A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED POLITICAL SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT UHURU KENYATTA AND THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER, RAILA AMOLLO ODINGA

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FEBRUARY, 2022

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to:

My wonderful parents, Mr and Mrs Simon Kimenye for their unconditional love.

The love of my life, Ruth Moraa. Our wonderful children: Quentine, Goshen and Gift.

My siblings: Fredrick, Benard, Albunus, Pascalia, Jackline and Josephine.

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ABSTRACT

Political discourse is one of language domain that has attracted the interests of researchers for a long while. This is because political discourse is a complex human activity that deserves critical study particularly because of its central place in the organization and management of society. This study investigates how meaning of utterances is based on the context of the speaker. The study examines the role of language in the communication and interpretation of intentions by examining selected political speeches of President Uhuru and Honourable Raila Odinga in Kenya after the handshake on 9th March 2018 as pieces of discourse with specific goals. The objectives of the current study is to: examine illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, establish the linguistic features in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga and to Investigate the communication intent of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga post handshake speeches. The study applied the Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962 and Searle, 1969, 1979) and Fairclough's (1989, 1993, 1995) Critical Discourse Analysis Framework. The research design for the study was a descriptive research design that combines qualitative and quantitative methods. The target population of the study were the post handshake speeches of President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga after 9th March 2018. A sample size of 20 speeches was selected using the downsampling technique. The study was a desktop research and therefore the method of collecting data was through a checklist. Data analysis was done through quantitative and qualitative analysis. The findings of the study show that language in post handshake speeches performed the four types of illocutionary: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. The most dominant speeches were assertives which were (68%) of the analyzed locutions while the less dominant speech acts were expressives (9%). The analysis of linguistic features of speech acts revealed that leaders in post handshake speeches use language uniquely to construct a certain ideology. The study showed how lexical items, textual features, modality and use of rhetorical questions were used as a form of persuasive process to represent the idea of handshake and Building Bridges Initiatives. The study also found that language was used purposeful to persuade, inform, and to express the ideology of the handshake and Building Bridges Initiatives. The study recommends that the Government, policy makers, and stakeholders should always pay close attention to the political leaders' language use in regard to a key subject such as peace, nationhood and unity and that when sensitive ideologies are being presented to the citizens, linguists should be incorporated because they are expertise in language and they may play a role in reforms and societal perceptions. It is hoped that the study adds knowledge to the theory and practice of the scope Discourse Analysis, Pragmatics and Language and society and that it provides useful insights on educational researchers who have increasingly turned to use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Speech Act Theory to answer a set of questions about the relationship between language and society.

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OPERATION DEFINITION OF TERMS

Discourse: texts/utterances/speeches made by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga

Discursive structure: discourse which is written or spoken and which is ideologically laden.

Handshake: is used symbolically to show the end of divisive politics and hurling of insults between Raila Odinga, and Uhuru Kenyatta.

Ideology: are the worldviews and beliefs that usually form the foundations of discourse (what is said and how it is said) or system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests

Persuasive strategies: words, phrases or expressions used by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga to express feelings, meanings, and ideas about BBI and the handshake.

Political discourse: the utterances, words, and expressions, used by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga to express the viewpoints they would like their hearers to adopt, especially on BBI

Political Speech: speeches made by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga regarding handshake and BBI

Speech act: the basic unit of language that expresses meaning.

Text: part of discourse assigned to genres

Utterance: the product of act rather than the verbal act itself.

ABREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBI – Building Bridges Initiative

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

DA- Discourse Analysis

IFID – Illocutionary Force Indicating Device

NCIC – National Cohesion and Integration Commission

P.E.V - Post Election Violence

USA – United States of America

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview of the chapter

This chapter consists of background of the study, statement of the problem, study objectives, study questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and limitations of the study. The chapter also provides a background on political discourse and the handshake.

1.1: Background of the Study

Political discourse is a complex human activity that deserves critical study particularly because of its central place in the organization and management of society (van Dijk, 1997, Fairclough 2000; Fairclough 2002). Political language deals with the use of power to organize people's mind and opinion (Beard, 2000). It is an instrument used to control the society in general. Political speech can be seen as a means of establishing and maintaining social relationships, expressing feelings, and selling ideas, policies, and political projects in any society (Chilton, 2004). Klebanov et al. (2008) defines a political speech as the primary means of influencing others, using rhetoric to persuade, excite, and claim leadership.

Political speeches may be spoken or written and most politicians are unaware of the fact that there is a link between what is said, what is meant, and the action conveyed by what is said. In pragmatics, one of the most important phenomenona is Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962, Suhar, 2015). Speech Acts, the propositions/locutions performed often depend on the speaker's intention and the context in which the propositions are uttered

(Leech, 1983). Austin (1962) observes that the goal of communication through language is constrained by Speech Acts. The central idea here is that sentences perform more special functions than mere reporting of states of affairs.

The language of political discourse is laced with structures that are seldom exclusive, but typical and effective discourse in political contexts, but certainly, they do have preferred structures and strategies that are functional in the adequate accomplishment of political actions in political contexts. Political discourse is not only about stating public propositions but about politics. Thus, political discourse is about doing things with words which are the speech acts. Words are used to affect the political body. Lexical items not only may be selected because of official criteria of decorum, but also because they effectively emphasize political attitudes and opinions, manipulate public opinion, manufacture political consent, or legitimate political power.

According to (Chilton, 2004) political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians. The political process thus may include groups and individuals as well as organizations and institutions. van Dijk, (1997) argues that to conduct a critical analysis of political discourse such as political speeches, the analyst has to take into consideration three main components: (1) political actors or authors, (2) the assumed recipients of the political speech, and (3) political speech itself. This then implies that political discourse includes various recipients in political communicative events. Therefore, another framework that is important in the study of political discourse is CDA. According to Fairclough (1993) CDA mainly focuses on the way certain ideologies are used and attitudes are produced, disseminated, inculcated and naturalized through discourse.

This study presents a discourse analysis of selected political speeches of President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga after the handshake on 9th march, 2018. The study investigates the meaning of utterances based on the context of the speaker. Kenya as a country has been experiencing several episodes of political violence after every general election. In 2007/2008 there was countrywide violence over the contentious elections being claimed as rigged elections. The violent aftermath of the election necessitated the formation of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) as a means of dealing with the root causes of the Post- Election violence. This political violence has often been referred to as ethnic clashes and occurs after every general election, creates tension and hatred among ethnic communities in the country. This has been caused by political rhetoric which fans hatred and retards smooth running of the government, hence, slows down development in the country. Two political protagonists have noticed this and decided to co-operate to ease the political tension and hatred on 9th March, 2018. Because the significant cause is political rhetoric, they decided to preach peace and harmony in the country for the government to realize its agendas. Their agreement is popularly known as "the Handshake" and it has resulted in the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). It is with this in mind that this study seeks to investigate how meaning of utterances is based on the context of the speaker.

President Uhuru Kenyatta was apparently persuaded by the recent spate of violence after the presidential elections, to draw on the wisdom of America's 32nd President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who said that political cooperation is more important than competitive and violent elections for peaceful coexistence: (Victory and inauguration speech of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on 4th March 1933), as reported on Sunday Daily Nation

of 17th March, 2018. Roosevelt's words, during his speech at the people's forum in Troy, New York in 1933, were geared at dissuading Americans from the negative effects of highly polarized and divisive elections. In his quest for political tranquility, President Kenyatta is similarly and aggressively rooting for "political cooperation" over "political competition". And this has become an even song of the President, since he was re-elected in 2017.

A study by Wardhaugh (2009) indicated that language is a very important tool for effective communication. People may choose to give a speech to convey a message or certain information. Through the handshake, the language President Uhuru and Raila spoke in front of the public, helped to express their ideas of bridging the gaps of politics in Kenya as well as easing the political temperatures from the historic election held in the year 2017. Simpson & Mayr (2010) indicated that organization is also involved in shaping political differences. For instance, politicians use variety of language styles to sweet talk voters to agree to vote for them and to believe their political ideologies. The citizens are always in the receiving end as politicians fight for political representation.

The political system in Kenya is prone to conflicts and show of power that is usually common during campaigns. It is from this background, that the study investigates how meaning of utterances is based on the context of the speaker. The study examines the role of language in the communication and interpretation of intentions by examining selected political speeches of President Uhuru and Honourable Raila Odinga in Kenya after the handshake on 9th March 2018 as pieces of discourse with specific goals.

1.2: Statement of the Problem

Political discourse is one of language domain that has attracted the interests of researchers for a long while. This is because political discourse is a complex human activity that deserves critical study particularly because of its central place in the organisation and management of society. In Kenya, political discourse is normally characterized with the aspect of us vs them. Moreover, the political system in Kenya is prone to conflicts and show of power that is usually common during campaigns. Therefore, this study investigates how meaning of utterances is based on the context of the speaker. The study examines the role of language in the communication and interpretation of intentions by examining selected political speeches of President Uhuru and Honourable Raila Odinga in Kenya after the handshake on 9th March 2018 as pieces of discourse with specific goals. The study investigates the role that the speech acts play in the selected speeches of President Uhuru and Honourable Raila Odinga.

1.3: Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following research objectives:

i. Examine illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

ii. Establish the linguistic features in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

iii. Investigate the communication intent of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga post handshake speeches.

1.4: Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

i.   What are the illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

ii.   What are the linguistic features in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga

iii.   What is the communication intent of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga post handshake speeches?

1.5: Significance of the Study

The main goal of the study was to investigate the major elements of the post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. The research is thus expected to be beneficial in terms of theory and practice. The study, therefore, contributes to studies of Discourse Analysis (DA) by offering insights regarding the analysis of political discourse. The research on political discourse also adds value on research on social sciences. The theoretical benefits of this research are that the research provides insights in the implementation of CDA and Speech Act Theory. The practical benefit of the research is that it provides a deeper understanding of the concept of linguistic features that construct ideologies and illocutionary acts in political speeches.

The study takes a discourse and a pragmatic analysis of speech acts. It is therefore hoped that the study enriches the scope of pragmatics and discourse analysis. Discourse is the context in which written or spoken texts are created and uttered (Fairclough, 2015:56). In this study, the context is Political discourse on the ideology of BBI. The pragmatic and

discourse approach therefore enables the researcher to explore how government officials use power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behavior and often control their values.

The study thus provides useful insights on educational researchers who have increasingly turned to use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Speech Act Theory to answer a set of questions about the relationship between language and society. It is also hoped that the findings of this study will develop critical thinking skills of students as well as the improvements in self-actualization and creativity. A study on CDA and speech acts provides an interface between language and context. Thus, such a study on language use provides learners with knowledge on forms and functions of language.

The study also provides useful insights to politicians, political analysts and researchers who have immense interest in political speeches. The study is also useful to linguists since it will help them to understand the language used by politicians.

1.6: Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.6.1 Scope of the Study

This study is based on speech act analysis of selected political speeches of the two principals after the handshake on 9th March 2018 to June 9th 2020. Other speeches on BBI by other politicians were not analyzed. The study focused only on the two politicians because they were the core-principals behind the handshake. The study falls within the wider area of Discourse Analysis (DA). The areas of DA include speech acts, pragmatics, conversation analysis, genre analysis, theories of politeness, indirectness, general discourse, discourse and cultures and critical discourse analysis. This study has used

speech acts and a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to fulfill its purposes. The study restricted itself to speech acts and the context in which they occur. The study did not investigate all language aspects of the speeches. The study limited itself to the types of speech acts and the pragmatic function they play in the society as the researcher hopes to establish the intentions of the acts. The study also focused on linguistic features used to construct the handshake ideology within the framework of CDA. The study goes further to analyze the communication intent of the speeches collected.

1.6.2 Limitations of the Study

The study investigated archived data on political speeches of President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga regarding BBI. In this way, for lack of real time recording of such utterances, the study misses to some extent, the discursive aspect of the discussion on BBI. To mitigate this limitation, the researcher used excerpts of the political leaders' audio-visual recordings of their speeches from YOUTUBE, by the media and newspapers, so as to reconstruct the context of these utterances. The main focus was on political texts regarding BBI.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0: Introduction

This chapter highlights the literature of the previous studies covered related to the researcher's area of study. This chapter reviews literature on Political discourse, Discourse Analysis and ideologies, studies on speech acts and studies on Political discourse in Kenya. The literature review also provides the gaps that the current study intends to fill by reviewing studies in Kenya. The last section explains the theoretical framework that was used in the current study by providing the major tenets of Speech Act Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

2.1 Political Discourse

Discourse involves conversation (what is spoken) and texts (what is written). Discourse can be studied or analyzed from different perspectives with different commitments and purposes. Adegbija (1988) investigates military coup speeches in Nigeria. Adegbija (1988) focuses on the deployment of discourse tact and his study reveals the effectiveness of discourse tact in ensuring that illocutionary force is achieved in discourse. Adegbija study provides insight in the analysis of illocutionary acts.

According to Grice (1989), communication can only be achieved simply by getting the audience to recognize ones intention and second, that the communicator's intention can be recognized by assuming that her/his utterance meets certain standards. In his work, he was interested in showing how the notion of speaker meaning, analyzed in terms of intention could be used to underpin properly linguistic notions of sentence and word

meaning. He also showed that overt communication can be seen as a type of mind reading. He proposed a set of communicative principles (Cooperative Principle). The current study was different as it used speech act analysis to analyze the speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Honourable Raila Odinga.

Schiffrin (1994) examined six different approaches to discourse studies which are formal, computational, sociolinguistics and pragmatics among others. Political discourse on the other hand is a general term for various Political talks made in campaign rallies, inaugural speeches and party manifestos. According to Fairclough (1995) a discourse analysis is an analysis method which includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes. The areas of DA include speech act, pragmatics, conversation analysis, genre analysis, theories of politeness, indirectness, general discourse, discourse and cultures and critical discourse analysis. This study has used speech acts and a critical discourse analysis in order to fulfill its purposes.

Schaffer (1996) defined political discourse as a sub-unit of discourse in general, which is either functional or thematic. van Dijk (1998) defines discourse as a description of all genres in politics or to politicians' discourses, so in politics "discourse" is "a socially constituted set of such genres, associated with a social domain or field" (van Dijk 1998:196). Political speech is a genre of political discourse and is part of public discourse. Van Dijk further notes that Political discourse is not a genre but rather a class of genres. This is because it comprises many other genres that are difficult to separate from politics such as government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party

programmes, and speeches by politicians are among many genres that belong to the domain of politics. From this perspective, political discourse ought to be understood as a form of institutional discourse, which must be produced by a speaker in the professional role of a politician and in an institution (Van Dijk, 1998). The definitions on political discourse provide general insight to the subject of the study.

Habwe (1999) did a study on the role of dialogue in Kenya political speeches. He demonstrated that meaning goes beyond the usual linguistic properties into context. He analyzed social media utterances on Facebook and twitter. He first organized the texts into prevailing pragmatic themes, then analysing the context systematically. This study was different as it did not use the role of dialogue in Kenya political speeches but selected political speeches of the two principals after the symbolic handshake on 9th March 2018.

Bullock (2003) examines the rhetorical strategies employed by President Bush as means of persuasion for the prosecution of the Iraqi's war and to justify America's interest in prosecuting the war. Bullock's study focused on rhetorical strategies while the current study will also show how ideologies are represented in political speeches.

Skoniecki and College (2004) examines President Ronald Regan's of the United States of America's speech, calling for action against communism, to the people of West Berlin and the world. The speech, 'Tear Down this Wall' was delivered against the backdrop of the cultural history of the Americans and it culminates in the opening of the Berlin wall. The study shows the effectiveness of Regan's persuasive use of language in facilitating the opening of the Berlin wall.

