

An Evaluation of The Inauguration Speech Made by His Excellency The President of Kenya on 28th November, 2017.

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ABSTRACT

An inauguration speech in any political set up seeks to give an assertion of the round map on how to address issues that directly impact on the electorate. It should also be a timely moment to thank those who voted you into office. For the speech to be described as an all encompassing one it should appeal to all people regardless of their tribe, skin colour, religion or political affiliation. This paper looks at the inauguration speech which was made by His Excellency the President Honourable Uhuru Kenyatta who is the President of the Republic of Kenya on 28th November 2017 during his swearing in Ceremony. The speech could have been seen to have been made in on an effort to elevate and justify Uhuru's re-election both locally and internationally. Uhuru's first victory was challenged by the National Super Alliance in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court annulled the election citing irregularities and illegalities in the election process. The primary objective of this paper is to find out how the speech pacified the electorate who felt that his re-election was supposed to be rubbish since a majority of voters did not cast their ballots. The paper would also wish to establish how the speech appealed to the locals especially those who did not support H. E. Uhuru during the campaigns and even in the casting of the ballot. Further, the paper would also wish to establish how the speech appealed to the people living beyond borders who had harboured negative feelings about Uhuru's re-election. Lastly, the paper strived to find out the rhetoric in H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's speech that appeals to the audience. This paper draws upon mostly primarily source the inauguration speech which will be downloaded online from the Government of Kenya website. The data will be analyzed qualitatively since the researcher will only describe the parts of the speech that have elements of pacifications both locally and internationally and those that appealed to t. The paper adopts a rhetorical analysis to discourse analysis. The results showed that the president pacified the electorate who did vote for him through the elements of education, healthcare, economy, democracy and international community. Further the results revealed that the president appealed to the ethos, pathos and logos of the electorate. Again, he uses the first person plural pronoun 'we', scriptural reference and repetition of words and phrases to appeal to the voters who never supported his re-election bid.

Keywords: pacify, inauguration speech, re-election, annulled, the Supreme Court

INTRODUCTION

Language is used to come up with policies, shape and hand down values that define political alliance to put in place legal systems, formulate policies associated with the government language. Therefore, language plays a central and key role in politics. The language used in the political arena is described as political discourse.

According to Maalej (2012), political discourse is designed to foster agreement or approval about a certain world view or ideology in an effort to discourage negative feelings of dissent and disapproval. This can be achieved by persuading those who are against the mainstream ideology to adopt a different mindset.

National addresses are types of political discourse. Dijk (1997) describes discourse as political when it has a direct functional role as a form of political action in the political process. They are the most crucial activities under the umbrella of presidential public relations. (Schaefer, 1999). One such crucial address is the inaugural speech. An inaugural speech can be defined as a speech happening as part of an official ceremony or celebration when someone such as a newly elected official begins an important mission. Campbell et. al (1992) defines inaugural speech as the address by the president elect during the inauguration ceremony. The inaugural speeches are important tools in political communication for they are given at the beginning of the term and they give a platform for sharing not only nationals' thoughts but also vision. Like other ceremonial speeches, inaugural speeches have two functions; first, to explain how the world is socially built to the audience since it is a commencement address, secondly, to share and shape the community's ideals. (Wolvin, et. al 1999). Additionally, Campbell et. al (1990) came up with five important functions of the inaugurals. Firstly, inaugurals unite the listeners by constituting once more the people who can witness and okay the ceremony, further, inaugurals present opportunities for rehearsals of communal values which are drawn from the past time. Thirdly, they set beforehand the political principles that will govern the new administration. Additionally, the scholars advance that most importantly the inaugurals unify the audience.

