallel structure but also to explore the purposes of the unmarked parallel structure in context. Moreover, it is recommended that interested researchers could explore in deeper details as to which marked structures serve which functions best in a more variety of texts.



**REFERENCES**

## REFERENCES

- Adams, J. (1797). Inaugural Address of John Adams. THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.
- Al-Ameedi, R. T., Mukhef, R. N. (2017). Aspects of political language and parallelism. *Language*, 8(34), 185-200.
- Al-Faki, I. M. (2014). Political Speeches of Some African Leaders from Linguistic Perspective (1981-2013). *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(3), 180-198.
- Al-Khresheh, M. H. (2011). An Investigation of Interlingual Interference in the use of 'and'. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 18(3), 426-433.
- AL-Subhi, A. S. A. (2008). Parallelism in Selected Children's Poems by Eloise Greenfield: A Stylistic Study. *Umm Al-Qura University College of Arts and Management Sciences Department of English, N.P.*(n.p.).
- An, V. T. (2010). *An investigation into syntactic and pragmatic features of parallelism in English and Vietnamese political speeches*. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Ardriyati, W. (2012). an analysis of linguistic features in the speeches of business community. *Dinamika Bahasa dan Ilmu Budaya*, 7(1), 16-27.
- Bush, G. H. W. (1981). The First Inauguration. the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C.
- Bush, G. W. (1989). Inaugural Address. January 20.
- The Chicago manual of style*. (2003). (15th ed. ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Clinton, B. (1993). First Inaugural Address Wednesday, January 21, 1993.
- Collins concise dictionary plus. (1989). *Parallel*. Glasgow: The Bath Press.
- Evergreen Writing Center. (n.d.). Parallel structure. from <https://www.evergreen.edu/sites/default/files/writingcenter/handouts/grammar/parallel.pdf>
- Franklin, M. C. W. C. (n.d.). Parallelism. from <https://www.scribd.com/document/366403791/700783120199848266-parallelism>
- Hamed, M. (2014). Conjunctions in Argumentative Writing of Libyan Tertiary Students. *English Language Teaching*, 7(3), 108-120. doi: 10.5539/elt.v7n3p108
- Hong, N. T. P. (2011). *A Discourse Analysis of Job Advertisements in English and Vietnamese*. Danang: University of Danang.

- Horvath, J. (2009). Critical discourse analysis of Obama's political discourse. *Language, Literature and Culture in a Changing Transatlantic World International Conference Proceedings*, 22-23.
- I. A., S. (n.d.). *Structural and stylistic peculiarities of Syntactic Parallelism in Modern English Drama*. N.P.: n.p.
- Ikbal, M. (2016). Syntactic Translation Strategies for Retaining Parallelism in the Arabic Translation of Moby Dick. *Issues in Language Studies*, 5(2), 44-57.
- Kathleen Jones White Writing Center. (n.d.). Parallel Structure.
- Kennedy, X. J., Gioia, D. (2007). *An introduction to poetry* (12th ed. ed.). U.S.A.: U.S.A.: Pearson Longman.
- Kousar, S. (2013). An Analysis of Verbal Parallelism in T.S. Eliot's Poem The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock. *Interdisciplinary Journal Of Contemporary Research in Busines*, 4(12), 87-96.
- Leech, G. (2006). *A glossary of English grammar*. Edinburgh: Univ. Press.
- Lillian Goldman Law Library. (n.d.). Thomas Jefferson First Inaugural Address. from [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/jefinau1.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/jefinau1.asp)
- Lincoln, A. (1861). Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln. Washington, DC.
- Literary Devices. (n.d.). Parallelism. from <https://literarydevices.net/parallelism/>
- Liu, F. (2012). Genre analysis of American presidential inaugural speech. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2(11), 2407-2411.
- Mehawesh, M. I. (2013). Grammatical Parallelism in the Translation of Advertising Texts with Particular Reference to English and Arabic. *Asian Social Science*, 9(10), 254. doi: 10.5539/ass.v9n10p254
- Mehawesh, M. I. (2017). Grammatical Parallelism in the Translation of Advertising Texts with Particular Reference to English and Arabic. *Asian Social Science*, 9(10), 254-263.
- Montgomery, M., Durant, A., Fabb, N., Furniss, T., Mills, S. . (2000). *Ways of reading advanced reading skills for students of English literature* (2nd ed. ed.). Abingdon: Oxon: Routledge.