Skoniecki and College (2004) study provides necessary information in the interpretation of persuasive strategies in the current study.

Rudyk (2007) examines power relations in Bush's union speech. Rudyk's focuses on the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic levels of manipulations, studies the abuse of power in the US-Iraqi war and its effects on the recipients. This study provides necessary information on the linguistic structure of political structure. The current study however goes beyond the level of the sentences and explores the discourse ideologies of political speeches.

According to Simpson & Andrea (2010) the organization of public life around style-oriented service and consumer activities has also shaped conceptions of political representations. Thus, politicians themselves have adopted a more personalized rhetoric of choice and life style values to communicate their political messages to citizens.

Pensis et.al (2011) did a research discourse analysis of political messages in Latvian Twitter communication during the 2010 general elections. They did a topical analysis of political discussions, hash tags and retweeted messages. They proposed a hypothesis that revealed correlations between individuals and group members, richness of topics and communication channels. This study was different in that it did not deal with political messages but selected political speeches from the two principals.

Yus (2011) did extensive research where he applied cognitive theory to various genres of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). This analysis covered synchronous genres (e.g. chat rooms, internet, relay chats and instant messaging) as well as asynchronous genres (e.g. emails, blogs and twitter) as well as topics like politeness and formation of

identity on the web. The current study was different as it did not deal with cognitive theory but Speech Act Theory to analyze speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Honourable Raila Odinga.

Trent et al (2012) in his work argues that political election campaigns are campaigns of communication. He asserts that despite there being other situational, economic and power relationships that affect the campaign process, they all become important by way of communication. The current study was different in that it did not deal with campaign messages.

Kinyua (2012), in her research on "Decoding cartoons" analyzed editorial cartoons in the *Daily Nation.* The aim of the study was to explore cartoonist intention to communicate contemporary issues that affect the society. The study explored implicates and explicators realized in editorial cartoons in order to communicate effectively. It concluded that editorial cartoons communicate more effectively than linguistically encoded words. Our study was different as it was not on decoding cartoons but speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Honorable Raila Odinga.

Maireder & Ausserhofer (2012) did a study on political discourse on twitter. They described this discourse using three perspectives; (1) Networking topics, (2) networking media objects and (3) networking actors. They tried to connect those perspectives in order to understand how twitter can be used to coerce and influence voters to vote in a particular pattern. This study was beneficial in enabling us to see political dialogues taking place on social media.

Michira (2014), in his paper; language and politics, investigated the 2013 Presidential campaign discourse in Kenya using the critical discourse analysis approach. He concluded that language is a powerful weapon used by those seeking power. The study also explained the usage of the diverse range of rhetorical techniques; riddles, metaphors and symbols among other devices employed in the Kenyan political discourse during the 2013 campaign periods. Michira asserts that it is not what one says matters rather it is how one says it that drives the message home. The current study was similar as it demonstrated that language is a very powerful weapon in ensuring peaceful co-existence. The current study however used Speech Act Theory but not rhetorical techniques as used above.

Steigz and Xuan (2012) in their work, social media and political communication analyzed social media utterances on Facebook and Twitter using pragmatic approach. They first organized the texts into prevailing pragmatic themes, then analyzing the context systematically. The results in particular showed that there was a percentage increase in the use of social media by politicians. He concluded that platforms such as twitter provide an easy and fast way of communicating political ideals. Their study was useful as it gave us guidance on the ways of collecting and organizing data on social media for this current study.

2.2 Discourse Analysis and Ideologies

Discourse Analysis (DA) is regarded as a method used to explain and analyze the results of any political elections. In fact, discourse analysis techniques seem to be able to identify a general approach towards elections and politics through considering some problems, issues and questions. Irvine (1989) views ideologies as the cultural system[s]

of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests. According to Fairclough (1989) ideology manifests it in all levels of society is a societal and national phenomenon. That is, ideology goes beyond our habitus, extending to power struggles in society. Ideology can be defined as systematic ideas or ideals which form a base for economic or political theory. Ideologies have a role in legalization of power abuse by dominant group.

According to Rumsey (1990), ideologies are shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world. Seargeant (2009) understands language ideology as "entrenched beliefs about the nature, function, and symbolic value of language.

Political discourse ideologies are normally explained through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough (1995) argues that in politics, different ideologies struggle together for dominance. In this area language forms related to oral and written political text can signal the power by discovering the specific ideology embedded in them. Also power is signaled by a politician control of a social and political occasion by using of specific genres. Fairclough (1995) and Fowler (1991, 1996) agree that CDA treats discourse as a social practice and analyzes the influence of social, political and cultural contexts on discourse. Since CDA sees discourse as both produced and shaped by ideology, it stresses the essential linguistic characteristics of social relationship, social structures and the power distributed among them. According to Fairclough (1995) ideology is any social policy which is in part or whole derived from social theory in a conscious way and the Marxist definition according to which ideologies are, when

struggle for political power is at issue, ideas which arise from a given set of material interests.

Fairclough shows how language is connected to social realities and bring about social change. He argues that government involves the manipulation and use of language in significant ways, and is particularly concerned with the linkage between language, ideology and power relations within society. He notes that the description of the formal features of text as an important element of CDA. The current study benefits from this literature since it explores how the BBI ideology is reflected in President Uhuru and Raila Odinga's speeches.

Silverstein (1998) that discursive practices in political discourse are a good ground for the study of language ideology. Therefore, studies of language ideology thus focus on public institutional discourses and those of newspapers in particular, as "newspapers are self-conscious loci of ideology production as well as "key sites for language ideological debates between various kinds of social actors.

Spolsky (2004) focuses on the pragmatic aspects of language ideologies as belief systems which determine language attitudes, judgments, and behavior. Ideologies play as a mediating link between linguistic and social practices. Language ideologies are "not about language alone". Language ideologies also serve as unifying public tools. The current study considers the aspect of social and linguistic relationship in the analysis of how the ideology of BBI is presented in political discourse of the two principals.

Okpanachi (2009) examines the structure of power struggle and the underlying ideologies in President Obasanjo's national address of 8th October, 2003, on the dispute between the

Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Federal Government. The paper reveals how Obasanjo uses language as a weapon to categorize and portray the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) as an enemy of the state while portraying his government as patriotic; expressly championing the interest of the people. Significant as these contributions are, none has specifically characterized the acts performed in the acceptance of nomination speeches of presidential candidates in Nigeria.

Fairclough (2010) on the other hand notes that texts bear the imprint of ideological processes and structures. Fairclough further argues, it may not be possible "to 'read off' ideologies from texts because meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations.

2.3: Studies on Speech Acts

Adetunji (2009) studies speech acts and rhetoric in the Second Inaugural Address of President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President George Bush of America. The paper, which employs a combination of speech act and rhetoric, proves that two contextually contiguous speeches may not have similar illocutionary forces and rhetorical elements even when they belong to the same discourse genre. This study provides insights in the analysis of illocutionary acts and linguistic features in the speeches of President Uhuru Kenyatta and Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

Hamdani (2011) analyzed the kinds of speech act in the dialogue of Peter Morgan's movie script. Hamdani deals with explanation of locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts produced by the main characters. This research used the theory of speech act types (Austin, 1962) and the theory of illocutionary functions (Searle in

Levinson, 1983:240) to probe into brief analysis of the use of speech acts in daily communication. The results showed that there were many kinds of speech acts produced by the main characters. The current study includes the CDA with an intention of analyzing the aspect of ideologies and discursive structures in political speeches.

Akinwotu (2013) did a research that investigated the role of language in communication and the interpretation of intentions by examining selected political speeches of presidential candidates in Nigeria. It gave the overview of various ways of language that were used in defending and promoting personal and group interests in subverting the opponents' goals. The researcher adopted Searle's classification of illocutionary acts (cited in Levinson, 1983). The results of this study showed that assertive act was the most dominant act performed in this research. Speech was mostly used as mobilization strategy, especially in political campaign which was essential for candidates to persuade their listeners toward a desired goal of winning the election. The focus of this study was on illocutionary acts only. The current research included a critical analysis of ideologies in the political speeches.

Tourfik, Tarjana and Nurkamtoin (2013) investigated persuasive utterances used by the campaign speakers of the regent and vice regent election at Pasuruan, East Java, Indonesia. Theoretically, he defined persuasive utterances as Acts which convinces and influences the listeners to do according to the wishes of the speaker. These types of utterances were categorized as directive- speech acts. The current study is similar in that it used Speech Act Theory. However, it did not deal with persuasive utterances but speech act analysis of the two principals after the symbolic handshake on 9th March 2018.

In Nigeria, Waya (2013) analyzed victory and inaugural speeches of former President Jonathan Goodluck. The article was intended to find out the pragmatic features and the function of language in the President's Speeches. The study was guided by Speech Act Theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). The findings of the study showed that the President mostly used assertive speech acts. The directive Speech Acts enabled him to exercise power as guaranteed by the constitution which he swore to defend and protect at all times. The current research study was similar in that it adopted the Speech Act Theory. However, it was different because it did not deal with victory and inaugural speeches of the President but it analyzed Speech Act features of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Honourable Raila Odinga after the symbolic handshake on 9th March 2018 which occurred after the General Election of 2017 in Kenya.

Hussein (2018) investigated the analysis of persuasion in Modern British and Iraqi parliamentary election slogans. Based on Searle (1969, 1975 and 1976), the study concluded that syntactic structures can determine and influence persuasion. The research study to some extent contributed to the current research as it used Speech Act Theory. However, the current research was different as it did not look at slogans but political speeches of the two principals after the symbolic handshake on 9th March 2018.

In USA, Suhar (2015) investigated the role of language in the communication and interpretation of intentions. He examined selected political speeches of John Kerry and George Bush inauguration speech. The results of the frequency percentages were: expressive 5%, directive 20%, assertive 35% and commissive 40%. President George Bush used more sentences with directive speech acts and commissive speech acts than John Kerry. This is because as the President, he had the power and authority to appoint

and direct ministers so as to fulfill his election pledges. Therefore, in the case of handshake, both President Kenyatta and Raila focused on their differences and promoted their selflessness and talked about their potency to be good leaders.

In Nigeria, Odwongi and Akpojisheri (2018) investigated on speech acts features in President Muhammadu Buhari's Inaugural speech of October 1, 2017. The analysis of the speech revealed a preponderance of sixty-two (62) which had a preponderance of 29%; stating, proposing and assuring achieved the goal of revealing intentions of his administration which had a preponderance of 46.7%; reminding, instructing, advising and criticizing achieved the goal of giving directives which had a preponderance of 19.4%. Finally, identifying and describing achieved the goal of giving details on key issues which had a preponderance of 12.9%. Therefore, in conclusion, the President Buhari allayed the fears and outcries of Nigerians as he focused on key issues that bother on revamping the security and power sectors. This study contributed immensely to our study as it investigated speech acts features of President Buhari. However, it was different from our research study as ours identified speech acts features of the two principals after the symbolic handshake on 9th March 2018.

In the same vein, an analysis conducted in Indonesia by Misyi, Cece and Rosaria (2018). The researchers analyzed speeches of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the USA presidential elections. The findings of their research established out that the speakers used the speech act features of representative, commissive and expressive. The researchers concluded that speakers used their power of speech to convince the voters to vote for them according to their manifestos. The scholar's result further indicated that speeches can influence the voters especially on Election Day. The scholars study can be

adopted in Kenya to bring together political leaders in debating their differences and coming up with solutions that unite citizens at large. However, the intended study was different as it only looked at speech act analysis of the two principals after the election held in 2017 and after their handshake on 9th March 2018.

2.4 Studies on Political Discourse in Kenya

Achieng (2007) focuses on Interpretations and Implications of political discourse: A Kenyan experience. Her findings show that political discourse (politicians' language) not only displays power struggles and other social relations, but also amounts to double-speak. Through content analysis using the CDA framework, the findings of this study indicates that politicians are fond of deliberately misleading, misinforming and lying to the public for their own selfish gains. This suggests that politicians could be difficult to rely on as the basis for making decisions on critical issues in society. Achieng's work informed the current study on use of CDA as a method of data analysis.

Ogola (2008) focuses on dramatic consensus vs reactionary counter-discourse with an aim of analyzing ethnic discourse, ethnic conflicts and power struggle. This study was on ethnic discourse related to the contentious issues in the 2007 General elections in the Kenyan press. The study established that the language political leaders used influenced people to violence. The study found that political leaders' language was laden with linguistic devices such as metaphors and lexical choices that portrayed members of out-group negatively by blaming their opponents and ethnic communities for being an obstacle to obtaining power. In this context, Ogola proceeds to argue that the language politicians used to refer to their opponents was manifest with lexical choices and

metaphors laden with ethnic based stereotypes, hatred, contempt and negative connotations. Ogola's study is beneficial to the current study since it reveals how language can be constructed to represent different views. However, his study was on ethnic violence while the current study focused on BB1.

Bichang'a, (2010) analyses newspaper reports on the 2007 election campaign and their Blackwell. The study reveals that Kenyan politics is modeled along the most influential politicians who represent certain ethnic interests. The study also shows that newspaper discourses manifest the political influence, political impunity and ethnic interest of politicians. The study concludes that politicians act with impunity and what they say in public rallies is usually meant to defend their ethnic interests. This study informed the current one in terms of data analysis.

Barasa (2014) analyses discursive strategies in Kenya's 2008 post-election consultation discourse. The study reveals that language can play a powerful role in resolving politically related conflicts. Barasa's study had a sample of four political speeches from a CDA perspective. The study reveals how politicians can manipulate language to advance individual and political party ideologies which can compromise peace in the country. The study also show that the mitigated language used by the national leaders in negotiating for power helped to resolve the crisis on 'Portfolio Balance' during the aftermath of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. The study found that politicians use the ideologies of power, legitimation, delegitimation, and identity, inter alia, whereby political leaders used language to praise members of in- group, while blaming members of the out-group, thereby escalating conflict over power. This study provides insights in analysis of BBI ideologies as presented to the public.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The current study applied the Speech Act Theory and the Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework. Section 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 further discusses the theoretical tenets of these theories.

2.5.1 Speech Act Theory

Speech Act Theory was introduced by Oxford philosopher J.L. Austin (How to Do Things with Words, 1962) and was further developed by American philosopher J.R. Searle (1969, 1971, 1975, 1976 and 1979). In linguistics, a speech act is an utterance defined in terms of a speaker's intention and the effect it has on a listener. Speech acts are verbal actions happening in the world. Searle observes that language is independent of the intentions of its speakers. It is the iterability of language means that because any given utterance must draw on a pre-existing linguistic system and thus can never be fully determined by or confined to the specific circumstances in which it is uttered, it is always vulnerable to being taken out of context, being cited rather than used, taken in jest rather than in seriousness, and so forth. The major tenets of Speech Act Theory are outlined below:

2.5.1.1 Austin's Speech Act Theory

According to Austin, people perform various actions through the use of words and when utterances are made, a particular act is performed; this is called Speech act. Austin in his book describes a speech act as "How to Do Things with Words". Thus, a particular sentence performs some actions. Bach and Harnish (1979) observe that an action in verbal communication has message in itself, so the communication is not only

about language but also with action. Brown and Yule (1983) agree that sentences perform more special functions than mere reporting of states of affairs. Hence, speech acts could be defined as the adequate use of language by a language speaker to address the audience in a social gathering in order to have a new dawn. Yule (1996) defines a speech act as a study of how the speakers and hearers use language. Bonvillain (2003) puts it rightly that when speaking, a person accomplishes goals; and these goals are speech acts. Speech act analysis involves an utterance which has both a literal meaning and a particular illocutionary force.