Background

Uhuru Kenyatta is the fourth and current President of Kenya. He was born into a political and wealthy family on October 26, 1961, to Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first President, and Mama Ngina. Uhuru received his early education from the St. Mary's school, Nairobi. After his high school studies, he was enrolled at the Amherst College in the United States where he pursued Political Science and Economics. He got married to Margaret Wanjiru Gakuo in 1991 and were blessed with three children; Jaba Kenyatta, Jomo Kenyatta, and Ngina Kenyatta. In 1997, he was elected as the branch chairman of KANU. He contested for a parliamentary seat but lost the election in December 1997. In 1999, Uhuru was appointed the Chairman of the Kenya Tourist Board, by Moi. In 2001, he was nominated by President Moi for a parliament seat, later appointed as Minister for Local

Government. In 2002, he was KANU Presidential bearer but some of the KANU members left the party to support opposition leader, Mwai Kibaki who won the election. Between 2003 and December 2007, Uhuru was the opposition leader in the parliament. In 2005, Uhuru was elected the Chairman of KANU and in 2007, he backed Mwai Kibaki for re-election. Initially, Kenyatta was Minister for Local Government in January 2008 but later when a coalition government was formed, Uhuru was appointed as the Deputy Prime Minister. In 2009, he became the Minister for Finance until January 2012. He left KANU and launched a new party, The National Alliance in April 2012, later forming an alliance known as the Jubilee Coalition. In 2013, he vied and won the Presidency and supervised the implementation of a new government administrative unit of countries which replace the previous unit of Districts.

In the last 8th August 2017, Uhuru Kenyatta vied presidency on Jubilee Coalition ticket defeating Raila Amollo Odinga the candidate of National Super Alliance. However, this election was nullified on the basis of illegalities and irregularities cited during the hearing of the case in the Supreme Court on 1st September 2017. The Supreme Court had ordered the IEBC to hold another presidential election within sixty days of the ruling. The ruling of the Supreme Court was historical since in Africa and over the world, no presidential election had ever been nullified. Another presidential election was held on October 26th, 2017. This, however, was marred with a low voter turnout of 38%. The low voter turnout notwithstanding Uhuru was announced the winner after amassing a total number of 98% of the vote. This win did not go unchallenged. A total of four petitions were filed against Uhuru's. Unanimously, the court determined that the petitions were unmerited thus dismissed. The country then organized an inauguration ceremony which took place on November 28, 2017, at Kasarani stadium, Nairobi. This is when the speech under study was delivered by the President elect.

Study aims

The aim of this study is to achieve the following objectives:

1. To find out how the speech of H.E Uhuru Kenyatta pacified the electorate who felt that he had not been constitutionally re-elected.
2. To establish the linguistic strategies that H.E Uhuru Kenyatta used in the inaugural speech to appeal to the locals who did not support his re-election bid.
3. To establish the elements in H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's inaugural speech which appealed to the people living beyond borders who harboured negative feelings about his re-election.
4. To find out the rhetoric in H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's speech that appeals to the audience.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Research

This is not the first study to evaluate an inaugural speech. Several types of research have analyzed political speeches such as Al-saaidi (2015), Wang (2010), Miller (2014), Onaoniyi (2012), Amanda

(2011), West (2014), McClay (2017), and KEPSA (2017), Liu (2012). Miller (2014) did a comparative Analysis of the first Inaugural of presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Barack Obama. The following were the findings: 1) Both FDR and Obama's first Inaugurals provided American with a sense of hope and brighter future during a time when many doubted the faith of their own country. 2) Both speeches provide an insight into the history and state of the country at the time they were given. 3) Obama and Franklin were aware of the timing. 4) FDR and Obama both gave stirring inaugural addresses that provide a sense.

Amanda (2011) conducted a close Textual analysis of John Fitzgerald Kennedy's Inaugural. The finding was as follows; first, the speech had style and elegance, characterized with short sentences and eradicated use of the word "I" in order to create a sense of fellowship and unity between the speaker and the audience. Secondly, the speech was begun with a strong ethos appeal. Also, there are aspects of the president being ready for progress and strong alliances. The speech notes that plans are in to ensure that the USA remains as the powerhouse of the hemisphere and that as a state they would exercise their power in order to secure their freedom and liberty. The other finding is that rhetoric terms were used in the inaugural speech many times.