- Motaqed, S. A., M. (2016). Advertisement Analysis: Syntactic Devices in English Magazines. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 6(10), 77-81.
- Mueller, M. (2015). *Parallelism as Repetition: A Case Study of Betti Alver's Elu on alles uus and Jälle ja jälle*. *Methis*, 13(16), 1-12.
- Munro, A. (2012, August 27). Amundsen. *The New Yorker*. from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/08/27/amundse>
- Nixon, R. M. (1969). *Inaugural Address, January 20, 1969* (Vol. 8433): Department of State.
- Nordquist, R. (2020, February 11). What Is Markedness in Language? . from <https://www.thoughtco.com/markedness-language-term-1691302>
- Obama, B. (2009). *Inaugural Address: 20 January 2009*: Thornwillow Press.
- Olajoke, A. S. (2015). A Lexical Analysis of an Inaugural Speech of the Speaker of Benue State House of Assembly in Nigeria. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 6(2), 258. doi: 10.17507/jltr.0602.03
- Oshima, A. (1999). *Writing Academic English*. England: Longman Press.
- Padgate, U. (2018). An Investigation of the Marked Parallel Structure in Alice Munro's "Amundsen". *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 9(3), 60-66.
- Pu, C. (2007). Discourse Analysis of President Bush's Speech at Tsinghua University, China. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 16(1), 205-216.
- Purdue Online Writing Lab. (n.d.). Parallel Structure. from [https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/general\\_writing/mechanics/parallel\\_structure.html](https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/general_writing/mechanics/parallel_structure.html)
- Rattanadilok Na Phuket, P. (2015). Understanding EFL Students' Errors in Writing. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 6(32), 99-106.
- Reagan, R. (1981). Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1*, 309-310.
- Rozina, G., Karapetjana, I. (2009). The Use of Language in Political Rhetoric: Linguistic Manipulation. *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 19, 111-122.
- Shamaileh, S. (2011). *The translation of parallelism in political speeches*. (PhD), Salford : University of Salford. Retrieved from <http://usir.salford.ac.uk/id/eprint/26907/>



- Sharndama, E., Mgbemena, J. (2015). The language of political discourse: A study of acceptance speeches of two presidential aspirants in Nigeria. *Research Journal of English Language and Literature*, 3(2), 19-37.
- VOA Learning English. The Power of Parallelism. (2015). The power of parallelism. from <https://learningenglish.voanews.com/a/the-power-of-parallelism/3406832.html>
- Wang, J. (2010). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Speeches. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 1(3).
- Washington's. (1789). Washington's Inaugural Address, .
- Watcharapunyawong, S. U., S. (2013). Thai EFL students' writing errors in different text types. *The Interference of the First Language. English Language Teaching*, 6, 67-78.
- Webster's dictionary of English usage*. (1989). Massachusetts: Springfield.
- Wehmeier, S. (2005). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (7th ed. ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- White House. (2008). President George Bush's Statement Regarding the Administration's Plan to Assist Automakers: Dec.
- WhiteHouse. (2001). President George W. Bush's Inaugural Address. from <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/inaugural-address.html>
- WhiteHouse. (2017a). Remarks by President Trump in Joint Address to Congress. from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-remarks-president-trump-joint-address-congress/>
- WhiteHouse. (2017b). Remarks by President Trump on the Administration's National Security Strategy. from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-administrations-national-security-strategy/>
- WhiteHouse. (2018). Remarks by President Trump to the World Economic Forum. from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-world-economic-forum/>
- Yale Law School. (1905). Inaugural Address of Theodore Roosevelt. from [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/troos.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/troos.asp)

- Yourdictionary. (n.d.). Examples of Alliteration Poems. from  
<https://examples.yourdictionary.com/examples-of-alliteration-poems.html>
- Zhang, Y. T., F. (2015). Study on Markedness in Linguistics. *Sino-US English Teaching*, 12(9), 667-671. doi: 10.17265/1539-8072/2015.09.004
- Zhao, M. (2012). The Art of Balance: A Corpus-assisted Stylistic Analysis of Woolfian Parallelism in *To the Lighthouse*. *International Journal of English Studies*, 12(2), 39-58.