Austin (1962) classifies speech acts into three classes, which are: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. A locutionary act is an act of saying something; that is, the act of producing an utterance. The locutionary act is the speech or the actual utterance. Locutionary act is the act of saying something with meaning and truth value. It is the speaker's intention to say something that is meaningful. The acts involved here are: phonic act (with regard to phones; phonetic), phatic act (with regard to vocabulary) and the rhetic act (with regard to meaning).

Illocutionary acts are the core of any theory of speech acts. The illocutionary act is what the speaker does or intends to do with the utterance. The perculotionary act is the effect or influence on the feelings, thoughts or actions of the listener/hearer unlike locutionary acts. The illocutionary act is the action one performs in saying something. Here, utterances could be tilted towards: directing, commanding, promising, persuading, ordering etc.

Perlocutionary act on the other hand, deals with how the speaker tries to affect his listener/audience. Perlocutionary act could be positive or negative depending on the perception and interpretation of the utterance by the hearer which will be seen or noticed by the hearer's reaction. Perlocutionary acts could be inspiring, persuading, consoling, promising, encouraging etc. It brings about an effect upon the beliefs, attitudes or behaviours of the addressee. It is in consonance with this that Levinson (1983) describes perlocutionary act as the intended or unintended consequences of the speaker 's utterance.

2.5.1.2 Searle's Speech Act Theory

Searle (1969) improves on Austin's (1962) Speech by focusing on illocutionary acts. Searle (1969) categorizes the illocutionary act into five classes: First are assertives: These are statements that describe a state of affairs in the world which could be true or false. They commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Second are directives: These are statements that compel or make another person's action fit the propositional element. It is usually used to give order thereby causing the hearer to take a particular action, request, command or advice. Thus, directives occur when speakers try to get their listeners to do something, e.g. begging, commanding, requesting.

Third are commissives: These statements commit the speaker to certain future action. It could be in the form of a promise. Commissives occur when speakers commit themselves to a future course of action, e.g. promising, guaranteeing). Fourth are the expressives: The purpose of expressive statements is to express sincerity of the speech acts like

excuses and sympathy. In other words, expressives occur when speakers express their feelings, e.g. apologizing, welcoming, and sympathizing.

Fifth are the declaratives: These statements are used to say something and make it so, such as pronouncing someone guilty or declaring a war. Thus, declarations occur when the speaker's utterance brings about a new external situation, e.g. christening, marrying, and resigning. According to Searle, Speech-Act Theory considers the levels of action at which utterances are said to perform: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary.

This theory was applied in the analysis of speech acts. It assisted the researcher to identify speech act features of locution, illocutionary and perlocution from the selected speeches. The theory allowed the researcher to give an in-depth research into political speeches thus providing the linguistic features they explore to attain their communication intent.

2.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This study also applied CDA as propounded by Fairclough (1989, 1992,1993, 1995). CDA appeared in the 1980s as an approach towards the combination of language studies and social theory (Fairclough 1992) and it stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. CDA has been used in different subject areas. After publication of some important books such as Teun Van Dijk's Prejudice in Discourse (1984), Norman Fairclough's Language and Power (1989), and Ruth Wodak's Language, power and Ideology (1989), CDA has emerged as a significant paradigm of research within linguistics.

CDA is a branch for Discourse Analysis commonly used for analyzing politically spoken and written texts. Fairclough (1989, 1995), as a pioneer in modern CDA, identified his

approach to a study of language as "critical language study" and proposed some approaches such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence, conversation analysis and discourse analysis. It tells us how language can be represented from different point of view. It is a kind of relationship between or among ideas, power, language and the ordering of relationship within society.

Fairclough (1995), defines CDA as: The kind of discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

CDA analyzes the content and social relations in a text, and this way CDA reveals the underlining ideologies and power relations in a context. Content in a given text explains, as Fairclough (1989) states, one's experience of the natural or social world. It is the view that Discourse Analysis (DA) should have a critical dimension (Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1993; 2004). The main proponents of this approach are Fairclorgh (1989), (1992) and Fowler, R (1990). CDA is not a homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or DA. Van Dijk (1993) proposes that CDA's objective is to perceive language use as social practice. It explains how societal power relations are explained and reinforced through language. That is, CDA is the reflection of the writer's ideology and perception of the world, and social

relations display the relations of people in a certain context which in the end is a clue to show the power relations between people.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows: CDA addresses social problems, Power relations are discursive, Discourses constitutes society and culture , Discourse does ideological work , Discourse is historical , The link between text and society is mediated . A further discussion follows below:

The first tenet emphasizes that CDA is specifically concerned with critically examining the relationship between language and social meanings. CDA focuses on the relationship between language and meanings, which influence thought and reflect ideological assumptions in discourses such as newspaper headlines, regulations, advertisement (Cf. Widdowson, 1995). In this sense then CDA is related to functional linguistics in two main ways: first by the fact that it rejects the treatment of language systems as autonomous and independent of "use", or the separation of "meaning" from "style". Secondly, it supports Halliday's view of the grammar of language as systems of "options" amongst which speakers make "selection" according to social circumstances (see Fairclough, 2000, 2001). Fairclough (2003) observes that discourses are ways of representing aspects of the world, 'and different discourses are different perspectives on the world . . . associated with the different relations people have to the world.

CDA advocates for the connections between social context and textual structures and takes this social context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in interaction within the society. A text is therefore a reflection of the society, it finds the basis, the events happening at the time and people involved in it.

Another important tenet captured in CDA theory is ideology. According to Widdowson (1995) CDA uncovers implicit ideologies in texts and it is an approach reflecting a certain ideology and voicing an overt political commitment (Bucholtz, 2001). Van Dijk (2000) notes "if there is one notion often related to ideology, it is that of power" (p.25). Thus, whenever ideology is mentioned the first thing which comes to the mind is power. Power is simply the possession of the ability to shape actions. Since the most outstanding feature of mass communication as printed media is to convey information and interaction between writer and reader, it is not free from the struggle for influence over any other. That is to say, the exercise of power is highly accomplished through ideology.

CDA inspires critical studies on the role of discourse in the social construction of legitimacy and power relationships related to controversial organizational phenomena (Humphreys and Brown, 2007). CDA focuses on spoken and written language as crucial parts of the social processes through which different conceptions of corruption are (re)produced and transformed. More so, CDA is a theoretical framework for language in modernity and focuses on the ways in which language works in social life.

Fowler (1991) argues that anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position. The tenet of ideology was applied in the analysis of objective (ii) and (iii) where the researcher investigates the linguistic features that were used to represent BBI in political speeches and to examine linguistic structures in the post handshake speeches. Kress and Hodge (1993) observe that people can be both informed and manipulated by language, and can simply inform and control others. Thus, language

is "an instrument of control as well as communication. According to Fairclough (1995) typically discourse analysts examine the discursive and linguistic features of given texts, rather than examining the processes of producing and consuming texts‖. CDA deals with sociocultural contexts, and works on the situated use of language and their aim at crystallization of a certain ideology. To explicate ideological assumptions of discourse, CDA is in cooperated in the analyses of the following areas of linguistic constructions of BBI ideology.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the relevant literature review in line with the objectives of the study. The literature review presented literature on Political discourse, Discourse Analysis and ideologies, studies on speech acts and studies on Political discourse in Kenya. The chapter also explains the theoretical framework that was used in the current study by providing the major tenets of Speech Act Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The next chapter represents the research methodology that guided the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0: Introduction

This chapter highlights methodological details appropriate for this study. It explains in detail the research design method used, data collection, analysis and presentation, target population, location of the study, sample size and sampling procedure, validity and reliability of research instruments and the ethical considerations.

3.1: Research Design

Descriptive research design method was adopted in this study. Mugenda and Mugenda (2009) described descriptive research design method as a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behavior of a subject without influencing it in any way. Creswell (2012) describes descriptive research design as a research method in which quantitative and qualitative research approaches incorporate methods of collecting or analyzing data in a single research study. Descriptive analysis entails description of the data in its present form (Cresswell, 2012). According to Kothari (2004) descriptive analysis is composed of raw data transformed in a form that is easy to comprehend and explain, rearranged, organized, and manipulated data that produce descriptive information.

The study therefore combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative methods were applied in order to explore the ideological ideas and attitudes about BBI. Qualitative methods also presented methods of qualitative analysis that enabled the researcher to

make a comparison and interpretation of the study's findings. Qualitative research methods were also applied in the analysis, presentations and constructions of BBI ideology and interpretations of illocutionary acts. Moreover, qualitative research is flexible, hence allows the researcher to use first hand experiences in the interpretation of data, through the representation of what has been seen and witnessed by the researcher.

Descriptive quantitative method was used to identify all utterances representing the different types of speech acts in the data collected. The descriptive quantitative method was used in order to know the types of speech acts in the speeches identified and to count the frequently used acts in these speeches. The following formulae were used:

P=F/N times 100

Where:

P = The percentage of utterances
F = Frequency of utterances

N = the total number of each illocutionary acts.

Descriptive Quantitative methods of analysis were also in cooperated in the analysis of relative frequencies and emerging statistically significant lexical patterns in the post handshake political discourse. The frequencies and statistical significance of particular lexical items and their concordances made it possible for the researcher to create a general impression of the presentation of the different types of illocutionary acts. Quantitative methods on special lexical items enabled the researcher to describe how the two principals defined and constructed the discourse on BBI.

3.2: Target Population

The post handshake speeches on BBI by President Uhuru Kenya and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga formed the population of the study. This was because they were the only core principals. Speeches from other political leaders or supporters were not considered.

3.3: Sampling Techniques and Sample size

The study used down sampling procedures to select samples of political speeches made by President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. Downsampling is decreasing the sampling rate of a signal. In this context, 20 speeches were selected for analysis. These texts were selected from You Tube, Newspaper articles and press briefings after the famous handshake on 9th March 2018 to June 9th 2020. Only speeches based on the BBI were selected for the study. The BBI subject became popular after the March 2018 handshake and speeches about it were recorded and are readily available on YouTube and other websites.

3.4 Research Instruments

The primary sources of data for the study were President Uhuru Kenyatta's and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga's recorded speeches sampled from the YouTube after the 9th March handshake and regarding BBI. The audio-recorded utterances made by President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister, Raila Amollo odinga after the 9th March 2018 were transcribed and translated into English where appropriate. These speeches were obtained from the national and media archives, as well as other platforms such as YouTube.

The data procedure included watching the recorded speeches repeatedly so as to understand their intent of communication, identifying speech acts and categorizing them. Through the checklist, the researcher established speeches, locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts that led to a discourse analysis of political speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister, Raila Amollo Odinga.

3.5 Data Analysis

The selected speeches were downloaded from the internet and analyzed to show how the speech acts performed in the course of delivering the speeches and how the BBI ideology was presented to the public. The linguistic approach adopted is based on the linguistic framework of Speech Acts Theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) and Fairclough's (1995) CDA. The selected speeches varied in length and number of sentences. Therefore, the lines with the specific speech acts were extracted from the speeches. This was done in order to make the analysis clear and easy to understand. The calculation of the percentages of the speech acts in speeches was also made so as to make interpretation of the tables clear and empirical. The examination of relative frequencies and emerging statistically significant of lexical patterns in the corpus of the speeches was also determined with an intention of analyzing how the BBI ideology was represented in the speeches. CDA was applied in the analysis of linguistic features and persuasive strategies that were used in the representation of BBI to the public.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

Cresswell (2012) defines validity as the accuracy and meaningfulness of interferences. To guarantee that the instruments are legitimate, the researcher analyzed the downloaded data from March 9th 2018 to 9th June 2020 data that was made by the two principals

regarding the handshake from YouTube. The results of the pilot study from the YouTube were tested by discussing them with my peers and consulting the experts in the field of linguistics.

Reliability on the other hand is the ability of a research instrument to consistently measure characteristics of interest over time. It is the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. To measure reliability of the instrument, the test-retest technique was used to assess the reliability of Checklist as the research instrument; the analysis was done twice at an interval of two weeks, to ascertain consistency of results.

3.7: Ethical Considerations

The proposed study will uphold the ethics of research as required by the Machakos University. The researcher got an introductory letter from the school of postgraduate students from Machakos University. This necessitated the application of National Commission for Research Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The research was also conducted with honesty and integrity. The works of other scholars were acknowledged accordingly so as to avoid plagiarism. Honesty was strictly observed in data interpretation. The researcher also maintained objectivity in the interpretation of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of data analysis, presentation and discussion. The current study analyzed a discourse of selected political speeches of the two principals after the handshake on 9th march, 2018 to 9th June 2020. This chapter is based on three objectives of the study which are to: examine illocutionary acts that convey the intentions of post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, establish the linguistic features in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga and to investigate the communication intent of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga in post handshake speeches. Consequently, section 4.1 presents and analyses illocutionary acts, section 4.2 presents and analyses linguistic features of post handshake speeches while 4.3 discusses the communicative intent of the post handshake speeches. The last section in this chapter is 4.4 which gives the conclusion of the chapter.

4.1 Illocutionary acts in Post handshake speeches

Illocutionary acts are the acts of the contents that contain an action or the force accepted by words or sentences. An illocutionary act is a linguistic speech act such as informing, ordering, warning, and undertaking which are the speaker's intentions. The data collected reflected various illocutionary acts. According to Searle (1969) speech acts can be classified into five types; assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and

declaratives. The data collected reflected four types of speech acts which are assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. In the data collected the four types of illocutionary speech acts were identified as shown in table 1 below:

Table 1: Illocutionary Acts

Illocutionary Acts	President Uhuru Kenyatta	Percentage	Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga	Percentage
Assertives	66	36%	59	32%
Commissive	9	5%	7	4%
Directives	17	9%	10	5%
Expressives	8	5%	6	4%
Declaratives	0	0	0	0
Total	100	55%	82	45%

The data in Table 1 shows that the 20 speeches collected had a total of 182 illocutionary acts. The most dominant speeches were assertives which were (68%) of the analyzed locutions while the less dominant speech acts were expressives (9%). The analyzed data from the speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga did not show declarative illocutionary acts. The next section provides a further discussion on illocutionary acts.

4.1.1: Assertive Acts

This section focuses on assertive illocutionary acts as reflected in post handshake speeches. According to Searle (1969) assertive commit speakers to the truth of the expressed proposition e.g., stating, claiming, reporting, announcing, etc. The analyzed data revealed that there are 125 assertive utterances uttered by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. The assertive speeches were therefore

classified basing on Speech Act Theory by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1979). The assertive illocutionary acts were categorized into some functions namely *asserting, reporting, explaining, showing something, complaining, narrating, suggesting,* and *refusing.* These classifications are presented in the table 2 below. It is completed with the total utterances and the percentages of each type.

Table 2: Assertive Classification of post handshake speeches

Assertive Classifications	President Uhuru Kenyatta	Percentage	Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga	Percentage
Asserting	22	18%	19	15%
Reporting	16	13%	12	10%
Showing Something	8	6%	8	6%
Explaining	12	10%	14	11%
Suggesting	8	6%	6	6%
Refusing	0	0	0	0
Total	66	52%	59	48%

Table 2 above shows that both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga used assertives in their speeches that were proposed by Searle (1969). From the classification of assertive in table 2, there were no significant differences of the number of assertive illocutionary act performed by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. The analysis shows that both President Uhuru Kenyatta (52%) and Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga use assertives in their political speeches (48%). The data also show that both President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga used all categories of assertive illocutionary acts in their Post handshake speeches except for illocutionary act of

refusing. In both speeches asserting is the most dominant act uttered by both President Uhuru Kenyatta (18%) and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga (15%). Table 1 also reveals that both President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga used statements to claim, declare, affirm, and so forth.

