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*Journal of Artistic  
Creation & Literary  
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**Volume 3 Issue 1 (July 2015) Article 3**

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**Recommended Citation**

Carrasco, Andrea. "President Obama: Analysis of his Inaugural Addresses." *JACLR: Journal of Artistic Creation and Literary Research* 3.1 (2015): 18-32

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**Abstract:** Barack Obama was elected the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States on November 4, 2008, and sworn in on January 20, 2009, he was re-elected in 2012 and he sworn in for the second time on January 21, 2013. He was the first African-American President of the United States of America and he took office amid one of the worst recessions in decades. He represented hope and change as well as a new age of politics. The Inaugural addresses are the speeches given by presidents expressing their intentions the day they are sworn in. The research question in this paper focuses on the similarities or differences between the two Barack Obama's Inaugural Addresses by analysing the lexical density, the use of the we pronoun, the references to moral values and to authority, the representation of the United States and finally the employment of the Journey metaphor.

**Keywords:** Barack Obama, Discourse Analysis, Inaugural Address, Politics, Linguistic Tools, Similarities and Differences.

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**Andrea CARRASCO**

## **President Obama: Analysis of his Inaugural Addresses**

### **O. Introduction**

#### **Background and preview: aim of paper**

Inaugural addresses are the speeches given by presidents expressing their intentions as leaders the day they are sworn in. Each time a president in the United States pronounces his Inaugural Address, the whole country keeps the attention of the world.

Barack Obama's first Inaugural Address was highly expected, and both Inaugural Addresses are very significant. In 2009, it was the first time an African-American was elected as the President of the United States of America and he was also the president who took office amid one of the worst recessions in decades. Obama represented hope and change for American people but also for the rest of the world. It would be helpful to describe some aspects of his life.

Barack Hussein Obama Jr. is described on the White House's webpage (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/president-obama>) as the "American story". He was raised in a middle-class family where the values to get ahead were hardwork and education. He was born in Hawaii on August 4, 1961. His father was a Kenyan government official and former goat herder and his mother was an anthropologist from Kansas.

He was raised by his grandparents and worked his way through college through student loans and scholarships. He graduated of Columbia University and Harvard Law School where he was the first African-American president of the Harvard Law Review. He practiced civil rights law and taught Constitutional law at the University Of Chicago Law School since 1992 until 2004. Being first elected to the Illinois State Senate in 1996 and then to the United States Senate in 2004.

He began his first presidential campaign in 2007, defeating on November 4, 2008 the Republican Party's candidate, John McCain. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Price on October 9, 2009. In domestic policy, he advocated for economic stimulus legislation and one of his mayor initiatives was the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. In foreign policy he ended U.S military involvement in the Iraq War and increased military presence in Afghanistan, he ordered the military operation that resulted in the death of Osama bin Laden.

On November 6, 2012 Barack Obama was re-elected and was sworn in for a second term on January 20, 2013. Since Newtown's Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, Obama has been promoting policies of gun control in the United States as well as he has called for full equality of gays and lesbians.

Obama is well known for his orator skills as well as for being a charismatic leader. His clarity of speech, together with his calmness and frankness, make his words important and influential. He represents a new age of politics by making people feel as if he were addressing them individually.

#### **1. Preview of research questions**

Inaugural Addresses of United States presidents are significantly important for Americans. The day the presidents are sworn in office is the culmination of the presidential transition.

Barak Obama's first Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2009 is highly significant, not only because he is the first African-American president of the United States but also because he took office during an economic recession. Obama called to restore responsibility using traditional references to reinforce "old values" such as honesty, courage

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or patriotism. The second Inaugural Address took place on January 21, 2013. It was the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. In this speech Obama called for equality, laws to combat climate change, enactment of immigration reform and gun control.