Al-saaidi (2015) examined the moves and strategies genre of the public speeches of former leaders of Al-Qaeda's bin Laden and Liberation Tiger Tamil Eelam's Prabhakaran convey their communicative purposes. The researcher noted that both speeches under analysis involved three important moves that are opening, argumentative and closure. Further, there are strategies and steps that are to be followed in the generic analysis of each move. In the opening move, Prabhakaran's speech used the traditional way of greeting in any political speech which differs from bin Laden's who used a religious salutation. The scholar noted that both speeches had closure move. Bin Laden emphasized on the crisis of the presence of the United States in Arab countries while the war between the Sinhala government and LTTE produced a crucial part in Prabhakaran's argumentation to legitimize the use of violence. However, the researcher noted that the two speakers used different ways of communication. An outstanding revelation of the study is that the choice of strategy is principally determined by what the speaker wishes to communicate. On the other hand, the occasion, the place, the audience and the subject of the speech are factors that influence the strategy chosen.

Wang (2010) undertook A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Barack Obama's Speeches. The researcher used Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. The analysis showed that Barack Obama's speech is characterized by more simple words and short sentences instead of the difficult ones. Specifically, his language is easy and colloquial. This he did with a reason to decrease the distance between him and the audience. Secondly, Obama applied transitivity in his speech to capture the governments past achievements, the present undertakings and the plans that he has for the future. With his transitivity, Obama arouses the American people's confidence toward the president and his government in the next four years. Thirdly, through modality analysis, Obama made his audience more easily to understand and accept his political speeches by using modal verbs, tense and first-person pronouns. Obama made use of the simple present tense to present the

domestic and worldwide situations spreading from political, economic and culturally concerned fields. By using simple future tense, Obama was able to lay out his following reforms and steps taken during his term. By doing so, Obama shows the government's objectives and builds the confidence of the audience.

West (2014) conducted A rhetorical analysis of President Barack Obama's Inaugural Addresses. The study revealed that President Barack Obama has a rhetorical style that differs from that the president who comes before him. Obama uses a holy rhetoric. He achieves this by referring to America as God's chosen people and stressing that America's divine destiny and responsibilities that are associated with this. Further, he holds a belief that those principles laid out by the founding fathers of America are more binding. The speech also gives an example of a broader definition of American national identity for it focuses more on shared ideas rather than a shared religion. Moreover, the findings show that President Obama's rhetoric is different in that he brings out.

Dastpak, et. al (2015) studied Obama's Political speech. The aim of the research was to establish the persuasive strategies and the incognito belief system of President Obamas's Public speech. The researcher used Fairclough's Framework Critical Discourse Analysis Approach. The results showed that Obama's speech could be condensed into pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity. Further, the use of specific scriptural reference is an endeavour by Obama to spread the idea and belief system of affection that is the scripture references by Obama reinforces the thought of solidarity and charitable affection among the different individuals from the American various societies. Moreover, the basic subject of the discourse is the need to be enlivened and engaged by the American heroic past.

Onaoniyi, et. al (2012) conducted a pragmatic Analysis of Victory and Inaugural speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua. The study was basically on the pragmatic functions of locution, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts of the speeches. The researcher found out that: 1) Umaru Musa Yar' Adua relied more on sentences that performed assertive acts than the other speech acts. 2) the speaker used the sentences that were vindictive and a directive to affirm his authority and exercise his power as the president. 3) The sentences that were expressive had the least Overall Relative Frequency Percentages, thus the president did not at a large extent exploit the sentences which expressed that his intentions were sincere.

McClay (2017) conducted a descriptive analysis of Donald Trump's Campaign Speeches. The following were the findings; firstly, Trump used the strategy of US vs. them as a means of distancing and delegitimizing the Establishment and foreigners, also, Trump uses appraisements, back grounding and suppression and misallocation of roles to legitimize his ideology and right to the presidency. Further, through the speech, Donald Trump asserts that America is weak because of the benign ineptitude and outright malicious corruption and greed of the Establishment. Another finding is that through the speech, the appalling ideology of racism, paranoia and xenophobia that unfairly and dishonestly draws false connections with immigrants, foreigners and political opposition come out.

Liu (2012) undertook a Genre Analysis of American Presidential Inaugural Speech. The scholar's aim was to reveal the communicative purpose of the genre of American Presidential Inaugural Address (APIA). The findings were that most of the speeches had the following eight moves as the possible generic; salutation, announcing entering upon office, articulating sentiments on the occasion, making pledges, arousing patriotism in citizens, announcing political principles to guide the new administration, appealing to the audience and resorting to religious power.