As presented in table 2, there are six types of assertive that are found in the data of the research namely *asserting, reporting, explaining, showing something and suggesting*. The discussion below represents the analysis of assertive utterances as uttered by the two principals of post handshake speeches. The explanation of context of situation and the analysis of the utterances is also shown in the subsequent sections.

4.1.1.1 Asserting act

Table 2 revealed that asserting is the most dominant act uttered by both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. Horny (1995) defines asserting as the act of conveying information about the truth and fact. The forms of asserting are claiming, stating, affirming, and so forth. According to Fairclough & Wodak (1997) political discourse is well understood in relation to context. The notion of context embodies psychological, political, ideological, and historical components. Thus, the context of each speech was considered in the analysis of the data in terms of field, tenor and mode. The analysis of asserting act in political post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta (A) and Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga (B) is shown in excerpts below:

The following speech acts analysis represents analysis of excerpts as an asserting utterance by President Uhuru Kenyatta. The excerpts are labeled A

Excerpt A1:

Locution

In 2007, Kenya witnessed the worst cycle of election violence but with the intervention of friends, a coalition government was formed with Kibaki as President and honourable Raila as Prime Minister.

Illocution: Stating

Expected perlocutionary effect: Acceptance of the handshake by both political divide

Excerpt A2:

Locution

With the coalition came the 2010 constitution and devolution was entrenched.

Illocution: Stating

Expected perlocutionary effect: Acceptance of the handshake by both political divide.

Excerpt A3:

Locution

Once again when we thought we had got the solution to our problems, we proceeded to the elections of 2013 which again left Kenya divided along ethnic lines.

Illocution: Affirming

Expected perlocutionary effect: Acceptance of the handshake by both political divide.

Excerpt A4:

In 2017, the same violence occurred and built tension among ethnic communities.

Illocution: Affirming

Expected perlocutionary effect: Acceptance of the handshake by both political divide.

This section first discusses the context of excerpt 1 to 4 in terms of the field, tenor, and mode. In terms of Tenor, this is a speech that was given by President Kenyatta after meeting with Raila Odinga on Friday, March 9, 2018. The field of the excerpts is at Harambee house immediately after the handshake between President Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister. In terms of mode, excerpts 1A to 4A are utterances that belong to asserting type that is in the form of stating and affirming.

In excerpt 1A and 2A President Uhuru begins his speech by providing and stating facts about the cause of post-election violence in 2007 which finally led to a coalition government of Kibaki as President and honorable Raila as Prime Minister. He seems to be laying a background for the cause of the handshake between him and the former Prime Minister.

In excerpt 2A he states benefits of the coalition government which was the 2010 constitution and devolution. Excerpt 1A and 2A aims at attaining the acceptance of the handshake with hope of creating peace and unity between the followers of President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga.

Excerpts 3A and 4A have the asserting acts of affirming. In excerpt 3A and 4A, the President is affirming that despite the promulgation of the 2010 constitution, political

violence still occurred in 2013 and 2017 general elections. Affirming is an illocutionary act which has proportional content positions and sincerity conditions such as assert.

Excerpt 5A and 6A below further shows the asserting act of affirming:

Excerpt A5:

Locution

We have begun that process of reconciliation and I strongly believe that we will succeed in the process and heal our nation.

Illocution: Affirming

Expected Illocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt A6:

Locution:

The greatest gift that me and my brother can leave to the people of Kenya is the gift of peace, gift of love and unity to all our people.

Illocution: Affirming

Expected Illocutionary act: Hopefulness

In expert 5A and 6A the President is giving a great affirmation that the greatest legacy they can leave to the people of Kenya is the gift of peace, love and unity.

The following speech acts analysis represents analysis of excerpts is an asserting utterance by former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. The excepts are labeled B

Excerpt 1B

Locution

This occasion gives us an opportunity to reflect where we are coming from, where we are, and where we want to go.

Illocutionary: Stating

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 2B

Locutionary

I was complaining to one of the officials there, Mr. Poghisio that he failed in the writing there to state that I was very instrumental in reviving the prayer breakfast group in parliament after it had collapsed in the early 90s.

Illocutionary: Complaining

Expected perlocutionary act: Appreciation

Excerpt 3B

Locution

And when we shook hands, many things changed in our country. The shilling steadied, the stock market also steadied, and generally peace returned to our country.

Illocutionary act: Claiming

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 4B

Locution

So all that we need is to make this country a better place for our people.

Illocution: Claiming

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 5B

Locution

That's the reason why the current campaign is going on to fight the vice that is one of major enemies, corruption. And we have said it must be fought to its logical conclusion.

Illocution: Claiming

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

In terms of context of situation the field and tenor of the above excerpts are from speech that was made by former Prime Minister at Safari Park during the national prayer day in 2019. In terms of mode; the excerpts belong to utterance of asserting type that is in the form of stating, complaining and claiming. In excerpt 1, the speaker wants to show the audience that it is a privilege for the two factions of the political divide to meet on the same occasion and even to pray. The speaker goes further and appreciates the occurrence of the occasion which gives them an opportunity to reflect about the future of the country. In excerpt 2 the speaker complains to Mr. Poghisio for not recognizing him in the revival

of the national prayer breakfast. In Except 3B the speaker goes further and finishes this speech with claims on the benefits of handshake as indicated above. In excerpt 5B the speaker claims that the worst vice in this country is corruption and therefore it must be fought to its logical conclusion. The findings of the study show that both president Uhuru's and former Prime Minister speeches had asserting illocutionary acts of stating, affirming, claiming, complaining and telling to explain the reason behind handshake and the need for unity as laced in BBI.

4.1.1.2 Reporting

According to Speech Act Theory reporting is one of the functions of assertive illocutionary act that aims to inform on something that has been done. While reporting the speaker tries to embrace the hearer to know about something that happens in speaker's life. The analyzed data shows that 13% of assertive acts of president Uhuru's speeches were made of reporting while 10% of former Prime Minister Post handshake speeches of Raila Amollo Odinga were made of assertive speech acts of reporting.

The following excerpts are example of reporting utterance in the political speeches of President Uhuru (A) and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga (B).

The following expert is from President Uhuru's Speech

Locution 1A

First and foremost, I have taken great pleasure this morning in welcoming my brother Raila to Harambee House.

Illocution: Informing

Expected perlocutionary act: Release tension

Locution 2A

We have had an opportunity for an extensive discussion on matters of Kenya

Illocution: Informing

Expected perlocutionary act: Acceptance

Locution 3A

We have come to a common understanding, an understanding that this country of Kenya is greater than any one individual… Democracy is not, as has often been said, an end in itself**.**

Illocution: Informing

Expected perlocutionary act: Acceptance

Language in the above assertive illocutionary act of reporting is used by President Uhuru to inform and to announce to the public about the latest development in politics within the country. The excerpts are part of speech that was made by President Kenyatta after meeting with Raila Odinga on Friday, March 9, 2018 at Harambee. Excerpts 1A to 3A presents utterances that clearly makes an announcement or informs Kenyans on the occurrence of an event where the two leaders (the President and the former Prime Minister) having met and agreed on the state of the affairs of the country. It therefore performs an illocutionary act of announcing and informing the hearers. The act above performs an illocutionary act of informing and announcing the agenda of the two leaders meeting; the unity of the country and on building bridges. The speaker expects that the public approves and accepts the new development.

The following excerpt is from the former Prime Ministers speech further illustrates the assertive acts

Excerpt 1B

Locution

We agreed with my brother Uhuru that we can have something to bequeath the future generation with; a country that is united

Illocution: informing

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 2B

Locution

That's why we said we are on a journey to Canaan.

Illocution: Persuading

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 3B

Locution

And we agreed with my brother, yes, he had said he would take people to Egypt and I had said we would take people to Canaan.

Illocution: Informing

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

The context of Situation for the above excerpts in terms of field is at Harambee House on Friday 9 March 2018. In terms of tenor the speaker is former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga and he makes this speech immediately after the handshake. The mode includes the reporting assertive speech of informing and persuading. The excerpts inform the public on the importance of the handshake and the former Prime Minister seem to persuade his political followers to accept the new political development that he had taken. Language in these excerpts is used to perform the speech acts of informing and persuading.

4.1.1.3 Explaining

Explaining is the way of telling something in detail (Hornby, 1995) and the speaker usually utters long sentences to describe something. Explaining is used to make information clear enough to be understood by the hearer. The data collected show that the former Prime Minister used explanation assertive illocutionary acts slightly higher (11%) than President Uhuru (10%). The excerpts from former Prime Ministers speech is labeled as A and those from president's Uhuru speech are labeled B

The excerpts below show a speech act analysis of the assertive acts of explaining from former Prime Ministers' speech.

Excerpt 1A

Locution

The founding fathers of our nation coined the Kenyan dream; The National Anthem. Kenya is always a dream waiting to happen… May we stay united… There should be no

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discrimination either on the basis of ethnicity, or the bases of gender, or on the basis of race, or on the basis of religion. Peace is not merely the absence of war.

Illocution: Explaining

Expected perlocutionary act: There would be unity

The field of the excerpt 1A above is at Harambee house immediately after the handshake between President Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister. In terms of tenor the speaker is former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga and the listeners include invited guests, government officials, members of parliament and a few leaders of opposition party. The mode includes explanation, narration and persuasion. The speaker is explaining the key words from the national anthem – *Justice be our shield and defender*. When there's democracy, people will dwell in unity and there would be no discrimination either on the basis or ethnicity, gender, race or religion. This narration is meant to persuade the other leaders and citizens to accept the concept of handshake.

Excerpt 2A

Locution

Dr. Eistern has quoted extensively on what Nelson Mandela said after he came out of prison after 27years. South Africa had been under apartheid and the people of South Africa suffered some of the greatest injustices in the world, and when he came out, he decided to shake hands with De-Klerk who defended the system that had put him in prison for 27 years. So I said if Nelson Mandela could shake hands with De-Klerk, what's wrong with Raila Odinga shaking hands with President Uhuru Kenyatta.

Illocution: Explaining/Narration

Expected perlocutionary act: Acceptance of handshake

Excerpt 3A

Locution

And when we shook hands, many things changed in our country. The shilling steadied, the stock market also steadied, and generally peace returned to our country. But most importantly, it also had an effect in thousands of kilometres away from our border, somewhere in Korea. The leaders of North and South Korea crossed each other's borders and shook hands.

Illocution: Persuading

Expected perlocutionary act: Acceptance of handshake

The context of situation of excerpt 2A and 3A in terms of field is that the speech takes place at Safari Park Hotel in 2019 during the national prayer breakfast. The speaker is former Prime Minister who is addressing the dignitaries who had been invited to the occasion. The mode of this speech includes explaining, narration and persuading. The former Prime Minister's speech utterance above is intended to persuade the hearers to consider the reason behind the handshake. In other words language is a tool that is used to pass ideas and thoughts. The speaker is using language further to narrate on the events that necessitated the handshake by describing the events that happened in South Africa under President De-Klerk.

The excerpts below give a speech act analysis from President Uhuru speeches where he employs explaining as an assertive speech act:

Excerpt 1B

Locution

Let me begin by saying with deep honour and how privilege it is to join all of you this afternoon as we pray together and as we share experiences on reconciliation. Reconciliation is easier said than done. Reconciliation in situations where deep divisions have existed for many years and some cases are even generational differences passed on from one generation to the next.

Illocution: Explaining

Expected perlocutionary act: Reconciliation among the political divide

Excerpt 2B

Locution

In 2007, Kenya witnessed the worst cycle of election violence but with the intervention of friends, a coalition government was formed with Kibaki as President and honourable Raila as Prime Minister. With the coalition came the 2010 constitution and devolution was entrenched. Once again when we thought we had got the solution to our problems, we proceeded to the elections of 2013 which again left Kenya divided along ethnic lines. In 2017, the same violence occurred and built tension among ethnic communities.

Illocution: Explaining and persuading

Expected perlocutionary act:

The context of Situation for the excerpt 1B and 2B in terms of field is that the speech happens at Safari Park Hotel during the national prayer day. The speaker is President Uhuru Kenyatta and the hearers are the dignitaries that have been invited for the prayer meeting. In terms of mode the utterances include explaining with a purpose of persuading the listener. The President uses these speech acts to explain the process of reconciliation. The President recognizes that reconciliation process has been hard especially in cases where generational factors have been an issue. The President utterances also reflect on the post-election violence in 2007. The reason for the President utterances is basically to persuade different leaders on the need for unity and peace in the country.

4.1.1.4 Showing Something

Showing something is the way the speaker indicates something. Usually the speaker informs, gives a sign or points out on something to be clear. Strategies of elaboration are entailed in showing something. The speeches of President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Railla Amollo Odinga had equal number of assertive acts of showing something (6%).

The excerpts below show a speech act analysis of Raila Amollo Odinga's speech that shows the use of showing something. The speech is labeled A:

Excerpt 1A

Locution

The bible says that the Lord works in mysterious ways if he wants us to perform.

Illocution: Elaboration through allusion

Expected perlocutionary act: The hearers will be persuaded

Excerpt 2A

Locution:

South Africa had been under apartheid and the people of South Africa suffered some of the greatest injustices in the world, and when he came out, he decided to shake hands with De-Klerk who defended the system that had put him in prison for 27 years.

Illocution: Elaboration through comparison

Expected perlocutionary act: The hearers will be persuaded

Excerpt 3A

Locution:

I said if Nelson Mandela could shake hands with De-Klerk, what's wrong with Raila Odinga shaking hands with President Uhuru Kenyatta.

Illocution:

Expected perlocutionary act: The hearers will be persuaded

The context of situation of excerpt 2A and 3A in terms of field is that the speech takes place at Safari Park Hotel in 2019 during the national prayer breakfast. The speaker is former Prime Minister who is addressing the dignitaries who had been invited to the occasion. The mode of this speech is showing something through elaboration and comparison. Language is used in excerpt 1, 2 and 3 to persuade the hearers. The former Prime Minister compares the situation at hand with that of South Africa with a purpose of affirming the audience that what the country needed for peace to prevail was handshake that has even led to the president to invite him for the national prayer breakfast (Excerpt 1A).

4.1.1.5 Suggesting

Suggesting is the speech act that is used to say that something should be chosen. In this type of assertive, the speaker usually conveys an idea or a plan to be considered by the hearer. The data collected showed that both President Uhuru Kenyatta (6%) A and former Prime Minister (6%) B used speech acts of suggestions in their speeches. The examples of suggesting are shown in the speech acts analysis of the excerpts below:

Excerpt 1A

Locution:

And this is why me and my brother Raila have agreed that starting from today, we will begin a process of bringing our people together...

Illocution: Suggesting

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 2A

Locution

So to me, this marks a new beginning for our country, a beginning in which we hope that we shall march together as Kenyans and that we can differ in terms of political alignments but always remain steadfast and united in matters Kenya.

Illocution: Suggesting

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

In terms of Context of Situation the excerpts are extracted from a speech that takes place at Harambee house on 18th March 2018. The speaker is President Uhuru and the hearers were the public. The utterance is in the form of suggesting and requesting Kenyans to come together and join them to attain their goal. The suggesting utterances by President Uhuru request the masses to join them in their journey to unite the country.

4.1.2 Directives acts

Directive acts are one of the important categories in speech acts because they are used to get someone else to do something (paradigm cases: requesting, questioning, command, orders, suggesting, etc.). According to Searle (1969, 1979) directives are the utterances made by a speaker in an attempt to get the hearer to do something. Searle classifies directive speech acts into five types; command, request, permission, prohibition and question. Directives show the relations between participants and how they influence communication. Directive speech act are usually used in political speeches by leaders because they enable them to express thought and feeling, and to make meaning or sense of what they are talking about.