The research question in this paper focuses on the similarities or differences between the two Inaugural Addresses. After the first four years in term, it is assumed that President Obama has passed through different circumstances that might make him to change his political message in the second Inaugural Address. Barack Obama might have changed the type of lexicon used in the speeches, he could also have changed the way of addressing the people and the way of describing the United States and the American people. He could also have modified the way he makes reference to moral values and sources of authority. Moreover, the use of effective stance strategies could have changed and the journey metaphor is supposed to have experienced a progression.

### 1.1. Linguistic phenomenon: object of study and theoretical framework

The object of study are the following linguistic phenomena:

- The similarities and differences in *lexical density* and in the use of positive and negative terms, this aspect influences the tone of the message.
- The use of *inclusive we* and *exclusive we*. Pronouns are employed to establish social groups and to reinforce social identities. The pronoun *we* is frequently used by Barack Obama.
- The attributes adopted to refer the United States. There is a tendency in countries such as the United States to use positive self-presentation which emphasizes values as equality, tolerance and democracy.
- Moral values: references to God and family. These principles are used to create emotional climate. Religion and family are powerful forces in American life, and therefore, they are significant in political speeches where it is common to reserve the conclusion to religious language.
- References to authority: discourses are completed by giving evidence, Barack Obama include quotations and allusions to credible sources to support his claims.
- The use of effective stance strategies indicate the position of the speaker, his needs and desires in terms of the realization of events.
- The Journey metaphor conceptualizes political concepts involving leadership and political action. It is frequently used in situations in which a message of unity is required.

## 2. Critical review of literature

There is considerable previous research dealing with the analysis of Barack Obama first Inaugural Address, for instance the analysis done by Wang (2010) where the subjects of study are the Victory and the Inaugural Address, the analysis is based on Critical Discourse Analysis theory and Systematic Functional Linguistics, the presidential speeches are mainly analyzed from the point of transitivity and modality. Besides there are research papers dealing with the comparison between the speeches of George W. Bush and those of Barack Obama, for instance the Critical Discourse Analysis from a postcolonial perspective done by Viberg (2011) where the author analyses the usage of the pronouns *we* and *you* and compares the references to biblical themes, freedom and war in George W. Bush second Inaugural Address and Barack Obama first Inaugural Address. And finally the research analyzing speeches on terrorism carried out by Sarfo and Krampa (2013); the paper analyses the role of terrorism and anti-terrorism language in Bush and Obama discourses.

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This is the first time the two Inaugural Addresses are subjects to analysis, they will be compared in terms of the differences in lexical density, the use of the pronoun we, how is defined the U.S. the references to God, family and authority and the use of the journey metaphor.

The strategic use of pronouns is of particular relevance to the investigation of political discourse (Fairclough, 1995). According to (Helmbrecht, 2002) the prototypical use of we pronouns is to establish social groups by reinforcing social identities. *Inclusive we* is defined as a group including speaker, hearer and possibly some other people while *exclusive we* is defined as a group including the speaker but excluding the hearer (Mühlhäusler, 1990).

Parliamentary speeches may begin with long sections of *positive self-presentation* in the form of nationalist glorification (Van Dik, 2002: 156). This is a practice used in countries such as the United States, Great Britain, Germany or France. In *positive self-presentation* certain values such as hospitality, equality, tolerance and democracy are emphasized through positive lexicon and topics (Van Dijk, 1997: 36).

The United States lack an official state religion, however, since the Second World War, religious language in presidential inaugural addresses has become more explicit. Religion remains a powerful force in all matters of American life and there is high observance especially among older Americans (Watts, 2003: 12). American political rhetoric include religion, but normally it is reserved to particular parts of the structure, usually the conclusion (Chilton P. A., 2004: 174). The rhetorical and symbolic power of religion is used to legitimize the authority of the new president each time a presidential oath is taken. God and family are considered important values of the American society, the use of them create emotional atmospheres suggesting unity and reminding the first years of the country.

Discourses are typically completed through various sources it is common to other forms of text or talk that are explicitly referred for exemplifying or for giving evidence or opinions. The term intertextuality is used in various ways in discourse analysis. It could be defined as the relationship between a text and an embedded quotation, or explicit reference to another text, or even an allusion. Therefore references to authority are considered as intertextuality since they are examples of quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts.