Mahmoud et al. (2014) studied the first inaugural address of President El-sis, to investigate the persuasive strategies and linguistic strategies. The study adopted a rhetorical and linguistic perspective. Results of the study showed that the address made use of the artist proofs which are identical to those proposed by Aristotle that is, appeal to Pathos, logos, and Ethos.

KEPSA (2017) conducted an analysis of H.E President Uhuru Kenyatta's Inauguration speech. The analysis revealed the ten key themes that the President promised to enhance; unity and nationhood, strengthening education, continued engagement with the international community, improving governance in public institutions, re-engineering the agricultural sector to improve food security and cushion the country against the vagaries of weather, value addition and job creation, supporting manufacturing sector, creation of jobs and opportunities for the youth, strive to achieve 100% Universal Healthcare coverage for all households and increase affordable housing.

Theoretical framework

The current study used Aristotle's model of Ethos, Pathos, and Logos and Atkinson's (1984) Linguistic strategies. It is important to note that the two approaches are used to analyze political speech. Secondly, they view political address as a spoken discourse prepared and delivered by a speaker to an audience to achieve a specific purpose. Further, the two approaches provide a theoretical framework that meets the purpose of the current study since it consists of a linguistic analysis and a rhetoric one. The sub-section that follows gives the theoretical framework of the current study.

Rhetoric analysis

In doing a rhetoric analysis, one has to identify the basic ingredients for persuasion. Over two millennia ago, a Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote a lot on the art of rhetoric which he sees as a crucial part of human activity. Aristotle defines rhetoric as an art of speaking which applies to all forms of human communication. Over time, rhetoric was associated with politics, government and persuading people. Assmundson notes that rhetoric, as described by Aristotle, seems to have great significance in the world of persuasion. While in the process of defining rhetoric, Aristotle came up with three means of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos. This paper focused on establishing how the President appeals the audience through his speech.

Ethos is the appeal to ethics through giving reasons and traits why the author is a trustworthy

source of information. Ethos' involves making the speaker seem credible by a way of displaying practical intelligence, a virtuous character, and goodwill (Assmundson, 2008). A speaker who appeals to the audience by means of ethos he/she does so by using a stance which is morally correct. Ethos in discourse can be identified by looking for words or expressions which bring out the speaker's integrity, intentions or character. Some of these expressions are: I am sure, I believe, I am convinced, let me give you an assurance.

Mahmoud (2015) notes that Ethos is employed in order to establish a relationship between the deliverer of the speech and his/her audience. In this understanding, this means is founded on the character of the speaker his/her good will, virtue, practical wisdom, and credibility. Pathos is the appeal to emotions by trying to convince the audience through the creation of an emotional response. Assmundson describes Pathos shortly as the process which leads to the creation of positive emotions and connotations in the minds of the audience. Emotions are powerful means of modifying our judgments. It is likely that a positive suggestion will be more readily received well by listeners or readers than a message which has a negative connotation. To identify 'pathos' in a discourse, an analyst/researcher should search for expressions, words, and ideas as well as any comments that create positive emotions. For example, expressions which praise, which encourage proper plans, action words such as accomplish, success, achieve and words such as family, 'we' and together stir a positive response and help in the maintenance of hopeful mood. Aristotle characterized this means by pleasure and by pain. Since emotions are cognitive by nature, they enable people to make evaluations that influence opinions and judgments.

Logos is the appeal to reason/rational and logical thinking by trying to convince the audience through reasoning. Logos involves persuasion by a means of reasoning. Logos is the principle of appealing the audience by, making use of logical arguments. Persuasion by logos is the easiest to detect within the discourse. A speaker who appeals by logos uses if-then expressions, concrete numbers, results, and data or specific plans and theories that give a definite flow of the speaker's ideas. Aristotle notes that the logos appeal is an obligation in speech for each speech represents a set of ideas which are based on arguments. The ideas form a basis on which judgment based on everyday experience can be made.

Atkinson's linguistic strategies

Politicians use different methods that underlie their effective performance. As a result, people can notice that some speakers inspire their audience while others do not. Atkinson's linguistic strategies as highlighted by Mahmoud (2015) include three elements listing; repetition, contrastive pairs, religious citation technique, the use of specific grammatical structures and the skillful use of the first personal plural pronoun 'we'.