This section therefore focuses on directive acts in President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga in their post handshake speeches first because directive speech acts are often used by speakers in daily conversation, second directive speech acts show the relationship between the speaker and hearer and lastly because directive speech acts are used to give attention from the speaker in communication.

Table 3 below presents a summary of directive acts that were analyzed in the collected data:

Table 3: Direct speech acts classification of post handshake speeches

Directive Speech Acts	President Uhuru Kenyatta	Percentage	Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga	Percentage
Advice	6	22%	3	11%
Request	5	19%	2	7%
Prohibition	4	15%	2	7%
Question	1	4%	4	15%
Commands	0	0	0	0
Total	16	60%	11	40

Table 3 above show that the most dominant directive speech acts was advice (33%), followed by requests (26%), then followed by prohibition types of directive (22%), then questions (19%). The directive speech acts reflects the power and dominance of the speakers especially in President Uhuru's directive speeches. The speeches lacked commands as a directive speech acts. A further discussion of the above analysis is given in the following sections.

4.1.2.1 Directive speech act of Advice

The data collected in table 3 show that President Uhuru used advice speech acts more (22%) as compared to Raila Amollo Odinga (11%). According to Searle (1969, 1979) advice is the directive act by which the speaker directs the hearer to do a particular future action which carries an interest to the hearer. In this case, the speaker advises the hearer to do an action; he/she suggests that the hearer performs it while presupposing that it would be good for him/her to perform it.

The following excerpts from the speech act analysis of President Uhuru's speech reveal the use of advice as directive speech acts:

Excerpt 1A

Locution

I want to encourage the university to work closely with the neighbouring counties so as to boost the economy of the region.

Illocution: Advice

Expected perlocutionary act:

Excerpt 2A

Locution

It's my advice that the knowledge and skills being generated at this university should be able to stimulate growth and development not only in this region but Kenya as a whole.

Illocution: Advice/urging

Expected perlocutionary act:

Excerpt 3A

Locution

We realize that the world is a global village…We must therefore not lose focus of innovations and research that is geared towards making education globally competitive.

Illocution: Advice

Expected perlocutionary act:

The speaker of the above speech was President Uhuru. Excerpt 1A to 3A show clearly the President's view about higher education that would benefit universities and students. The illocutionary force of advice has similar meaning to the illocutionary force of urging and recommending since all of them carry an interest to the hearer. The speaker in excerpt 1A advises the university on the need to expand its association to the neighbouring counties which will later boost the economy of the region. In excerpt 2A the speaker gives his advice that he would like the skills learned at the university to advance agricultural skills such as farming and fishing. Such skills will impact positively on the economy of the country. In Excerpt 3A the speaker is advising the university management not to lose focus of innovations and research if they are to remain globally competitive. Therefore, the President expects his recommendations to be implemented in all higher levels of education which will have positive consequences.

4.1.2.2: Directive speech Act of Prohibition

Allan (1986) stated that prohibition is a speech act whereby a speaker forbids someone from doing something. Such speech acts reveal the speaker's intention (desire, wish) that his utterance or the attitude it expresses be taken as a reason for the hearer to act. When the speaker performs the speech act of prohibition, he/she is likely to forbid an action not only here and now, but also more generally at other places and over a longer period of time. Table 3 on directive speech acts show that President Uhuru used prohibition more (15%) as compared to Raila Amollo Odinga 7%. The speech act

analysis of President Uhuru post handshake speeches revealed acts of prohibition. The examples are given below:

Excerpt 1A

Locution

We should not allow politics and tribe to divide us

Illocution: Prohibition

Expected perlocutionary act:

Excerpt 2A

Locution

Let us not oppose or support each other blindly.

Illocution: Prohibition

Expected perlocutionary act:

The utterances above are in form of suggestions and they present the President's opinion to the hearer on what should be done to attain unity in the country. Prohibition entails forbidding or stopping someone from doing an action, and also showing him/her that such action is bad, and he/she will suffer so much if he/she does it. Thus, in excerpt IA President Uhuru prohibits all people against the divisive politics and tribe. He also prohibits all citizens to unite regardless of their tribe, party or religious affiliations. In

excerpt 1A the speech act of prohibition was strongly expressed by the explicit device: 'shall not+ V', while excerpt 2A it was achieved by the use of the imperative sentence.

4.1.2.3: Directive speech Act of Question

The directive speech acts entails the speaker "asking," "inquiring," and "interrogating" the listener. That is, the speaker asks the hearer/addressee as proposition. Questions include: ask, inquire, interrogate, query, question, quiz. Questioning is common in conversational discourse and is defined on the basis of their functional characteristics (to ask a question, express emotions, check one's understanding of the interlocutor's message, or make further inquiries) as well as structural and semantic relation with the preceding utterance. Railla Amollo Odinga used the directive speech of questioning more (15%) than President Uhuru (4%). The data below show a speech act analysis of Raila Amollo Odinga's speech that reveals the use of directive speech act of question.

Excerpt 1A

Locution

Do you want politics of bringing people together or what type of politics do you want

Illocution: Interrogative Question

Expected perlocutionary act: Persuasion

Excerpt 2A

Locution

Do you want us to continue with divisive politics where blood must be shed?

Illocution: Interrogative Question

Expected perlocutionary act: Persuasion

Excerpt 3A

Locution

Do you want us to shed blood?

Illocution: Interrogative Question

Expected perlocutionary act: Persuasion

The speaker in the above excerpts is Raila Amollo Odinga. The utterances above perform the direct speech of questioning. The communication intent of the speech was mainly used to persuade the listeners about the handshake. The Speaker states that unity was the main agenda on the handshake deal and this he further halts the speech with rhetorical questions to his audience with an aim of persuading them to support the handshake:

4.1.2.4 Directive speech act of Request

Requests are directive speech acts that the speaker asks the addressee to do something. Requestives include: ask, beg, implore, insist, invite, petition, plead, pray, solicit, summon, tell, urge. According to Yule (2010) requesting is an expression of what the speaker wants the addressee to do or refrain from doing something. Requesting is the way of ordering something from the hearer, and request is not like command and it is generally less demanding and more politely. The data analyzed show that the speeches of President Uhuru had more request 19% as compared to those of Raila Amollo Odinga

(7%). The speech act analysis of President Uhuru speech gives examples of directive speech act of requests.

Excerpt 1A

Locution

Against these backdrop honourable speakers, I reaffirm a commitment previously made and which I hope this house this year will pass of designating 10 Billion Kenya shillings to compensate and settle victims of political violence.

Illocution: Asking

Expected illocutionary act: Persuasion

Excerpt 2A

Locution

I am certain and glad now to see the strong will of judiciary to ensure that we achieve that particular objective. We cannot and we are not turning back on our resolve to fight corruption

Illocution: Imploring

Expected illocutionary act: Persuasion

Excerpt 3A

Locution

We are going to use this as an opportunity to heal the wounds and to create an environment that would make Kenya peaceful, that would make Kenya prosper that would make all Kenyans feel included".

Illocution: imploring

Expected illocutionary act: Persuasion

Expert 1A to 3A are from 3 different speeches of President Uhuru that were given on different occasions. They all reflect the directive speech of request. Excerpt 1 is from a speech that was presented in parliament. The president requests the two houses to a pass a bill for 10 Billion Kenya shillings to compensate and settle victims of political violence. Excerpt 2 is also a polite request to judiciary to support in the fight against corruption while Excerpt 3 implores everyone to join in the journey of Unity which is BBI. All the three excerpts show the President imploring other participants (parliament, judiciary and the citizens) to perform a given action.

4.1.3 Commissives Acts

According to Searle (1969, 1979) commissives is kind of speech acts that commit the speaker to some future course of action". Therefore, a commissive action occurs when the speaker takes action to be performed in the future. In a conversation, the actions of such commissives are common in promises and threats. Commissives are statements which commit the speaker to a course of action. Such utterances commit the speaker to acting in the future. Commissives include utterances that perform the speech act functions like, guaranteeing, promising, offering, swearing etc.

The data collected shows that (9%) of the illocutionary acts collected consists of commisives. President Uhuru speeches had 5% of commissives as shown in table 1 while former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga had 4%. The two principals used mainly commissive speech acts in their discourses about the handshake and BBI to commit themselves to some future action. Commissives are promises, threats, refusals, and pledges, and they can be performed by the speaker. In using the commissive, the speaker undertakes to make the world fit the words (via the speaker). Speech A is President Uhuru's while B is for Raila.

The speech act analysis of President Uhuru's speech below reveals various acts of commissives:

Excerpt 1A

Locution

I promise my fight against corruption irrespective of what people will say or do. I will work hand in hand with the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga to make sure this is realized

Illocution: Promise

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulnes

Excerpt 2A

I can see some people are attacking me with all manners of allegations, but I tell them point blank that if they have evidence against me, then let me be jailed, but I will continue with my resolve to look for and jail those who engage in corruption malpractices.

Illocution: Threat

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

Excerpt 3A

We cannot and we are not turning back on our resolve to fight corruption".

Illocution: Guaranteeing

Expected perlocutionary act: Hopefulness

The excerpt in the speech above is from a speech made by President Uhuru about fight against corruption. In Excerpt 1 the act performed is a promise to fight corruption regardless of how people take it. The speaker uses phrases such as **"promise***", 'will say',' ''will continue" "will work hand in hand''* that indicate the possibility of the actions that will be taken by President in future. Thus, the use futuristic verbs in the excerpt above indicate strong possibility of a future action.

Excerpt 2A performs the speech act of threatening those leaders that are spreading propaganda against him with an aim of stopping him to fight corruption. Excerpt 3A performs the speech act of guaranteeing. The President is guaranteeing Kenyans that he is more committed to fighting corruption and that there's neither retreat nor surrender for those against his resolve to slay the dragon. The function of this commissive is therefore to give the citizens a guarantee that the fight against corruption will be dealt with.

The speech act analysis below demonstrates commissives in Raila Amollo Odinga Speeches:

Excerpt 1B

Locution

We want to see Kenya on the path of prosperity

Illocution: Promise/ guaranteeing

Expected perlocutionary acts: Convince

Excerpt 2B

Locution

We want to see a united Kenya. No youth in Kenya will ever finish his/her studies and

be interviewed and fail to get the job because of his/her name".

Illocution: Vowing

Expected perlocutionary acts: Convince

Excerpt 3B

Locution

We want to see equal developments in all parts of Kenya irrespective of tribal affiliations.

The President is promising that no part of this country will be sidelined in terms of

development.

Illocution: Promising

Expected perlocutionary acts: Convince

In the speech above, the following commissive acts were identified; promising and

vowing. In excerpt 1B and 2B, Raila Amollo Odinga promises the citizens that the

journey of the handshake is too see a better country. The speaker performs the act of promising and guaranteeing at the same time as shown by the use of to infinitive phrases (to see) that show an action will be done in future; ***to see Kenya on the path of prosperity***. In excerpt 3B the speaker wants to tell the hearers on the benefits of BBI. Thus, the speaker assures or makes a guarantee to the hearers on the future of the country which is BBI. Such acts thus announce actions that will take place in the future or the speaker's intentions in the future. The functions in the commissives above are to convince the hearer about BBI.

4.1.4 Expressives acts

Searle (1979) identifies expressive as one of the classifications of the speech act. Expressive speech acts are used to understand the speaker's feeling. According to Cruse (2000) expressive make knew the speaker's psychological attitude to a presupposed state of affairs. Expressives consists of *thank, congratulate, condole, praise, blame, forgive,* and *pardon* acts. Expressives occur in daily life in everyday discourse. Expressives may express negative or positive expression to the interlocutor. Thus, expressive act express some psychological state of mind, or feeling of the speaker/writer.

The data analyzed in table 1 showed that the speeches were made up of 9% expressive illocutionary acts. While President Uhuru made 5% those of Raila Amollo Odinga were 4%. Both President Uhuru and Raila's speeches reflected expressive speech act of thanking. Thanking is an expression of gratitude to someone for having done some activity. Thanking should express gratitude and it should have sincerity condition. Thanking is an utterance used to tell somebody that you are pleased or grateful for something that you have done. Martines (2013) opines that thanking is considered as a

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polite form of behavior, and cultural convention leads us to manifest good feelings toward people who have something beneficial for us.

The excerpts below are from speeches of president Uhuru (A) show a speech act analysis of expressive act of thanking:

Excerpt 1A

Locution

We thank you for finding time to join us…

Illocution: Thanking

Expected Perlocutinary act: That the listener will feel appreciated

Excerpt 2A

Locution

Let me begin by saying with deep honour and how privilege it is to join all of you this afternoon as we pray together and as we share experiences on reconciliation.

Illocution: Thanking

Expected perlocutionary act: They will feel appreciated

Excerpt 3A

Locution

I thank the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University for conferring upon me such a great honour and I will wear it with pride and humility. I am honoured to share the stage with all of you today as graduands. God bless you, thank you very much".

Illocution: Appreciation

Expected perlocutionary act: They will feel appreciated

Excerpt 1A shows that the President is expressing an expressive act of gratitude and thanking the press for joining them to make an announcement on the handshake. This excerpt is from the first speech that was made immediately after the handshake. Excerpt 2A is from the speech made during national breakfast prayer day as discussed in section 4.2.1. The President is expressing his appreciation of all those who turned up for the national breakfast prayer day and to share experiences on reconciliation. Excerpt 3A is from President Uhuru's speech after being awarded degree at Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology during the 6th graduation ceremony. The utterance expresses gratitude by the President to Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University for having conferred him with a degree for a peace deal with the former Prime Minister.

The speech act analysis of Raila Amollo speeches (B) also depicted expressive speeches of thanking as shown:

Excerpt 1B

Locution

I want first to thank the President, and the Deputy President for coming to Kisumu to launch

the universal health care.

Illocution: Thanking

Expected perlocutionary acts: The President will feel appreciated

Excerpt 2B

Locution

I also want to thank Madam Kariuki for the effort that she has been putting in

implementing a very noble idea.

Illocution: Thanking

Expected perlocutionary acts: Madam Kariuki will feel appreciated

Excerpt 3B

Locution

I want to thank the donors who are also working together with the government to enable

the government to realize the wishes of the people of Kenya

Illocution: Thanking

Expected perlocutionary acts: Donors will feel appreciated

The above excerpts are from Raila's speech during the President's launch of Universal

Health Care in the lakeside town of Kisumu. The speaker begins by expressing gratitude

to the President, his deputy and CS for health for having gone to Kisumu to launch the

universal health care and the donors for funding the project.

The data collected also depicted expressive speech acts of congratulating. Congratulating

is an expression to tell somebody that you are pleased about their success or achievement.

According to Martines (2013) congratulations happen when something good happens to people. President Uhuru speech during the Jaramogi Oginga graduation also used the expressive speech of congratulation to appreciate the staff for winning World Bank grant as shown in Excerpt 4A below.

Excerpt 4A

Ladies and gentlemen, am also happy to note that the university is already advancing in the area of food security…Under World Bank funding having competitively won this grant and I want to congratulate the university staff and management for doing a commendable work.

The third type of expressive speech acts that was depicted in the data collected is expressive speech of condoling. Condoling is an expression of sympathy that you feel for somebody when a person in their family passes on. According to Martinez (2013) condoling is an expression of sympathy to someone who has experienced grief arising from death or misfortune.