**APPENDIX**

## APPENDIX

### U.S. Presidential Inaugural Speeches

1. George Washington

[April 30, 1789]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month. 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: a retreat 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. 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 dispondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, 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 in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof, of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my Country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated. 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. 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. No People can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the Affairs of men more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. 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, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. 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. By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the Great Constitutional Charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, 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 which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our National policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free Government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and

command the respect of the world. 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 as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people. Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the System, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an United and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted. To the preceeding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the Service of my Country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, 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; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the

Station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require. Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, 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 favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparelled 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.

2. Thomas Jefferson

[March 4, 1801]

Friends and Fellow-Citizens: Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens 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. 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--when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. 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 I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. 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. During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions

has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. 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 possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. 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 that, 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. 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, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. 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. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. 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. 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? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this



question. Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. 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? 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. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities. 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. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people--a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of

despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; 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. I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. 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. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be 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. Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. 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.

3. Abraham Lincoln

[March 4, 1861]

Fellow-citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office." 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. 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. 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. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read: 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 endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes. I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as

cheerfully to one section as to another. There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions: 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. 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 lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. 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? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. 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? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizen of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional. It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and

generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. 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. Again, 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? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. 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."

But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity. It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the

requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. 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. In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. 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; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections. 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, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak? Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity

of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. 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. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. 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. 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 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. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed 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. 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, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. 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. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. 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 cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after



separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the

judgment of this great tribunal of the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years. My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it." 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 battle-field 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.

4. Franklin Roosevelt

[March 4, 1933]

President Hoover, Mr. Chief Justice, my friends: This is a day of national consecration. And 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 and a decision which the present situation of our people impels. 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 has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm 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. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days. In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. 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. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment. Yet 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. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. 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 know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish. 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 measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit. Happiness lies not in the mere

possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men. Recognition of the falsity of 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. 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. Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now. Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. 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 natural resources. Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. 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. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly. Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order: there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments, so that there will be an

end to speculation with other people's money; and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency. These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress, in special session, detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States. Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment. The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure. 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. 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; that 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 is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife. 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. Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential

form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. It is to be hoped that the normal balance of Executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure. 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. But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less. We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life. We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. 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 present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it. 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.

5. John F. Kennedy

[JANUARY 20, 1961]

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens: We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom, symbolizing an end as well as a beginning, signifying renewal as well as change. For I

have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forbears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago. The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet 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. We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. 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. 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 much we pledge—and more. To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. 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. 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; and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside. To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, 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. To our sister republics south of our border, 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. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion

anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house. To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support, to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective, to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak, and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run. 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. 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. 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. 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." 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. 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. In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give



testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe. 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. 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? 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. 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. 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 here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. 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.

6. Richard Nixon

[20 January, 1969]

Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans—and my fellow citizens of the world community: I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free. Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries. This can be such a moment. Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized. The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken

centuries. In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth. For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace. Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years—the beginning of the third millennium. What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices. The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization. If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind. This is our summons to greatness. I believe the American people are ready to answer this call. The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth. We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white. We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history. No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope. Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a Nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles: "They concern, thank God, only material things." Our crisis today is the reverse. We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth. We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them. To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit. To find that answer,

we need only look within ourselves. When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness. Greatness comes in simple trappings. The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us. To lower our voices would be a simple thing. In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading. We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices. For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways—to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart—to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard. Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in. Those left behind, we will help to catch up. For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure. As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before—not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new. In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history. In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life—in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward. We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home. The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep. But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do. Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, and to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed. What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything. To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal. With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit—each of us raising it

one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing. I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself, and as exciting as the times we live in. The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny. Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole. The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents; we achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use. As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals we shall be lifted by our dreams. No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together. This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man. As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind. Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent. After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation. Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open. We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy. Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition—not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man. As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together—not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared. With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry. But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be. Over the past twenty years, since I first came to this Capital as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world. I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the hatreds, the fears that divide the world. I know that peace does not come through wishing for it—that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy. I also know the people of the world. I have seen the

hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race. I know America. I know the heart of America is good. I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer, and those who sorrow. I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon, to the cause of peace among nations. Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike: The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny. Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness. As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of earth—and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness. In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write: "To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who know now they are truly brothers." In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity—seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts. We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light. Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it, not in fear, but in gladness—and, "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers; but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man.