Miller notes that one of the strategies that Obama connects with his audience is the use of plural third person 'we'. The use of 'we' lessens the gap between the President and the audience by including him as a citizen of America. This strategy enables him to be at the same level facing the same everyday struggles as ordinary citizens, in the eyes of the listeners. According to Halaman

(2008) the use of the first plural personal pronoun 'we' is a simple but powerful inclusion strategy. Korhonen (2017) noted that the use of 'we' by Trump in his inauguration builds a sense of unity. Dastpak et. al (2015) notes that the first person plural pronoun 'we' has a general strength and it is a way of showing that solidarity is required especially in the season of national danger. Another linguistic strategy as brought out by Dastpak et. al (2015) is using the scriptural references in order to reinforce the thought of solidarity and charitable affection among the different individuals from the American various societies.

The notion of pacification

Pacification is from the word pacify, which means to make someone who is angry or upset be calm or satisfied. Pacification is an attempt to create or maintain peace. It's a means carried out by a government to keep the peace or end a conflict. It can also be defined as the act of appeasing someone or causing someone to be favourably inclined. Tho (1980) defines pacification as the military, political, economic and social process of re-establishing local government which is responsive to and involving the participation of the people. It encompasses the provision of sustained, credible security, the assertion or re-assertion of political control and involvement of the people in the government and the initiation of economic and social activity which is able to self-sustain and expand.

Pacification should be geared towards advancing the; democratic process, the economic development, healthcare and social betterment. The economic element of pacification could include transforming squatters into landowners, creating conducive environments for Agriculture, improving means of transport and communication. In health and education element of pacification, efforts are concentrated on illiteracy elimination possibly by making primary and secondary school affordable, provision of free medical care and improving sanitation. The pacification from this perspective could also include the erection of more classrooms, dispensaries, maternity wards, recruitment and training of teachers, nurses and technicians. The democratic element would strive to do away with injustice and social vices and ensure all citizens are given equal opportunities for advancement and equal protection under the law.

METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative in nature and the speech will be analyzed by employing Aristotle's three-tier approach and Atkinson's (1984) linguistic strategies with the aim of identifying the ways in which H.E Uhuru Kenyatta pacified and appealed to the people living within Kenya who did not support his re-election bid and those living beyond borders. The speech was downloaded from the government of Kenya website.

The data

The data selected for analysis is the inaugural speech of President Uhuru Kenyatta which was delivered on 28th November 2017 at the ceremony marking his inauguration as the fourth president

of Kenya at Kasarani Stadium. The choice of this speech as a sample text for the study is because of two reasons. First, it captures the inaugural address of President Uhuru Kenyatta after his re-election following the nullification of the first Presidential Election held on August 8th, 2017. Secondly, it gives us a true reflection of the President's sentiments as he took the oath of office when the country was divided on the basis of political affiliation.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The following are the findings of the evaluation of the inaugural speech by H. E. Uhuru Kenyatta. Analysis of how H.E Uhuru Kenyatta appeals to those living beyond borders: He appeals to them in the following ways; by calling them *'Kenya's friends in the international community*. He promises to *'strengthen the economic ties and bilateral and multilateral relations*. Notes that they *'will fight together to free the world of international terrorism*. He calls Africans *'my fellow Africans'*. Directs that any African visiting Kenya *would get a visa at the port entry*, Promises receding of political balkanization and negative politics of identity and expansion of brotherhood to include more Africans. Addresses the East African community as *'our Brothers and Sisters'...our closest friends.* Uses the phrases *'brothers and sisters'* twice and compares them with Kenyans by using the phrase *'your Kenyan brothers and sisters'* twice. H.E Uhuru Kenyatta extends an invitation and goodwill to the East African community by assuring them that they would need an identity card to *"...to work, do business, own property, farm...find a willing partner, marry and settle in Kenya. Further, he reminds the East African Community that they will be subjected to the same rule of law just like Kenyans. "...You shall be subject to the same rules and laws as your brothers and sisters.'* From this part of the inauguration speech, H.E rules out any form of discrimination regardless of religion or skin colour. He does not differentiate between those who supported him and the ones who did not. By doing so he appeals to those living beyond borders who did not support his re-election bid.