The use of effective stance strategies indicate the position of the speaker in terms of the necessity or desirability of the realization of events. In other words, it refers "to the ways in which the speaker/writer carries out a stance act" with the intention of having a persuasive effect. (Marín-Arrese J. I., 2009, 2011a, 2011b). Among the effective stance markers there are deontic modals, modals of possibility and volitive modals, assessments that express desirability or requirement, attitudinal expressions showing intention or commitment and predicates used with a directive illocutionary force such as imperatives.

## **METAPHOR THEORY**

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4) "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action". Metaphors are part of human conceptualization and not simply a linguistic expression. Our everyday realities are shaped through our conceptual system which is largely metaphorical, therefore the way we think, we experience or we act is very much a matter of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors consist on source domains mapped onto target domains (Kövecses, 2010). Mapping is a process where experience from the source domain is mapped onto the target domain, this process is unidirectional that is that it only goes from source domain to target domain. The source domain is from where we draw on our experience and knowledge to understand and explain the target concepts that we refer to in the metaphorical expressions.

For instance political concepts involving leadership and political action are conceptualized by movement or journey metaphors. The examples of journey metaphors will be analysed based on the conceptual metaphor theory described by Lakoff & Johnson in their

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book *Metaphors We Live By*. Most people are familiar with journey domain; in journeys there are travellers who go toward a destination, taking specific ways and finding obstacles.

### 3. Hypotheses and research objectives

The hypothesis I am principally focusing on is that President Barack Obama has changed to some extent his political message after his first four years in term. If it is true, it is expected that there would be some differences between the two Inaugural Addresses.

On the basis of this hypothesis, this paper aims to show the similarities or differences in *lexical density*, to explore the use of *inclusive we* and *exclusive we*, to show the representation of the United States used by Obama in respect to America and Americans, to investigate rhetorical and coercive strategies used through moral values in respect to God and family and the *references to authority*, to explore the use of *effective stance* strategies in urging for action and to examine the use of the *Journey metaphor* in both Inaugural Addresses.

The research objectives are described below. The paper will examine the two Inaugural Addresses in order to reveal the degree to which there are similarities and differences with respect to the following linguistic elements:

- Use of lexical elements in the discourses: lexical density, terms with positive and negative connotations.
- Use of the pronoun we: inclusive we and exclusive we.
- Representation of the United States: attributes used to define America and the American people.
- Moral values of the American society: references to God and family.
- References to authority: quotes, references and allusions to credible sources.
- Use of effective stance strategies: deonticity, attitudinal expressions (volitive modality) and directive expressions (imperatives).
- Exploitation of the journey metaphor: type of metaphorical expressions which instantiate the JOURNEY METAPHOR.

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Corpus and materials: description of data used for analysis.

The samples for the analysis consist of the transcripts of the two President Obama's Inaugural Addresses taken from the webpage of the White House. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/>)

The first one was delivered on 20 January 2009, this was the first time he spoke to the American nation after he was elected the 44th president of the United States of America. ([http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/President\\_Barack\\_Obamas\\_Inaugural\\_Addresses](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President_Barack_Obamas_Inaugural_Addresses))

The second speech was pronounced on 21 January 2013 after his re-election as president of the United States of America. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inaugural-address-president-barack-obama>)

### 4.2 Procedure: description of research design.

Firstly the transcripts of the Inaugural Addresses were examined, then the most interesting areas to be treated were highlighted. Once the aspects were decided I worked on several copies from the speeches to separate the different topics.

I used the program Monoconc for instance to find out about the *lexical density* of both Inaugural Addresses, to calculate how many pronouns *we* there were and separate them from the rest of the text. Then I automatically marked every occurrence of the *pronoun*

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we in the copy of the text and I separated the sentences containing it from the rest of the text to make easier the distinction between *inclusive we* and *exclusive we*.