The speech act analysis of Raila Amollo Odinga's speech during the burial ceremony of Kenneth Matiba show expressive acts of condoning as shown below:

Excerpt 4B

Locution

We have come to celebrate the life of great Kenyan patriot Kenneth Stanley Nyindo Matiba

Illocution: condoning

Expected perlocutionary acts: Matiba's family to feel consoled

The forth type of expressive speech acts that was depicted in the data collected was praising. According to Searle (1979) praise expression is generally positive statements that show approval, admiration of person, objects, or ideas. Praising is an expression that shows approval or admiration to someone as shown below:

Excerpt 5B

Locution

I want to say without fear or contradiction that in that coffin lies a great patriot Kenenth Matiba. People have talked of him as a philanthropist, family man, bureaucrat, businessman, a sportsman, a politician etc.

Illocution: Praising/lamenting

Expected perlocutionary acts: Matiba's family to feel consoled

Excerpt 6B

Locution

We have lost a great hero, a strong person, a man who was dedicated and committed to principle.

Illocution: Praising/lamenting

Expected perlocutionary acts: Matiba's family to feel consoled

Excerpts 4B to 6B were uttered by Raila Amollo Odinga during Keneth Matiba's burial. They express the speech acts of consoling, and praising/lamenting. Excerpt 4B is an expression of consoling. Consoling is an expression of sympathy for (someone) or an act

of grieving with someone. It involves sharing pain and suffering of loss by showing empathy as depicted in the Raila's speech at Matiba's memorial service. Excerpt 5B on the other hand expresses the positive attributes of the late Matiba hence they express admiration. The speaker goes further and performs an expressive speech act of lamentation. The speaker is expressing regret for having lost a great leader and a great patriot. The lamentation above describes the traits of the dead (Matiba) hence making it passionate. The speaker expresses sadness through lamentation.

4.2 Linguistic features of Post handshake speeches

This section focuses on the linguistic features of post handshake speeches to determine how the idea was passed to the citizens. The language of political discourse is meant to be persuasive. Political discourse is embodied in propaganda and rhetoric. Politicians incorporate different linguistic devices in their speeches to persuade the masses. Thus, drawing on Norman Fairclough's paradigm of CDA, this section examines how specifically chosen words express and reflect the concept of handshake and BBI. Thus, this section focused on the linguistic features that were used to pass information on handshake and BBI. The linguistic features are discussed in terms of lexical items, textual features such as allusions, references, quotations and modality and rhetorical questions as used by both President Uhuru and the former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga about the handshake and BBI.

4.2.1 Lexical Items

This section begins by identifying key terms in both the speeches of President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. The lexical items were used to define the concept of handshake and BBI.

Table 4 below gives a summary on the key terms that were used in the post handshake speeches.

Table 4: Lexicalization and the concept of handshake and BBI

Lexical Item	Frequency/148
Handshake	7
BBI	5
Agreed	9
Work	3
Unity/United	9
Nation	6
Reconciliation	5
Peace	5
Kenya/Kenyans	42
Promise	2
Ethnicity	7
Violence	3
Shook	4
People	16
Corruption	6
Promise	1
Politics	5
Working	3
Pledge	1
Equity	3
County	6
Total	**148**

Table 4 above displays the key words employed in post handshake speeches. The frequency of the key words is indicative of the main issues of concern raised by the two

leaders as they constructed the idea of BBI to the masses. The linguistic choice of lexical terms such as Kenya/Kenyans, nation, people, peace and unity clearly show the conceptualization of handshake and BBI. These key words are elaborated in detail in the following discussion.

The lexical items in Table 4 above portray that the two leaders chose the handshake for the sake of creating peace in the country after the hotly contested elections. This can be demonstrated by the following sentence from President Uhuru Kenyattas speech: *I pledge to continue **working** strongly with my brother Raila and indeed with **all Kenyans** to continue to build a safer, more **united**, prosperous **Kenya** with **equity** for all.* In this context, the President Uhuru Kenyatta sees the need for the handshake which amounts to a peaceful country.

The handshake was therefore perceived as a necessary step for creation of unity, peace and equity to all Kenyans by the two leaders as shown in the following excerpts from President's speech (1A) and (IB) from Former Prime Minister.

Excerpt 1A was when the BBI task force presented report to him at State House:

Excerpt 1A

We are going to use this as an opportunity to heal the wounds and to create an environment that would make ***Kenya peaceful*** that would make ***Kenya*** prosper, that would make ***all Kenyans feel included.***

Excerpt 1B

We agreed with my brother Uhuru that we can have something to bequeath the future generation with; *a country that is united*. The founding fathers of our nation coined *the Kenyan dream*;

The speakers in excerpt 1 and 2 above show that the main purpose of BBI was to bring Kenyans together as shown by the bolded phrases. The speakers present the handshake and BBI as the solution to the political violence witnessed after every election.

Excerpt 2A

I honestly believe that we have set the path to long term prosperity and stability for our **nation.**

Excerpt 3A

I think we can all **agree**, we don't want to achieve our individual ambitions on the altar of **peace,** prosperity, and stability of the people we wish to lead

Excerpt 2B

We have brought the *handshake* home…We decided that *Kenya* is more important than all of us together…We want to see a *united Kenya*.

Excerpt 3B

We want to see e*qual* developments in all parts of Kenya irrespective of tribal affiliations**".**

In summary, it can be observed that the speakers in the excerpts above used words that portrayed the handshake and BBI as the solution to ethnicity, divisive politics and tension. Fairclough and Wodak (2003) in CDA argue that the specific words speakers choose to use convey what such speakers feel about a given phenomenon which either bear a positive or negative connotation, depending on the feelings of the speaker. The lexical items such as agree, peace, reconciliation, Kenyan, Kenyans, equity are meant to persuade and appear appealing to the listeners who should support BBI and the handshake idea.

4.2.2 Textual structure

This section focuses on the text structure of the features. The text structure was discussed in terms of intertextuality, cohesion, modality and use of rhetorical questions.

4.2.2.1 Intertextuality

Intertextuality includes the role of elements like presupposition and implicature (Leeuwen, 1996). The analyzed data reveal the knowledge that both President Uhuru Kenyata and former Prime Minister have on the country and the problems of the country. According to Genette (1983) intertextuality is defined as "the presence of a text in another text". The data collected revealed three strategies of intertextuality that were used

by both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Railla Amollo Odinga; allusion, quotation and reference.

Raila Amollo Odinga's speeches were laced with biblical allusion. Allusion is defined as any implicit, indirect or hidden reference and quotation is the exact reproduction of the words said by another person. During the presentation of the speech at Harambee house, he uses the allusion of the journey to *Canaan* and *Egypt*. In the same speech he considers BBI as a way of crossing *River Jordan.* Thus, the allusions are used in comparison to the ideology of BBI that would bring the long lasting peace to the country.

Intertextuality is also reflected in the use of quotations and references. For instance, during the national prayer day Raila Amollo Odinga quoted Nelson Mandela experience after being in jail for 27years. He also makes reference to South Africa apartheid and how the people of South Africa suffered the greatest injustices in the world. But in spite of that Nelson Mandela decided to shake hands with De-Klerk who defended the system that had put him in prison for 27 years. Raila Amollo Odinga compares himself to Nelson Mandela who shook hands with De-Klerk with an aim of showing and persuading other leaders and masses about the handshake meant peace and unity which has borne more fruits for the country.

President Uhuru Kenyatta also made a quotation of Abraham Lincoln with an aim of convincing Kenyans on the handshake and BBI as shown below:

Abraham Lincoln said.... "If we could first know where we are, and whether we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it."

The second reference that President Uhuru makes corresponds to historical circumstances in Kenya. He reminds the citizens of ethnic divisions by making reference to fight for multypartism in 1992, and the 1st multiparty election in 1997. He also reminds them of how Raila teamed up with Mwai Kibaki against him and President Moi in 2002 as a way of fighting for multipartism. He again reminds them of 2007 where Kenya witnessed the worst cycle of election violence that led to a coalition government which was formed with Kibaki as President and honorable Raila as Prime Minister. This reference is made by the President as a way of convincing each and every person on the need for building a peaceful country through BBI.

In summary, both the speeches of President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister reveal the use of intertextuality which was used as a means of persuading the listeners to embrace the handshake and BBI.

4.2.2.2 Cohesion

The speeches collected revealed that cohesion was created through the use of connectives, argumentation and Parallelism. The data collected revealed the use of various connectors such as those that show contrast and for emphasis as shown in excerpt below:

 "*Universities will continue to drive not only our national technological and industrial development agenda **but** also the advancement of knowledge in all other fields of national endeavour' **And** I take a special note that the graduands here today have great*

potential to contribute to the advancement of the big 4 agenda. **So** indeed, we are happy that amongst you here today are people that will help to contribute to make Kenya a safer, more secure *and* a prosperous nation, by focusing and helping us build on these four pillars

Structural parallelism was another strategy that was used to achieve cohesion. Structural parallelism involves the contiguous juxtaposition of syntactically parallel elements such as individual lexical items, phrases, clauses, or sentences, for the purpose of suggesting analogical relationships or comparisons. Structural parallelism is also a rhetorical devise used for the purpose of emphasis and foregrounding as shown in the excerpts below:

We have a great country, **Kenya** and we have no other country other than **Kenya**.

And I have said that if I were to die and God asks me where I would want to be born again, I would tell him to take me back to **Kenya**.

All what I am requesting from you every now and then is to embrace unity and togetherness.

The excerpts above are from Raila Amollo Odinga and they all emphasize on the need of having a peaceful country. The speaker achieves cohesion and emphasis through the repetition of the noun *Kenya* and use of a coordinating conjunction *and.*

4.2.3 Modality

Modality is understood as the attitude towards reality in the representation of the speaker. In the data collected, modality was created by both President Uhuru and former Prime Minister by an impressive use of the pronoun 'we' which showed inclusivity as shown in

the speech below after the President Kenyatta had met with Raila Odinga on Friday, March 9, 2018.

"First and foremost, I have taken great pleasure this morning in welcoming **my** brother Raila to Harambee House. **We** have had an opportunity for an extensive discussion on matters of Kenya and **We** have come to a common understanding, an understanding that this country of Kenya is greater than any one individual… Democracy is not, as has often been said, an end in itself. It is just a process by which the will of the people is heard. But the national good, the national interest must always prevail over those elections. And this is why **me** and **my b**rother (Raila) have agreed that starting from today, **we** will begin a process of bringing our people together... So to me, this marks a new beginning for our country, a beginning in which we hope that **we** shall march together as Kenyans and that **we** can differ in terms of political alignments but always remain steadfast and united in matters Kenya.

In the speech above President uses the pronouns we/I/my in his speech which adds coloring and makes the speech much richer, and to touch the citizens who were deeply heart by the loss of election. The excerpt below shows further how inclusivity was achieved through the use of pronouns:

We refuse to allow **our** diversity to kill **our** nation. **We** refuse to be the leaders under whose watch Kenya slid into a failed nation. ..**We** are all sailing in this one ship. **We** must come together to scoop out the water that has been sipping in or **we** shall capsize... **Our** only option is to come together and scoop out these waters of animosity that we have been pouring into the boat before we all sink.

The above excerpt includes the use of the pronoun *our* to show that the journey of handshake involves each and every Kenyan.

4.2.4 Rhetorical questions

According to Mutz (1996) rhetorical questions refer to the questions which a speaker poses only to gain an effect as opposed to expecting an answer. Mutz further notes that such questions indicate the speaker's line of thought and are used to provoke the hearers to see the speaker's stand and they are important in revealing a speaker's viewpoint. Both President Uhuru and former Prime Minister used a number of rhetorical questions during the representation of speeches on handshake and BBI which served the role of indicating the speakers' perceptions as shown in the excerpts below:

Do you want politics of bringing people together or what type of politics do you want? Do you want us to continue with divisive politics where blood must be shed? Do you want us to shed blood? Do you want us to shed blood? Our aim therefore is to bring people together and bring development to the people.

The rhetorical questions in the above speech are indicative of the speakers' perception on divisive politics. The rhetorical questions have been used by the speaker to show that divisive politics are responsible for blood shed. Hence, the speaker presents his ideology of handshake and BBI as a solution to unity. Raila Amollo Odinga's rhetorical questions above are used to emphasize reflection or to provoke the listeners to think about the cause of disunity in the country "***Do you want politics of bringing people together or what type of politics do you want? Do you want us to continue with divisive politics where blood must be shed?*** These questions may make the audience to fall into a reverie and they are

used by a speaker to introduce a topic later which is the handshake and BBI. It is clear also that the rhetorical questions have been used to make the audience to focus on the topic and thus Raila Amollo Odinga uses them to make an appeal about the handshake and BBI.

President Uhuru also uses rhetorical questions as a strategy to persuade the listeners about BBI as shown below:

Why am I saying these stories? I am just showing you what potential exists in this country if only we could just become visionary leaders and work together in partnership. Why can't we see that future? For every step you take, every leap you make, in technology and development you move from being one thing to another.

The rhetorical question in the above speeches is an indirect act of speech and is addressed directly to the audience. The speaker uses rhetorical question to make his points on handshake rather than to elicit an answer as an answer would be obvious and therefore redundant. President Uhuru uses rhetorical questions to show the need for unity and urges the listeners to think of the future.

4.3 The communication intent of speech acts in post handshake speeches

According to Widdowson (1979) knowing a language does not mean to understand, speak, read and write sentences, it means to know how sentences are used to communicate effect. In discourse analysis language use should aim to serve a particular communication purpose. Hence, an analysis of post handshake speeches with an aim of understanding the literal meaning of utterances is deemed important. CDA provides a framework for analysis of communication roles since it exposes researchers to discourse

and strategic competences required to achieve communication. Language in political speeches is a good device for politicians and discourse participants to act and achieve their goals. Yule (2010) describes speech acts as actions performed via utterances in an actual situation of language use bringing the functions the speaker intends the hearer to take or interpret. This section therefore focused on communication intent of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga in terms of Persuading/convincing, informing and to express the ideology of handshake and BBI.

4.3.1 Persuading/Convincing

First and foremost both the political speeches of the two principals were meant to persuade and convince the listeners about the handshake and BBI ideology. According to Ferrari (2007) political discourse is intrinsically persuasive and always informs a power relation. The analyzed data of speech acts shows how the new idea of handshake and BBI was presented to the country through persuasive processes and the selection of right words as discussed in section 4.2.

Both the President and former Prime Minister in pursuit of emphasizing on the unity of the nation, they used ideologically laden words about peace and unity. The excerpt below show the use of nationhood word such as *national good, the national interest* and *our people* to demonstrate the importance of handshake.

But the national good, the national interest must always prevail over those elections. And this is why me and my brother (Raila) have agreed that starting from today, we will begin a process of bringing our people together

The above excerpt is a strategy that has been used to create harmony and shared feeling. The former Prime Minister in the excerpt below uses the strategy of consensus to achieve persuasion:

"We agreed that if we can address all these things, then we can bring our country together. After **we agreed**, **we said** that now we can announce to the people of Kenya and we shake hands. That is the handshake. I believe strongly on **what we agreed on**. And **we agreed** that the divisions that have failed Kenya to achieve the Kenya dream must be removed".

The use of consensus in the excerpt above is used to raise the feeling of togetherness and agreement. The speaker also tries to empathize and establish a bond with the people referring to difficulties they have gone through due to divisive politics (And **we agreed** that the divisions that have failed Kenya to achieve the Kenya dream must be removed). Basically consensus is strategically used to convince the audience and the citizens about the handshake. The President also uses consensus as a means of convincing the masses about the handshake when the BBI task force presented the report to him at State House as shown:

"We are going to use this as an opportunity **to heal the wounds** and to create an environment that would make **Kenya** peaceful that would make Kenya prosper, that would make **all Kenyans** feel included. I honestly believe that **we have** set the path to long term prosperity and stability for our nation. I think **we can all agree**, we don't want to achieve our individual ambitions on the altar of peace, prosperity, and stability of the people we wish to lead".