Another linguistic strategy that H.E Uhuru Kenyatta uses to appeal to all including those who never supported his bid for re-election is the use of first plural person pronoun *'we'*. As noted by other researchers, the use of *'we'* is a show of a unified front and that the President identifies with the audience as part of them, facing the same challenges. In the speech, the first person plural pronoun *'we'* is used 88 times. Some of the phrases in which the first plural person *'we'* is used is as listed: *We may have... We may say... We thank him... We overcame... We faced... We have resolved... We have sworn... We have lived... We disagree... We have deviated... We are a people... We should not destroy...* From these findings it can be advanced that H.E. did not exclude those who never voted for. He refers to them as part and parcel of the decision makers. Through this strategy the president appeals to all the electorate regardless of whether they voted for him or not.

Another strategy that the President uses to appeal to the people is a scriptural reference. Some of the examples from the inaugural speech are: *'.....I remind every Kenyan that God commands us to love and protect our neighbour.'* This scripture is drawn from the book of Mark 12:31. He does this to involve mutual co-existence of Kenyans regardless of the community they come from. He

urges Kenyans to be each others' brother's keeper(Luke 17:1-4). Again, H.E Uhuru referred to the scripture in the book of Psalms 106:1 he thanks the 'Almighty God' in the very beginning of his speech. The President also quotes the scriptures in the book of Isaiah 43:2, that 'When you pass through the waters, I shall be with you. When you pass through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you, when you walk through fire, the flames will not consume you.' H.E Uhuru also says that 'Our God is faithful' scriptures from the book of 1 Corinthians 1:9 and Deuteronomy 7:9. This finding reveals that H. E. Uhuru acknowledges that there is a power beyond the political power that was bestowed on him upon his re-election as the president of Kenya. The scriptures apply to all regardless of their political affiliation. Based on this assertion, it follows that the president was able to appeal those who never supported his bid for the presidency.

The President addresses all the sectors in the country: education, agriculture, healthcare, democracy, economy and international relations. Pacification, as noted above, can be done through the elements of the economy, health, education, and democracy. Some of the phrases and clauses in H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's speech which meet democracy element of pacification are; *engage judiciary to address the protracted delays in our justice system, Keep to rule of law, The law must reign supreme, The law must be the refuge for every Kenyan, None of us should break outside the law or constitutional order, Refers to the constitution which acknowledges the supremacy of the Almighty God of all creation, All our expectations are delivered, some in our favour and some against but that is democracy and the rule of law, Our constitution is no piece of paper, but rather the living expression of our desire to live under the rule of law.* H.E notes that for us to 'build a united, stable and prosperous Kenya, every Kenyan should 'keep to the rule of law. H. E. Uhuru presents himself as a law abiding citizen an aspect.

The following clauses and phrases from H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's speech enhance the pacification element of economy; *Every county is a centre of economic development, We will grow and sustain this manufacturing sector and raise its share of the national cake from 9 to 15%, develop sub-sectors, agro processing, textiles and apparel, leather processing, construction materials, innovation and IT, mining, and extractives, value addition: value-and-job creation, key trading partners: enables Kenyans to get the most out of their products, innovate negotiations to open new international markets for our products and to attract even more new investment, re-engineer our agricultural sector in order to be food secure, invest in securing our water towers and river ecosystems to harvest and sustainably exploit the potential of water resources, address idle arable land ownership and utilization, facilitate large scale commercial agriculture to help diversify our staples, create vibrant economies, means of economic prosperity, creation of 1,000 small and medium scale enterprises in agro-processing, build on ongoing efforts, such as the Vw and Peugeot motor-vehicle assembly plants. Fertilizer blending industries, creating job opportunities for our young population, we have built a firm foundation for economic takeoff, our business environments have made us the fastest, improving business environment anywhere in the world, we have risen 56 places in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index, from 136th to 80th, building an entirely new world-class railway system...kilometres of access roads to connect producers to markets, connected thousands of schools and millions of homes to electricity.*