After that, I automatically marked every sentence where the word journey appeared and I separated it, then I looked for verbs and nouns that could be related to the *Journey metaphor* and I highlighted them.

The references to moral values were highlighted and the references to authority were marked and indicated, to complete this last part I needed to check former presidents' addresses and biblical references.

Finally the effective stance markers were highlighted and marked to make easier the division among types.

## 5. Results and discussion

### Lexical density

Table 1 is a frequency list in which there are sorted the top-ten words of each Inaugural Address with their frequency. It is highly significant the change in words such as nation, which does not even appear in the top-ten of 2013 speech, and people which increases the number of repetition. The 2013 Inaugural Address table shows that there is a reiteration of words such as people, country, together or citizens conveying a message of unity within the country whereas the 2009 Inaugural Address table illustrates that the repetition of words as nation, world, today and day means that the day Barack Obama was elected as president there would be a change for the nation and for the world.

**Table 1: Top-ten words in each Inaugural Speech**

2009 Inaugural Address			2013 Inaugural Address		
Lexical Choice	Nº	R	Lexical Choice	Nº	R
Nation	12	0.4981%	People	11	0.5213%
America	10	0.4151%	Time	10	0.4739%
People	7	0.2491%	America	8	0.3791%
World	7	0.2491%	Country	7	0.3318%
Time	6	0.2906%	Together	7	0.3318%
Today	6	0.2906%	American	6	0.2844%
Day	5	0.2076%	Citizens	6	0.2844%
Generation	5	0.2076%	Freedom	6	0.2844%
God	5	0.2076%	Generation	6	0.2844%
Spirit	5	0.2076%	Journey	6	0.2844%

Tables 2 and 3 show the change in positive and negative terms in the two discourses. It was expected that there would be a major difference in amount of positive or negative terms in each speech; however what has been found is that the amount of positive terms in the speeches is higher than the amount of negative ones. It is assumed that Barack Obama might had avoided in both discourses the use of negative terms to send a more positive message.

It can be seen that in 2009 President Obama urged the nation calling for hope, peace and freedom, giving importance to prosperity. The subject of the discourse was to overcome the crisis and the hard times. It is highly significant the amount of repetition of the word "new" indicating that it was time for a new era.

In 2013 President's aim was to join the citizens of the country, the whole speech draws on the importance of unalienable rights: life, freedom and pursuit of happiness. The use of words with similar connotations as freedom and liberty highlights the value of unalienable rights. It is significant that Obama hardly mentions the word crisis in the second speech although he does mention the word "war" which connotes a negative image.

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**Table 2. 2009 Inaugural Address: Positive and negative terms**

2009 Inaugural Address					
Lexical choice positive term	Nº	R	Lexical choice negative term	Nº	R
New	11	0.4566%	Crisis	4	0.2491%
Greater	4	0.2491%	Force	3	0,1245%
Peace	4	0.2491%	Hard	3	0,1245%
Forward	3	0,1245%	Conflict	3	0,1245%
Freedom	3	0,1245%	Face	3	0,1245%
Hope	3	0,1245%	False	3	0,1245%
Prosperity	3	0,1245%	Fear	3	0,1245%
Bless	2	0,0830%	War	3	0,1245%

**Table 3. 2013 Inaugural Address: Positive and negative terms**

2013 Inaugural Address					
Lexical choice positive term	Nº	R	Lexical choice negative term	Nº	R
Equal	6	0.2844%	War	3	0.1422%
Freedom	6	0.2844%	Face	2	0.0948%
New	6	0.2844%	Hard	2	0.0948%
Liberty	5	0.237%	Harm	2	0.0948%
Happiness	4	0.1896%	Poverty	2	0.0948%
Well	4	0.1896%	Against	1	0,0474%
Free	3	0.1422%	Avoid	1	0,0474%
Peace	3	0.1422%	Battle	1	0,0474%
Truths	3	0.1422%	Betray	1	0,0474%