The speaker aims at convincing the hearers on the BBI task force which its intention is to unite the country by trying to empathize and establish a bond with all Kenyans by referring to difficulties they have gone through such as ethnicity. The speaker also wants to persuade the hearers to support the BBI hence uses stative verbs such as *believe, think* and *agree.* Persuasion in the above data has been achieved through the micro act of the commissive act of promising.

Convincing and persuasion was also done through the use of rhetorical questions as discussed in section 4.2.4. It is clear that while constructing the idea of BBI and handshake both the principals used rhetorical questions to convince the audience.

The data collected showed the speakers persuading, giving hope, encouraging and relieving tension in the hearer. President Uhuru's speech when the BBI task force presented report to him at state house, reflects cases of commissive illocutionary act that intents to persuade the listener. The President aimed at persuading the listeners to support BBI. He states that *BBI will be used as a means to heal the wounds and to create peace in the country*. The President uses the commissive act of promising to achieve persuasion. He clearly aims at convincing the hearers on the BBI task force which its intention is to unite the country. Persuasion was also reflected in when the President hosted Mombasa leaders at State House. He convinces members that *one can never climb a mountain alone but with others*. The use of a proverb in this speech was meant to persuade members to unite.

The former Prime Minister's speeches also aimed at persuading leaders and citizens to support BB1. When he addresses the masses on tribal differences, he uses various illocutionary acts such as promising and vowing to persuade leaders and citizens to

support BB1. He promises the leaders and the citizens that they will never allow diversity to kill the nation and he challenged everyone to be ready for changes. Worth noting is that the illocutionary acts of promising, vowing, challenging and requesting are used to convince the hearers on the importance of BBI which will later prepare them for a referendum.

4.3.2 Inform and release tension between the two factions of political divide

First and foremost, the study established that all the locutionary acts in the collected data were meaningful utterances that had the agenda of BBI. All the utterances had an intention of conveying a message on unity, reforms and BBI. Thus, locutionary acts had sense and reference.

The illocutionary acts in the data collected had a particular force to perform specific actions that were related to BBI. Through illocutionary act, the speakers were able to inform, challenge and advise the leaders and masses on the importance of BBI. The speeches through assertive speech acts informed members of the importance of unity. For example the first speech made by President Kenyatta after meeting with Raila Odinga on Friday, March 9, 2018 informed all citizens on the importance of political tolerance and unity of the country. This speech act informed all the citizens on the occurrence of the events which had at that moment changed the state of politics in the country. This speech also reveals to leaders and citizens the contents of the meeting which was reconciliation and how to build bridges between communities.

The President also affirms the nation on the process of reconciliation and he believes that this mission will be attained. Raila's speech at the National Prayer Breakfast at Safari

Park Hotel also had intent of informing, reporting and describing to leaders and citizens on the importance of BBI. He first appreciates the President for inviting him for the occasion and other opposition leaders. He uses the occasion to request the leaders to reflect about the future of the country. He uses the opportunity to explain to the leaders and citizens on the origin of the handshake and the benefits of BB1. He states that the handshake brought calmness and the shilling stabilized.

The BBI speeches were also used to challenge, to suggest and advise speakers on various initiatives that they should take to ensure that peace prevails in the country. For example, in speech 1 on 6th graduation ceremony of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, the President suggested to leaders on what should be done to maintain unity. He uses the speech to give his opinion to the hearers on BBI. This speech ends with a request to all leaders and citizens to unite regardless of their tribe, party and religion. The President also uses the same speech to request the members to defend the handshake. The President clearly requests all leaders to unite and to stop divisive politics for the sake of BBI. The President uses this speech to explain the main agenda on the handshake deal which he states was unity.

The perlocutionary acts analyzed in section 4.1 were also used in these speeches to relieve tension in the hearers (the supporters of the President and of the former Prime Minister). For instance, President Uhuru's speeches were also meant to relieve tension between the two factions of divide. The President tries to calm the tension between the two groups of political divide. The President notes that the handshake deal was good for the country since it symbolizes peace. He also notes that the handshake between him and Raila Odinga was followed by other handshakes hence calming the political tension. The

President also mentions his intent which is to heal historical injustices hence relieving tensions in the listeners.

Speech 19 by Raila Odinga also achieves the function of relieving tension in the hearers. In this speech, the speaker uses illocutionary acts of narrations, promising and inspiring to relieve tension. The speaker uses narration of events to relieve tension among his supporters who might have wondered why he changed his stand after all they went through as a party. The speaker ends this speech by committing himself to uniting people by encouraging them to work together. Speech 18 by the President encouraged the members of the public by pointing out some projects that have been achieved so far, for example, the launching of universal health care, inclusiveness projects and reforms that will ensure peace and unity.

4.3.3 Express the ideology of handshake and BBI

Basing on the analysis of section 4.1 and 4.2 it can be concluded that all the speech acts in President Uhuru's speeches and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga were all purposeful. The lexical items that were chosen serve as a mean of expressing the ideology of handshake and their feelings about the topic. The choice of words such as *nation, Kenyans, unity and peace* had an intention that both the speakers wanted to achieve in the listener.

The use of textual features such as intertextuality, rhetorical questions, cohesion were used with a purpose of affecting the audience. First, the speeches emphasized the importance of unity and peace, inclusivity and nationhood. The use of specific lexical items by the two leaders show that the words are not randomly used but were meant to

have a particular communicative intent and to have an impact to the listener and more so to support the handshake and BBI.

Both President Uhuru and Former Prime Minister also emphasize in their speeches that the future of Kenyans is bright and secure if BBI is implemented. The study clearly shows how meanings are produced through interpretations. The stand point of the two principals was reflected in section 4.1 where all the illocutionary acts aimed at persuading the listener to support BBI.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This section has discussed, analyzed and interpreted the data. First section 4.1 analyzed the illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches. The study found that the data collected reflected four illocutionary acts; assertives, directives, commissives and expressives. The second objective has analyzed the linguistic features in post handshake speeches and the study has established that the two principals of the handshake adopted certain linguistic features to convince the audience to believe their ideas. The findings show that the speakers used specific lexical items and specific textual features to convince the audience. The last objective has discussed communication intent of post handshake speeches. The study revealed that the speeches had the following function, to persuade/convince, inform and release tension and to express the ideology of handshake and BBI. The next Chapter presents summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations in reference to the three objectives of the present study. The objectives of the study were to: examine illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, establish the linguistic features in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga and to investigate the communication intent of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga post handshake speeches.

5.1 Summary

The current study analyzed speech acts in post handshake speeches of the two principals. The first objective aimed to examine illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. The data collected reflected four types of speech acts: assertives, directives, commissives and expressives. The data did not reveal declarative illocutionary acts. Out of 20 speeches that were collected, a total of 182 illocutionary acts were analyzed. The most dominant speeches were assertive which were (68%) of the analyzed locutions while the less dominant speech acts were expressives (9%).

Assertives speech acts were further analyzed in terms of assertive illocutionary acts which are categorized into some functions namely *asserting, reporting, explaining, showing something, complaining, narrating, suggesting,* and *refusing.* These

classifications are presented in the table 2. It is completed with the total utterances and the percentages of each type. The analysis showed that both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga used assertives in their speeches that were proposed by Searle (1969, 1979). The results show that both President Uhuru Kenyatta (52%) and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga (48%) use assertives in their political speeches. The data also show that both President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga used all categories of assertive illocutionary acts in their Post handshake speeches except for illocutionary act of refusing. In both speeches asserting is the most dominant act uttered by both President Uhuru Kenyatta (18%) and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga (15%).

The next assertive speech act that was discussed and analyzed was reporting. The study showed that speakers used reporting to inform about something that has been done. The analyzed data shows that 13% of assertive acts of President Uhuru's speeches were made of reporting while 10% of former Prime Minister Post handshake speeches of Raila Amollo Odinga were made of assertive speech acts of reporting. Reporting assertive speech acts were important since both the two principals used to inform, and announce to the public about the latest development in terms of politics in the country.

Another assertive act that was revealed in the data collected was explaining. The data collected showed that the former Prime Minister use of explanation assertive illocutionary acts was slightly higher (11%) than President Uhuru (10%). Explaining was used as a strategy to persuade the listeners about BBI and the handshake. The next assertive speech act was showing something which was used as a means of making the ideas that was being explained clearer. The speeches of President Uhuru and former

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Prime Minister Railla Amollo Odinga had equal number of assertive act of showing something (6%).

The last assertive strategy that was analyzed was suggesting. The speakers used suggesting to convey an idea or a plan to be considered by the hearer. The data collected showed that both President Uhuru Kenyatta (6%) and former Prime Minister (6%) used speech acts of suggestions in their speeches. The data analyzed did not reflect the refusing speech acts as a form of assertives.

The data collected revealed that out of 182 sentences that were analyzed, (14%) were directives acts. The researcher further analyzed directives speech acts into five types; command, request, permission, prohibition and question with close reference to Searle (1969, 1979). The analysis of directive speech acts as shown in Table 3 showed that the most dominant directive speech act was advice (33%) followed by requests (26%) then followed by the prohibition types of directives (22%), then questions (19%). The directive speech acts reflects the power and dominance of the speakers. The data collected showed that President Uhuru used directive speech act of advice speech acts more (22%) as compared to Raila Amollo Odinga (11%). The president also used the directive speech act of prohibition more (15%) as compared to Raila Amollo Odinga (7%). Prohibition entailed forbidding and suggesting.

The data also revealed the directive speech Act of Question. Railla Amollo Odinga used the directive speech of questioning more (15%) than President Uhuru (4%). The directive speech of questioning was used as a strategy to persuade and convince the listener about the handshake and the BBI ideology. The last directive speech act that was analyzed was request. The data analyzed show that the speeches of President Uhuru

had more request 19% as compared to those of Raila Amollo Odinga (7%). The requests were mainly used to implore the listeners to support the handshake.

Commissives acts were also analyzed in the data collected. The data collected shows that (9%) of the illocutionary acts collected consists of commisives. President Uhuru speeches had 5% of commissives as shown in table 1 in section 4.2.1 while former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga had 4%. The two principals used mainly commissive speech acts in their discourses about the handshake and BBI to commit themselves to some future action. In their speeches commissives included promises, threat, refusals, and pledges.

The last type of illocutionary act that was analyzed was expressives acts. Expressives consists of acts such as to *thank, congratulate, condole, praise, blame, forgive,* and *pardon.* The data analyzed in table 1 showed that the speeches were made up of 9% expressive illocutionary acts. President Uhuru made 5% of expressive acts while those of Raila Amollo Odinga were 4%. Both President Uhuru and Raila's speeches reflected expressive speech act of thanking in different contexts and expressive speech acts of congratulating. The data also depicted expressive speech of condoling which was combined with political discourse. The last expressive speech that was identified is praising that show approval, admiration of person, objects, or ideas.

The second objective of the current was to establish the linguistic features of Post handshake speeches. The findings of the study have shown that the two principals of post handshake speeches resorts to the use of specific lexical items, rhetorical questions and textual features to deliver their messages and to get the audience to believe in them. The analysis of lexical items in the 20 speeches revealed key terms in both the speeches of

President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. The most common words in the collected data were *handshake, BBI, agreed, work, unity, Kenya, Kenyans, nations, reconciliation, shook, people, violence, politic*s among others as shown in table 4 in section 4.2. The lexical items were used to represent the major ideology in their speeches which was the handshake and BBI for the purposes of creating peace.

The second linguistic feature that was analyzed was in terms of the textual structure. The text structure was discussed in terms of intertextuality, cohesion, modality and use of rhetorical questions. The study revealed that the speakers had the knowledge on the country and the problems of the country. The first strategy that was used was intertextuality (the presence of a text in another text). The data collected revealed three strategies of intertextuality that were used by both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Railla Amollo Odinga; allusion, quotation and reference. Allussion was reflected in the use biblical allusion (the journey to *Canaan* and *Egypt* and *the crossing of River Jordan.* Intertextuality was also reflected in the use of quotations and references such as President Uhuru Kenyatta made a quotation of Abraham Lincoln with an aim of convincing Kenyans on the handshake and BBI and reference was made in corresponds to historical circumstances in Kenya (ethinic divisions by making reference to fight for multipartism in 1992, and the 1st multiparty election to 1997). Intertextuality was used as a means of persuading the listeners to embrace the handshake and BBI. The second textual feature was achieved through cohesion. Cohesion in the data collected was created through the use of connectives and parallelism. The data collected revealed the use of various connectors such as those that show contrast and for emphasis. Structural parallelism was another strategy that was used to achieve cohesion through lexical items,

phrases, clauses, or sentences, for the purpose of suggesting analogical relationships or comparisons.

In the data collected modality was created by both President Uhuru and former prime minister by an impressive use of the pronoun **we** and **our** which showed inclusivity. The speeches showed we are one as a nation and no longer divided into political groups. The pronouns were also used as a means to include the citizens in the political discourse about peace and unity.

The last linguistic feature that was discussed was rhetorical questions. The data collected revealed that both President Uhuru and former Prime Minister used a number of rhetorical questions during the representation of speeches on handshake and BBI which served the role of indicating the speakers' perceptions. The rhetorical questions presented the ideology of handshake and BBI as a solution to unity. The rhetorical questions were also used to emphasize reflection or to provoke the listeners to think about the cause of disunity in the country.

Objective three was set to investigate the communication intent of speech acts in post handshake speeches. The study identified three main intents of the speeches were to: persuading/convincing, informing and to ease tension and to express the ideology of handshake and BBI. The study established that the political speeches of the two principals were meant to persuade and convince the listeners about the handshake and BBI ideology. The analyzed data of speech acts showed how the new idea of handshake and BBI was presented to the country through persuasive processes. The study established that both the President and former Prime Minister were in pursuit of emphasizing on the unity of the nation by use of   ideologically laden words such as

national good, the national interest, Kenyans, we, and *our people* to demonstrate the importance of handshake. The results also showed that consensus was used as a mean of persuading the listener. The speakers also used the strategy of empathizing with the citizens to create persuasion and to create a bond with the citizens. Convincing and persuasion was also done through the use of rhetoric. It is clear that while constructing the idea of BBI and handshake both the principals used rhetorical questions to convince the audience.

The second communication intent of the post handshake speeches was informing and releasing tension among the political divide. The study revealed that all the utterances had an intention of conveying a message on unity, reforms and BBI. Thus, locutionary acts had sense and reference and that the illocutionary acts in the data collected had a particular force to perform specific actions that were related to BBI. The data showed that through illocutionary act, the speakers were able to inform, challenge and advise the leaders and masses on the importance of BBI. The BBI speeches were also used to challenge, to suggest and advise speakers on various initiatives that they should take to ensure that peace prevails in the country.

The analyzed data also showed that the speech acts in post handshake speeches were used to express the ideology of handshake and BBI. All the speeches were purposeful and they aimed at making the audience to believe in the idea of handshake and BBI. The lexical items that were chosen served as a means of expressing the ideology of handshake and their feelings about the topic. The strategies that were used to achieve this communication intent included intertextuality, rhetorical questions, modality, references, quotations and biblical allusions

5.2 Conclusion

The current study was designed to examine speech acts in post handshake speeches of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga with the framework of Speech Act Theory and CDA. The speeches were analyzed as pieces of discourses with specific communication intent. The study analyzed the illocutionary acts that convey the intentions of the two principals of the handshake and BBI. The illocutionary acts ascribes meaning to the speeches made by both President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga. The study concludes that both the speeches of the two principals reflected four types of speech acts: assertive, directive, commissive, and expressive. Of the four types, assertive was the most occurring type. Assertive acts were intended to tell leaders and the citizens to support BBI while the commissives were intended to persuade the listeners to support BBI. Moreover, assertive also informed the listeners about the benefits of BBI. The speech acts also portray the personality of the speakers. The analysis of both President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga showed that they had great expectations about the handshake and BBI and they both hoped and promised their followers a brighter future. The Speech Act Theory as a framework in the analysis of the selected speeches enabled the researcher to explore language use of both President Uhuru and former Prime Minister Raila Amollo Odinga.