The other element of pacification that H.E Uhuru Kenyatta brings out in his speech is the health element. The health element is brought out by use of the following phrases and clauses;... *have begun to transform health care delivery, free maternity programme, see the delivery of our children as a life-threatening experience, expansion of public hospital infrastructure and the transformation of NHIF have improved access to quality health care for millions of Kenyans...6.8 million beneficiaries of NHIF medical cover, target 100% universal Healthcare coverage for all households*

President Uhuru Kenyatta pacifies the audience by assuring them of access to the education element. This is achieved by the use of the following phrases and clauses in his inauguration speech; *reformed our education system, restored the credibility of our exams, made education the great equalizer by removing exam fee, providing digital learning devices, reviving our technical and vocational training*

H.E used the strategy of inclusivity to appeal to those who did not vote for him. This aspect of inclusiveness is depicted in the following clauses... *the Kenyan voter has been the most important player in the election, Everyone who voted played a role in strengthening our democracy,-We may have chosen different candidates, and different visions, but each of us voted for a better life,-Listened to my competitors, and in the spirit of inclusivity, I will endeavour to incorporate some of their ideas, The election was not a contest between a good dream and a bad dream; it was a contest between two competing vision. I believe that those who voted for me chose the better vision,-This, however, does not invalidate the aspirations of those who did not vote for me, To be the keeper of the aspirations of those who voted for me and those who did not, I will be the President of all,-I will devote my time and energy to build bridges to unite and bring prosperity to all Kenyans,-You won the confidence of Kenya's voters – some of the most discerning anywhere in the world, Serving Kenyans without regard to political affiliation or choice, Every Kenyan deserves our full attention, Kenyans have shown their resilience in calming the passions that accompany political competition. the path to a better future is unity and leaving no one behind, I have begun reaching out to all leaders across the political divide, restarting my willingness to work with them.*

Another way which H.E expresses inclusivity by use of phrases such as *brothers and sisters,fellow Kenyans, my fellow Kenyans*, Kenyan voter refers to all as 'You, Kenyans, Every Kenyan ladies and gentleman, fellow citizens'.

H.E Uhuru Kenyatta appeals ethos at the audience especially those who never supported his bid. This comes out through the use of the following clauses as propagated by (Ammundson 8).. *I believe... is used six times, I know...You will agree with me...I know that we can build*. These clauses present the president as a confident leader who is convinced that every undertaking is achievable with determination.

As noted in the theoretical framework, H.E Uhuru used if-then expressions, concrete numbers, results, data or specific plans and theories that give a definite flow of the speaker's ideas to appeal to the audience logos. If-then expression is';...I believe we must address ourselves to if we are going to build a united, stable and prosperous Kenya for all.' Concrete numbers in the speech are; *123rd day since we began...56 places...500,000 Kenyans...5 months...700 campaign meetings...62 percent of all Governors; 61 percent of all Members of National Assembly, 58 percent of the Senators; 55 percent of the membership of the county assemblies, 5 years...100% universal healthcare...Twenty minutes...Two hours...6.8 million beneficiaries...13 million Kenyans...500,000 new homeowners...1000 small and medium scale enterprises...50 years...He uses these concrete numbers to make the audience to have confidence in him thus appealing to them.* It is clear that the president is aware of the exact numbers of the various nouns that he refers to. He appeals to the electorate by referring to definite number of what he talks about. This way he rules out any case of guesswork thus appealing to all as leader who is sober and is definitely aware of what he is talking about. If -then clauses sets conditions to all regardless of their political alignments.

H.E gives data and results in his speech. Some instances include: 'Today is the 123rd day since we began. Today's inauguration marks the end of our electoral process'...*Entrenching devolution which has led to the delivery of government to the people....Firm foundation for the economic take-off has resulted in becoming the fastest, improving business environment anywhere in the world. In three years, we have risen from 56 places in the World Bank's resulted in new businesses which can be shown. ...Connections of thousands of school children can study at night...Kathingiri primary school having a mean score of 404 in 2017 results are seventy-one exam candidates sent to national schools. Expansion of public hospital infrastructure and transformation of NHIF resulted to improved access to quality healthcare for millions of Kenyans....62% of all Governors, 6% of all MPs, 58% of all Senators and 55% of MCAs should lead to the fulfilment of the Jubilee Agenda.* He appeals to the voters who did not support him by making a pronouncement that there is a result for what we engage ourselves in. To an extent he puts it clear that what the electorate did there was a result. He also presents himself as a strategist and development conscious leader.