### Use of we pronoun

**Table 4: Number of we pronouns**

	2009 Inaugural Address	2013 Inaugural Address
<i>Inclusive we</i>	37	43
<i>Exclusive we</i>	24	23

The pronoun *we* is frequently used in both Inaugural Addresses. In table 4 it is shown that the amount of *inclusive we* is higher in both speeches than *exclusive we*. Barack Obama is inviting American people to take responsibility for the duties and achievements of the nation. The pronoun *we* conveys a unifying message as well as showing closeness to the people on the part of Obama. It can also be seen that in 2013 the use of this pronoun has increased, President Obama uses the opening words from the United States Constitution "we, the people" and besides Obama includes phrases such as "You and I as citizens" "and together".

### Attributes of the United States

In both Inaugural Addresses there are many similarities in the use of attributes in reference to the United States. For instance in 2009 Inaugural Address, America is described as a "young nation" (1) that has earned it "greatness" (2). And it is also defined the most affluent

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and mighty (3) in the world, it is a friendly nation as well (4). Almost at the end of the discourse Obama provides a summary of the values that should govern America (5).

- (1) "We remain a **young nation**."
- (2) "In reaffirming the **greatness of our nation** we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned."
- (3) "We remain **the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth**."
- (4) "And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, [...] know that **America is a friend of each nation**, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity."
- (5) "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."

In the 2013 speech, President Obama states that American people are exceptional due to their trust in the words from the Declaration of Independence (6). He also declares that the possibilities of America have no end because America is young, diverse, open and able to be reinvented (7). He also says that America's purpose is to reward the efforts of the Americans.

- (6) "What makes us **exceptional** -- what makes us **American** -- is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago:  

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that **all men are created equal**; that they are endowed by their Creator **with certain unalienable rights**; that among these are **life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness**."
- (7) "**America's possibilities are limitless**, for we possess all the **qualities** that this world without boundaries demands: **youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention**."
- (8) "But while the means will change, our purpose endures: **a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American**. That is what this moment requires. That is what will give real meaning to our creed."

## Moral values

### *References to God*

In respect to moral values, there are also similarities between the two speeches. Firstly Barack Obama makes reference to the Bible and to the Declaration of Independence (9). It can be seen many times in the speech how Obama makes reference to the extraordinary American faith and spirit (10). It is important to highlight that this is the first time a President of the United States acknowledges non-believers in his discourse (11). Almost at the end the President addresses directly to America saying that God is looking after them (12). And finally there is the renowned pretext used by American presidents to conclude their speeches (14).

- (9) "But in the words of **Scripture**, the time has come to set aside childish things. [...] **the God-given promise** that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness."



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- (10) "The **faith** and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies."
- (11) We are a nation of **Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers.**
- (12) "[...] 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."
- (13) "Thank you. **God bless you.** And **God bless the United States of America.**"

In his 2013 Inaugural Address Obama describes unalienable rights as a gift from God (14). Then the president exemplifies the American belief by using the example of a little girl (15). In reference to global warming and climate change Obama says that the United States must lead a transition to sustainable energy sources because it is a task commanded by God (16). And finally the remarkable concluding sentence that is common in the speeches of the American presidents (17).

- (14) "For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they've never been self-executing; that while freedom is a **gift from God**, it must be secured **by His people** here on Earth."
- (15) "We are true to our **creed** when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just **in the eyes of God** but also in our own."
- (16) "That is how we will preserve our planet, **commanded to our care by God.** That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared."
- (17) "Thank you. **God bless you,** and may **He forever bless these United States of America.**"

### ***References to Family***

Dealing with the references to family, it has been found that the 2009 Inaugural Address allude many times to the different generations of Americans for instance in (18) and (19). At the end of the discourse the President makes reference to America's birth and George Washington as the father of the country.

- (18) "So it has been; so it must be with **this generation of Americans.**"
- (19) "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."
- (20) "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. [...] At the moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, **the father of our nation** ordered these words to be read to the people"

In the 2013 speech President Obama gives importance to education in (21) as well as to equality for every American as in (22) and (23).