7. Ronald Reagan

[JANUARY 20, 1981]

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens:

To a few of us here today, this is a solemn and most momentous occasion; and yet, in the history of our Nation, it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle. Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. 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 business of our nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from 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. Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, causing human misery and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity. But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades, we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals. You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, we are not bound by that same limitation? 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. In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem. 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. But if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable, with no one group singled out to pay a higher price. We hear much of special interest groups. Our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and our factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we are sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truckdrivers. They are, in short, "We the people," this breed called Americans. Well, this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunity for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning" and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. 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. So, as we begin, let us take inventory. We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the Earth. Our Government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed. It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government. 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.

Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it. 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 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. It is time for us to realize that we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. 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. We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter—and they are on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life. I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God. 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 in theory? Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic "yes." To paraphrase Winston



Churchill, I did not take the oath I have just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy. In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow—measured in inches and feet, not miles—but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles, there will be no compromise. On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of.... On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves." Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children and our children's children. 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. To those neighbors and allies 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. 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. Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. 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. 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 that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism

and prey upon their neighbors. I am told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I am deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inauguration Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer. This is the first time in history that this ceremony has been held, as you have been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand. Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man: George Washington, Father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence. And then beyond the Reflecting Pool the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln. Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row on row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom. 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 of a place called Vietnam. Under one such marker lies a young man—Martin Treptow—who left his job in a small town barber shop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There, on the western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire. We are told that on his 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 kind of 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; 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.

8. George H. W. Bush

[20 January, 1989]

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors, and friends: There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our Nation, I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America. I have just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago, and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his. It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the Father of our Country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day; for today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: our continuity these 200 years since our government began. We meet on democracy's front porch, a good place to talk as neighbors and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended. And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads: Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank You for Your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us to remember it, Lord. Amen. I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room

called tomorrow. Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows. We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. For the first time in this century, for the first time in perhaps all history, man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves. We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity; in important things, diversity; in all things, generosity. America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil, a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good. But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice? My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it. What do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship? No President, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must. America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the Nation and gentler the face of the world. My friends, we have work to do. There are the homeless, lost and roaming. There are the children who have nothing, no love,

no normalcy. There are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction—drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life. The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet; but will is what we need. We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety. And then we will do the wisest thing of all: We will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows—the goodness and the courage of the American people. I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others, a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age. I have spoken of a thousand points of light, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I will ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. We must bring the Federal budget into balance. And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But, of course, things may be difficult. We need compromise; we have had dissension. We need harmony; we have had a chorus of discordant voices. For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great

parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other. It has been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago; and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory. A new breeze is blowing, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. To my friends—and yes, I do mean friends—in the loyal opposition—and yes, I mean loyal: I put out my hand. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker. I am putting out my hand to you Mr. Majority Leader. For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered hand. We can't turn back clocks, and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon and hard. But in the end, let us produce. The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. "In crucial things, unity"--and this, my friends, is crucial. To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow: We will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; but once made, strong, and can be used with great effect. There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands, and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here, and will be long remembered. Good will begets good will. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on. Great nations like great men must keep their word. When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps. We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment, but subtlety, too, is good and has its place. While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good, and so are strength and vigilance. Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled. But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home to an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the women who will tell

her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind. Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze. And to all I say: No matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day, you are part of the life of our great nation. A President is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek a window on men's souls. In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life. There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it: This scourge will stop. And so, there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins. I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless. Some see leadership as high drama, and the sound of trumpets calling, and sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning. The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds. And so today a chapter begins, a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity—shared, and written, together. Thank you. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

9. Bill Clinton

[20 January, 1993]

My fellow citizens: Today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. 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. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American. On behalf of our nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over Depression, Fascism and Communism. Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the Cold War assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. 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. 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. Communications and commerce are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for a better life is now universal. We earn our livelihood in peaceful competition with people all across the earth. Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world, and the urgent question of our time is whether we can make Change our friend and not our enemy. This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. 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. We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps. But we have not done so. Instead, we have drifted, and that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. And 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. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow citizens, this is our time. Let us embrace it. Our democracy must be not only the envy of the