H.E Uhuru Kenyatta appeals to the pathos of the audience by using expressions of praise which encourage proper plans and those that depict the success, achievements and accomplishments that as a country we have managed to have. Some of these expressions and clauses include'... am proud that we have entrenched devolution'...'We have built a firm foundation for economic takeoff'...*We have risen by 56 places in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business index from 136th to 80th...We have connected thousands of schools and millions of home to electricity. More than 500,000 Kenyans have travelled the Mombasa-Nairobi route cheaper, faster and safer than ever before.Have made investments and reforms that have begun to transform healthcare delivery in Kenya...Transformation of NHIF has improved access to quality healthcare for millions of Kenyans. We have restored the credibility of our exams...Most resonated with our agenda ...You will recall Jackson - diagnosed with kidney failure...had to travel two hours to and from Nairobi for dialysis...today he takes twenty minutes to Murang'a for dialysis session. It is our*

intention to facilitate affordable housing...We will grow and sustain the manufacturing sector ...My administration will focus on developing agro-processing, textiles.....We shall reach out to our key trading partners to work with us to achieve a win-win outcome... We must completely re-engineer our agricultural sector. We shall invest heavily in securing our water towers and river ecosystems. We shall provide, together with other actors, key enablers within the farming process that will address distribution...We will engage with the judiciary to address the protracted delays in our justice system...Through parliament, we shall enact legislation to strengthen fiscal discipline. I am directing that any African wishing to visit Kenya will eligible. From this analysis the president clearly and precisely outlines what as an incumbent president has achieved together with the concerned. This is a way of appealing those who did not support his presidential bid. He points at the specific areas that they have managed to develop. He also sets straight his development agenda.

H.E Uhuru displays goodwill and virtuous character by using the following expressions:...*When the ICC demanded compliance of US...we complied...When the Supreme Court ruled to invalidate our election, despite our having won...we complied,...This administration has demonstrated its readiness to live and lead by the rule of law...I will play my role as constitutionally defined... We will deliver our promises to the people of Kenya...I am greatly humbled by this...We are determined to fulfil the Jubilee development...I will dedicate all my energies...Restarting my commitment and expressing my willingness to work with them...We will continue to fight together.* All these expressions bring out H.E. Uhuru as a president who is a virtuous leader and ass able to stir the country to greater heights in terms of wellbeing. Again he comes out as a leader who is determined and dedicated to deliver to the Kenyans all the promises he made during his campaign.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above discussion, the following conclusions can be made. According to Aristotle's, three-tier rhetorical Analysis, it is clear that H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's Inaugural speech appeals to the logos, pathos, and ethos of the audience.

The evaluation of H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's Inaugural address shows that the speaker knew that his re-election was not supported by all. He employed a number of linguistic strategies and rhetorically appeals to all the members of the audience, more so those who did not support his re-election bid. The speaker does this by using inclusivity term, the plural first person pronoun 'we' making reference to the scriptures and repetition. Moreover, the speaker seemed quite aware of the pacification tools which were at his disposal. He pacified the electorate by highlighting on the specific developments made in the education sector, the economy, the healthcare and commitment to democracy. Further, H.E Uhuru Kenyatta appeals to those living beyond borders by unleashing the plans put in place to strengthen their relationships and also to foster development with them. The speaker rhetorically appeals to the audience pathos, logos, and ethos. Aristotle's three-tier theory of rhetorical analysis was used to bring out all these aspects of the speech.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The current study evaluated H.E Uhuru's inaugural speech delivered on 28th November 2017 from rhetoric and linguistic perspective. Similar studies can investigate the inaugural speeches by the first, second and third Presidents of Kenya especially during the taking oath of office celebration especially during the second term of their re-election. Contrastive studies can be done on such addresses. Again, a researcher can investigate the moves in H.E Uhuru's inaugural speeches.

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