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- (21) "No single person can train **all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our children for the future**, or build the roads and networks and research labs that will bring new jobs and businesses to our shores. Now, more than ever, we must do these things together, as one nation and one people."
- (22) "We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work; **when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else**, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own."
- (23) "[...] For our journey is not complete until **our wives, our mothers and daughters** can earn a living equal to their efforts. Our journey is not complete until our **gay brothers and sisters** are treated like anyone else under the law for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. [...] until bright **young students** and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. Our journey is not complete until **all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.**"

#### References to authority

Both Inaugural Addresses have direct and indirect quotations from different sources. The first reference Obama makes (24) is to the Bible, he refers to Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians (13:11)<sup>1</sup>. At the end of the speech President Obama directly quotes Thomas Paine's words from *The American Crisis* (Paine, 1819: 16) (25), these words were ordered by George Washington to be read to his troops during the American Revolution.

- (24) "We remain a young nation. But in the words of **the Scripture**, the time has come to set aside **childish things**"
- (25) "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."

At the beginning of his 2013 Inaugural Address, President Obama directly quotes the words from the Declaration of Independence (26). Then in the discourse Obama refers to two of Abraham Lincoln's speeches. The first words from the next quotation are from Abraham Lincoln's second Inaugural Address delivered in 1865<sup>2</sup>; and the latter words from the "House Divided"<sup>3</sup> speech from Lincoln's campaign for the senate in 1858. Finally Obama makes allusion to Seneca Falls Convention, the first women's rights convention in New York (1848), to Selma, Alabama, where peaceful civil-rights marchers were attacked by police and Stonewall riots which spawned the modern gay rights movement (1969); and finally the President makes reference to Martin Luther King's speech "I Have a Dream (1963)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I gave up childish ways" (1 Cor. 13:11 English Standard Version)

<sup>2</sup> "Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until **every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword**, [...]" (Lincoln, 1991: 107)

<sup>3</sup> "I believe this government cannot endure permanently **half-slave and half-free.**" (Lincoln, 1991: 25)

<sup>4</sup> "And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. **We cannot walk alone.**"

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- (26) "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."
- (27) "Through **blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword**, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive **half-slave and half-free**."
- (28) "We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths—that all of us are created equal—is the star that guides us still, just as it guided our forebears through **Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall**, just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, **to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone**, to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth."

### Effective stance

The use of effective stance strategies is quite similar in both speeches. However the 2009 Inaugural Address presents a higher number of attitudinal stance markers whereas 2013 displays more deontic stance markers.

Marín-Arrese (2011) classifies within deonticity the deontic modals and modals of possibility and necessity. The deontic modals that there are in the 2009 speech are related to necessity as obligation (*must*), as in (29) and (30), and participant-internal modality (*can*) (30):

- (29) "So it has been; so it **must** be with this generation of Americans."
- (30) "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."

The deontic modals found in the 2013 speech are related to the necessity as obligation (*must*) and participant-internal modality (*cannot*):

- (31) "But America **cannot** resist this transition, we **must** lead it. We **cannot** cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries, we **must** claim its promise."
- (32) "We **cannot** mistake absolutism for principle, or substitute spectacle for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. We **must** act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. We **must** act, knowing that today's victories will be only partial [...]"

Marín-Arrese (2009, 2011) also classifies volitive modality (*will*, *will not*) as attitudinal expressions which bear a commissive force of a promise.

Volitive modals express inclination, intention or commitment as in (33), (34) in 2009 speech and (35) in the 2009 address.

- (33) "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'll 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."

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- (34) "We **will not** apologize for our way of life, nor **will** we waver in its defense."
- (35) "We **will** respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations."

The use of imperatives with a directive illocutionary force are classified as directives. The forms found usually restricted to the grammatical let form (Marín-Arrese, 2009, 2011). Both examples come at the end of each speech as a recapitulation of the intentions that President Obama has for each term.

- (36) "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."
- (37) "**Let us**, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, **let us** answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom."