world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. And so today, we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift; a new season of American renewal has begun. 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, 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. It will not be easy; it will require sacrifice. But it can be done, and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake, but for our own sake. We must provide for our nation the way a family provides for its children. 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 responsibility. We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand responsibility from all. It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing, from our government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility, not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country. To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy. This beautiful capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. 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 pays our way. Americans deserve better, and in this city today, there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of us here, let us resolve to reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. 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 renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well at home. There is no longer division between what is foreign and what is domestic; the world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race; they affect us all. Today, as an old order passes, the new world is more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly America must

continue to lead the world we did so much to make. While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges, nor fail to seize the opportunities, of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us. When our vital interests are challenged, or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act; with peaceful diplomacy when ever 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. Across the world, we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands, are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause. 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. Now, we must do the work the season demands. 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. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service; to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done; enough indeed for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too. In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth: we need each other. And we must care for one another. Today, we do more than celebrate America: 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 long heroic journey must go forever upward. And so, my fellow Americans, at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin with energy and hope, with faith and discipline, and let us work until our work is done. The scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season, we shall reap, if we faint not." 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.

10. George W. Bush

[January 20, 2001]

Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens: 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. As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation; and I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace. I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, in a long story. 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 slaveholding 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. It is the American story. A story of flawed and fallible people, united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born. Americans are called upon to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws; and though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course. Through much of the last century, 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. Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country, it is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along; and even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel. While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth; and sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent, but not a country. 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." I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves who creates us equal in His image and we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward. America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them; and every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American. Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation's promise through civility, courage, compassion and character. America, at its best, matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness. 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. 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. 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. This commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment. America, at its best, is also courageous. Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defending common dangers defined our common good. 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. Together, we will reclaim America's schools, before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives; we will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent; we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans; we will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge; and we will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake, America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom. 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. America, at its best, is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our nation's promise. 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. The proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls. Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers, they are citizens, not problems, but priorities, and all of us are diminished when any are hopeless. Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government. 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. Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty, but we can listen to those who do. I can pledge our nation to a goal, "When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side." America, at its best, is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected. Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats, it is a call to conscience. Though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options, but in commitments. We find that children and community are the commitments that set us free. Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency which give direction to our freedom. 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." The most important tasks of a democracy are done by everyone. 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." In all of these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times. 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, building

communities of service and a nation of character. Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves, but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it. 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." 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. And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm. God bless you all, and God bless America.

11. Barack Obama

[20 January, 2009]

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. I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition. Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. 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. 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 forbearers, and true to our founding documents. So it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans. 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 further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet. These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land — a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, and that the next generation must lower its sights. 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. 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; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness. In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. 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. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things — some celebrated but more often 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 Sanh. 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. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions; greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction. 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. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America. For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. 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. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. 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. All this we can do. All this we will do. Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions — who suggest that our system cannot 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. What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them — that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. 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. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account — to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day — because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government. Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched, but this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control — and that a nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our Gross Domestic Product, but on the reach of our prosperity; on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart — not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. 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. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and that we are ready to lead once more. Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint. We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort — even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense, and for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken; you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you. For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus — and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and 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; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace. To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. 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. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history; but that we will extend a hand if you

are willing to unclench your fist. 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. 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. For the world has changed, and we must change with it. As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service; a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet, at this moment — a moment that will define a generation — it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all. For as much as government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate. 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. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. 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. 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 — 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 sixty years ago

might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. So let us mark this day with remembrance, of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words be read to the people: "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. Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

12. Donald J. Trump.

[20 January, 2017]

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you. We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done. Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you. Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning, because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the people. For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government, while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs, and while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land. That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is your moment—it belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today, and everyone watching, all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration, and this, the United States of America, is your country. What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people. January 20th, 2017 will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country, will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of our citizens a different reality exists. Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories, scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation, an education system flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge, and the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one nation and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. The oath of office, I take today, is an oath of allegiance to all Americans. For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own. And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the

millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world. But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future. We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power, from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down. America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth, and we will bring back our dreams. We will build new roads and highways and bridges, and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor. We will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for everyone to follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth. At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice. The Bible tells us: how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity. We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear. We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement. And most importantly, we will be protected by God. Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no longer accept

politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again. We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions. It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget, that whether we are black, or brown, or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same, great American flag. And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator. So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love, will forever guide us along the way. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And yes, together, we will make America great again. Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you. God bless America.