### Journey Metaphor

The life is journey metaphor is most significantly used in political discourses. In Obama speeches the image of a united country being on a journey is a very common one. (Lakoff, 1992)

Source: Journey	Target: life
Travellers	America (or Americans)
Destination	Social goal
Obstacles	Difficulties experienced
Distance covered	Progress made

This metaphor is used in situations in which it is required a message of unity as in 2009 Inaugural Speech examples. President Obama regards life as a journey full of ways, routes, and paths (38); he also depicts life as a progression, the life-steps of those who decided to travel to America (39). This sense of life as a progression can also be seen applied to long distances walked in the sense of how the difficulties had been overcome by the entire nation (40). At the end of the discourse appears the idea of follow the fixed horizon meaning the established goals.

- (38) "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 that 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 labour, who have **carried us up** the **long, rugged path** towards prosperity and freedom."
- (39) "For us, they **packed up** their few worldly possessions and **travelled** across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops, and **settled** the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sahn."

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- (40) "So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and **how far** we have **travelled**."
- (41) "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."

In the second speech the journey metaphor is introduced through the anecdote of the patriots to explain the struggles faced by the first Americans and how they became aware that they had to work together as a nation (42). In (43) President combines the idea of community with people walking together on a journey through history mentioning three historical events in civil rights progress: Seneca falls, New York city 1848; the civil rights march in Selma, Alabama in 1965; and the Stonewall Inn, the site of early gay rights protest in new York city in 1969.

- (42) "We made ourselves anew, and vowed to **move forward** together."
- (43) "We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths – that all of us are created equal – is the star that **guides** us still; just as it **guided** our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; just as it **guided** all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left **footprints** along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that **we cannot walk alone** to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably **bound** to the freedom of every soul on Earth."

## 6. Conclusion

After the analysis of the two Inaugural Addresses, it has been found that in the second Inaugural Address the President Barack Obama is trying to send a message of unity, it can be seen that he is more focused on the people that inhabit the country rather than in the country as a whole.

Both speeches show many similarities in the use of lexicon, the use of moral values, the references to authority and the way the United States is represented through the attributes used by Obama. Some of the main differences are for instance the increase of the use of the we pronoun or the stance markers of effective stance. The high number of attitudinal stance markers in the 2009 speech are related with the intentions and plans that Barack Obama had when he took office for the first time. The growth of the use of inclusive we in his 2013 speech is associated with a message of 'togetherness'.

Thus it can be said that the political message of President Obama has changed to a certain extent with the passing of time. After solving some of the problems America had when he took office, Obama aims to join the nation to overcome the new challenges that the new era entails. He wants to make real the unalienable rights from the Declaration of Independence which are life, freedom and the pursuit of happiness.

In the future it would be interesting to compare the speeches of the first term in office of President Obama with others from the second phase. One of the aspects that could attract more attention is to explore the use of inclusive we and exclusive we throughout his periods in term. It would also be interesting to explore the use of the journey metaphor in Obama's career.

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## APPENDIX

### Inaugural Address by President Barack Hussein Obama Jan 20, 2009

My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.

I thank President Bush for his service to our nation -- (applause) -- 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 forebears 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, 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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 that 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 Sahn.

Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. 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



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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. (Applause.)

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our 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'll 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. The 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 the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (Applause.)

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers -- (applause) -- our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that 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 sake. (Applause.)

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 we are ready to lead once more. (Applause.)

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the 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'll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet.

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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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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 role 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 the 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 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. (Applause.)

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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 the moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words to 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. (Applause.)

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### **Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama Jan 21, 2013**

United States Capitol

THE PRESIDENT: Vice President Biden, Mr. Chief Justice,

members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens:

Each time we gather to inaugurate a President we bear witness to the enduring strength of our Constitution. We affirm the promise of our democracy. We recall that what binds this nation together is not the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names. What makes us exceptional -- what makes us American -- is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they've never been self-executing; that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. (Applause.) The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. They gave to us a republic, a government of, and by, and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed.

And for more than two hundred years, we have.

Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free. We made ourselves anew, and vowed to move forward together.

Together, we determined that a modern economy requires railroads and highways to speed travel and commerce, schools and colleges to train our workers.

Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and fair play.

Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable, and protect its people from life's worst hazards and misfortune.

Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority, nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone. Our celebration of initiative and enterprise, our insistence on hard work and personal responsibility, these are constants in our character.

But we have always understood that when times change, so must we; that fidelity to our founding principles requires new responses to new challenges; that preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action. For the American people can no more meet the demands of today's world by acting alone than American soldiers could have met the forces of fascism or communism with muskets and militias. No single person can train all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our children for the future, or build the roads and networks and research labs that will bring new jobs and businesses to our shores. Now, more than ever, we must do these things together, as one nation and one people. (Applause.)

This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. A decade of war is now ending. (Applause.) An economic recovery has begun. (Applause.) America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention. My fellow Americans, we are made for this moment, and we will seize it -- so long as we seize it together. (Applause.)

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For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. (Applause.) We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class. We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work; when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own. (Applause.)

We understand that outworn programs are inadequate to the needs of our time. So we must harness new ideas and technology to remake our government, revamp our tax code, reform our schools, and empower our citizens with the skills they need to work harder, learn more, reach higher. But while the means will change, our purpose endures: a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American. That is what this moment requires. That is what will give real meaning to our creed.

We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. We must make the hard choices to reduce the cost of health care and the size of our deficit. But we reject the belief that America must choose between caring for the generation that built this country and investing in the generation that will build its future. (Applause.)

For we remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn.

We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us at any time may face a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away in a terrible storm. The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. (Applause.) They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great. (Applause.)

We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations. (Applause.) Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires and crippling drought and more powerful storms.

The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. We cannot cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries, we must claim its promise. That's how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure -- our forests and waterways, our crop lands and snow-capped peaks. That is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared.

We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war. (Applause.) Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered by the flames of battle, are unmatched in skill and courage. (Applause.) Our citizens, seared by the memory of those we have lost, know too well the price that is paid for liberty. The knowledge of their sacrifice will keep us forever vigilant against those who would do us harm. But we are also heirs to those who won the peace and not just the war; who turned sworn enemies into the surest of friends -- and we must carry those lessons into this time as well.

We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law. We will show the courage to try and resolve our differences with other nations peacefully -- not because we are naïve about the dangers we face, but because engagement can more durably lift suspicion and fear. (Applause.)

America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe. And we will renew those institutions that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad, for no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation. We will support democracy

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from Asia to Africa, from the Americas to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom. And we must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice -- not out of mere charity, but because peace in our time requires the constant advance of those principles that our common creed describes: tolerance and opportunity, human dignity and justice.

We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths -- that all of us are created equal -- is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth. (Applause.)

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts.

(Applause.) Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law -- (applause) -- for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. (Applause.) Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. (Applause.)

Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity -- (applause) -- until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country.

(Applause.) Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.

That is our generation's task -- to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness.

Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time. (Applause.)

For now decisions are upon us and we cannot afford delay. We cannot mistake absolutism for principle, or substitute spectacle for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate.

(Applause.) We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. We must act, knowing that today's victories will be only partial and that it will be up to those who stand here in four years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to us in a spare Philadelphia hall.

My fellow Americans, the oath I have sworn before you today, like the one recited by others who serve in this Capitol, was an oath to God and country, not party or faction. And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our service. But the words I spoke today are not so different from the oath that is taken each time a soldier signs up for duty or an immigrant realizes her dream. My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride.

They are the words of citizens and they represent our greatest hope. You and I, as citizens, have the power to set this country's course. You and I, as citizens, have the obligation to shape the debates of our time -- not only with the votes we cast, but with the voices we lift in defense of our most ancient values and enduring ideals. (Applause.)

Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom.

Thank you. God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America. (Applause.)

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