The analysis of linguistic features of speech acts of post handshake speeches revealed that political leaders use language uniquely to construct a certain ideology. The study therefore concludes that language in post handshake speeches was shaped by political factors surrounding the ideology that was to be represented to the citizens. Through the application of CDA the researcher was able to realize the relation between language and

ideology. CDA enabled the researcher to reveal how language is used to express ideologies. The study concludes that language is used to express the ideological beliefs of political speakers. The study found that a combination of lexical items and textual features such as intertextuality, textual features such references, allusion, quotations and cohesion are key in persuasion process. Moreover, the use of modality and rhetorical questions reveal the political perceptions of the speakers.   The study concludes that linguistic features reinforce the various strategies that are used in speeches to influence and persuade the audience.

The study also concludes that all the speeches used language that was purposeful. The words served the purpose of persuading, informing and to express the ideology of handshake and BBI. The use of unique language also had an intention of achieving a particular effect on the listeners. The speakers used words that emphasize on the need for unity, peace and for nationhood.

5.3 Recommendations

The Government, policy makers, and stakeholders should always pay close attention to the political leaders' language use in regard to a key subject such as peace, nationhood and unity. This is because the politicians may misinterpret any ideology and political intentions in illocutionary acts that it being sold to masses. The speeches analyzed in this study were for the support of BBI and handshake. However, some speeches that were not analyzed from other politicians that did not support BBI and handshake defined and perceived the whole concept negatively leading to suspicion among other political leaders and citizens about the main aim of the handshake.

The study recommends that in future when sensitive ideologies are being presented to the citizens linguists should be incorporated because they are expertise in language. The study revealed that political discourse is laden with persuasive strategies which have implication on a peaceful country or which may lead to divisive ethnicity. Thus, involving linguists in reforms and societal perceptions is key. Perhaps if linguists were involved in the teaching about the BBI concepts and in reforming societal perceptions and viewpoints about the concept of inclusivity, the idea would have been accepted by many.

5.4 Areas for further Research

The findings of this study were not exhaustive. Therefore, the following areas were recommended for further research. Having analyzed the illocutionary acts in post handshake speeches by the two principals who were the supporters of the handshake and BBI. The researcher recommends the following for further research:

1) Reinvestigating other kinds of texts and political speeches about BBI especially by those that opposed it, applying principal tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse Analysis.

2) Reinvestigating other speeches of President Uhuru and former Prime Minister with an aim of analyzing representation of ideologies. This was not exhaustively done.

3) Conducting a study indicating whether other participants in other genres such as movies, articles, advertisement and magazines reflect the same language features.

4) Applying other political discourse strategies such as euphemism and rhetoric on President Uhuru and Raila Amollo Odinga speeches

The current study was pragmatic in nature; the researcher suggests that another researcher should consider sociolinguistics factors in analysis of speech acts such age, participants and tone in the analysis of speech acts. A future study should include the discursive context in which specific speech acts occur. Such a study should consider social factors in analysis of speech acts. Another research can be done to investigate acts of hate in speeches of other political leaders. This will inform the public on good and bad leaders in the country.

5.5 Contribution to the society

A research study should always aim to contribute something positive to the society. The current study would be of immense help to the following: -

1. Ordinary Mwananchi

2. Politicians / leaders

3. Students of linguistics especially in the university

4. The discipline of linguistics especially discourse analysis

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Appendix 1: Post handshake speeches

Speaker:

Topic :

Setting:

Date:

Speech 1: **President Uhuru Kenyatta Speech**

Source, YouTube, 16th June 2019 at 2pm

Context   President Uhuru's Kenyatta full speech after being awarded a degree at Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology.

Speech 1

"Ladies and gentlemen… Universities will continue to drive not only our national technological and industrial development agenda but also the advancement of knowledge in all other fields of national endeavour.

And I take a special note that the graduands here today have great potential to contribute to the advancement of the big 4 agenda. I have noted that this University offers Degree programmes that are key to my big four agenda. So indeed, we are happy that amongst you here today are people that will help to contribute to make Kenya a safer, more secure and a prosperous nation, by focusing and helping us build on these four pillars.

Ladies and gentlemen, am also happy to note that the university is already advancing in the area of food security…Under World Bank funding having competitively won this

grant and I want to congratulate the university staff and management for doing a commendable work.

Dear graduands, as I look at you seated here today, I know the sacrifices that you have made to reach today's pinnacle. You had long hours in classrooms, even longer hours studying outside of your classrooms, you had family events that you missed and you had to say no to friends when you really wanted to say yes. You have endured early morning and late nights. You have taken your books on vacation and done homework while others were relaxing. You have had to prioritize and plan your time and you have worked hard to get where you are today, and I want to assure you of one thing, it was all very much worth it… In conclusion, I want to promise that my administration will continue committing more resources towards support of universities. Today we have just seen good work that is being done here especially with regard to Agriculture and a request was put for Ksh. 100,000,000 additional grants from the government to support that facility and I will do my best to ensure that it is done. Let me also express my appreciation for the honorary degree that has been bestowed upon me by this university and in the same breadth say that I **pledge** to continue **working** strongly with my brother Raila and indeed with all Kenyans to continue to build a safer, more **united**, prosperous **Kenya** with **equity** for all".

Speech 2: Prime Minister Raila Odinga Speech

(Source: YouTube, 16ᵗʰ June 2019 at 3pm).

"We **agreed** with my brother Uhuru that we can have something to bequeath the future generation with; a country that is **united**. The founding fathers of our **nation** coined the

Kenyan dream; The National Anthem. **Kenya** is always a dream waiting to happen…

May we stay **united**. There should be no discrimination either on the basis of ethnicity, or the bases of gender, or on the basis of race, or on the basis of religion. Peace is not merely the absence of war. Peace means so many things, an angry person is not a peaceful person. And liberty, people who are liberated, who are free. Plenty be found within our borders. Plenty is not going to drop like manner from heaven. So, we must give the people of Kenya the opportunity to create wealth. They must be empowered from childhood; they should be able to get proper education from nursery to university.

The people must have equal access to quality health care whether they have money or not. Then plenty will be found. And in the bible, the plenty is to be found in Canaan. That's why we said we are on a journey to Canaan. And we agreed with my brother, yes, he had said he would take people to Egypt and I had said we would take people to Canaan. So, now let's meet together and go to Canaan. So lets us now build bridges across River Jordan so that we can cross River Jordan. When we agreed, we looked for experts. One of them is Paul Mwangi representing me, if you want to know there is no ethnicity in this issue. President Uhuru brought Martin Kimani. So you see two Kikuyus working on this issue. That's not the issue, they are Kenyans."

Speech 3: President Uhuru Kenyatta Speech

Speech 3 was given by President Kenyatta after meeting with Raila Odinga on Friday, March 9, 2018.

(Source: YouTube, 17th June 2019 at 4pm)

"First and foremost, I have taken great pleasure this morning in welcoming my brother Raila to Harambee House. We have had an opportunity for an extensive discussion on matters of Kenya and We have come to a common understanding, an understanding that this country of Kenya is greater than any one individual… Democracy is not, as has often been said, an end in itself. It is just a process by which the will of the people is heard. But the national good, the national interest must always prevail over those elections. And this is why me and my brother (Raila) have agreed that starting from today, we will begin a process of bringing our people together... So to me, this marks a new beginning for our country, a beginning in which we hope that we shall march together as Kenyans and that we can differ in terms of political alignments but always remain steadfast and united in matters Kenya.

With those few and brief remarks, a more detailed statement will be given to all of you to be able to read and to understand what formulates this new beginning that we seek to start…"

Speech 4: Raila Amollo's Speech

Source: YouTube, 5th July 2019 at 3pm)

"Your excellency the President… I, like Kalonzo was not expecting to be invited but I am happy to say a few words.

The bible says that the Lord works in mysterious ways if he wants us to perform. So, we find ourselves attending this prayer breakfast and we have very many foreign guests who have come to join us today. This occasion gives us an opportunity to reflect where we are coming from, where we are, and where we want to go.

I was complaining to one of the officials here, Mr. Poghisio that he faired in the writing there to state that I was very instrumental in reviving the prayer breakfast group in parliament after it had collapsed in the early 90s.

The previous speaker Dr. Eistern has quoted extensively on what Nelson Mandela said after he came out of prison after 27years. South Africa had been under apartheid and the people of South Africa suffered some of the greatest injustices in the world, and when he came out, he decided to shake hands with De-Klerk who defended the system that had put him in prison for 27 years. So I said if Nelson Mandela could shake hands with De-Klerk, what's wrong with Raila Odinga shaking hands with President Uhuru Kenyatta.

And when we shook hands, many things changed in our country. The shilling steadied, the stock market also steadied, and generally peace returned to our country. But most importantly, it also had an effect in thousands of kilometres away from our border, somewhere in Korea. The leaders of North and South Korea crossed each other's borders and shook hands.

So this is what is needed so that the countries can move forward. We have a great country, Kenya and we have no other country other than Kenya. And I have said that if I were to die and God asks me where I would want to be born again, I would tell him to take me back to Kenya.

So all that we need is to make this country a better place for our people. That is the reason why the current campaign is going on to fight the vice that is one of major enemies, corruption. And we have said it must be fought to its logical conclusion. We are

confident that the Kenyan spirit will prevail. In conclusion, I want you to look at your next neighbour and shake hands."

Speech 5: The speech below was given by President Uhuru Kenyatta during US national prayer breakfast.

(Source: YouTube, 1ˢᵗ July 2019 at 8am)

"Let me begin by saying with deep honour and how privilege it is to join all of you this afternoon as we pray together and as we share experiences on reconciliation. Reconciliation is easier said than done. Reconciliation in situations where deep divisions have existed for many years and some cases are even generational differences passed on from one generation to the next.

It's extremely difficult like I said it is easier said than done. As a country, as senator Koon has put his point across and stated that we moved from a single party system to multiparty system in 1992 and that time it was difficult to imagine and everybody thought that just by changing one clause in our constitution, section 2A and allowing the process of multiparty democracy in itself was just going to be ok. But unfortunately, that did not end up as we were expecting because we ended up opening the political space.

So from 1992, which was the 1ˢᵗ multiparty election to 1997, these ethnic divisions just deepened. No party was ever able to secure a significant majority and each election always turned out to be a process of ethnic conflict. The only election during that period that ended up with some kind of majority was one election where my good friend Raila here teamed up with Mwai Kibaki against me and President Moi in 2002.

In 2007, Kenya witnessed the worst cycle of election violence but with the intervention of friends, a coalition government was formed with Kibaki as President and honourable Raila as Prime Minister. With the coalition came the 2010 constitution and devolution was entrenched.

Once again when we thought we had got the solution to our problems, we proceeded to the elections of 2013 which again left Kenya divided along ethnic lines. In 2017, the same violence occurred and built tension among ethnic communities.

It was at that stage, I realized that is it not possible to continue in that manner, because at the end of the day, leadership is given by the Almighty. We have begun that process of reconciliation and I strongly believe that we will succeed in the process and heal our nation. The greatest gift that me and my brother can leave to the people of Kenya is the gift of peace, gift of love and unity to all our people".

Speech 6: President Uhuru's speech

(Source: YouTube 4th August 2019 at 1pm)

"I want to encourage the university to work closely with the neighbouring counties so as to boost the economy of the region.

It's my advice that the knowledge and skills being generated at this university should be able to stimulate growth and development not only in this region but Kenya as a whole.

We realize that the world is a global village…We must therefore not lose focus of innovations and research that is geared towards making education globally competitive. There is need to know the importance of unity if we are to achieve the goals that we have

set for ourselves. We should not allow politics and tribe to divide us. Let us not oppose or support each other blindly.

Speech 7:

Kiswahili Version.

"Ile mimi nitawaomba wenzangu tuwe na umoja. Mimi nasisitiza hio kila wakati, tuwe na umoja. Ukiona tukiwa na handshake na Yule ambaye tulikuwa tunachapana kisiasa ni kwa sababu tumesema tumechoka na siasa duni. Tunataka siasa yakuleta watu pamoja sasa.Mnataka hio siasa ya kuleta watu pamoja ama mnataka aji?Ama mnataka tuendelee na mabishano. Mabishano si ni damu inamwangika. Mnataka tumwage damu?Mnataka tumwage damu? Tulete watu pamoja tupate maendeleo lakini sio maafa". (Source: YouTube 3rd August 2019 at 1pm)

English Version

"All what I am requesting from you every now and then is to embrace unity and togetherness. That's why we had the handshake with my political archrival. We agreed that we are tired of retrogressive and divisive politics. We want politics of bringing people together. Do you want politics of bringing people together or what type of politics do you want? Do you want us to continue with divisive politics where blood must be shed? Do you want us to shed blood? Do you want us to shed blood? Our aim therefore is to bring people together and bring development to the people." (My translation)

Speech 8 By President Uhuru

(Source: YouTube, 5th August 2019 at 8am)

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Kiswahili/English Version

"My fight against corruption and this fight I promise you hata wakifanya namna gani, naona wengine wanajaribu kuniingilia. Mimi nawaambia dunia yangu iko wazi, fanyeni na mseme ile mnataka, peleka mbele kama Uhuru amefanya makosa, funga lakini Uhuru ataendelea kutafuta wale wamefanya makosa natutawafunga". I am certain and glad to see now the strong will of judiciary to ensure that we achieve that particular objective. hio agenda hatubanduki na haturudi nyuma. Hio tuko hapo.Upande huu mwingine kama kuna mambo tutaongea, mimi nataka kuongea juu ya vile wakenya wataishi kwa amani, peace, vile tutaishi kwa umoja na hio ndio mimi agenda yangu upande huu. Na ndipo mimi nimesema tutafanya kazi na Prime Minister Bwana Raila Odinga tuakikishe tumetimiza hayo. Because there can be no greater legacy we can leave to our children than leaving behind a peaceful and united country." (Source: YouTube 5th August 2019 at 3pm)

English Version (My translation)

 "I promise my fight against corruption irrespective of what people will say or do. I can see some people are attacking me with all manners of allegations, but I tell them point blank that if they have evidence against me, then let me be jailed, but I will continue with my resolve to look for and jail those who engage in corruption malpractices.

I am certain and glad now to see the strong will of judiciary to ensure that we achieve that particular objective. We cannot and we are not turning back on our resolve to fight corruption.

On the other side, if there's anything we shall talk is how our people will stay and embrace peace and unity; and I will work hand in hand with the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga to make sure this is realized. Because there can be no greater legacy we can leave to our children than leaving behind a peaceful and united country.

And for that to happen we must be inclusive on how we manage our affairs. And how we achieve that, I leave to the people. We will hear their opinions, we will hear their agendas but we must be inclusive. So never again should a Kenyan citizen from any part of this country ever feel left out of the social economic development of this country".

Speech 9: Speaker Raila Amollo Odinga

(Source: YouTube, 15th August 2019 at 3pm

Kiswahili version

"Tumeleta handshake nyumbani. Hii ndio mara ya kwanza tangu tarehe tisa mwezi watatu mwaka jana, tuliposhikana mkono na ndugu yangu ambaye tumefika hapa. Tukaamua kwamba Kenya ni muhimu zaidi kushinda sisi sote pamoja. Ndio sababu tukasema tuanze kuona kama Kenya imerudi kwenye gurudumu. Tujue mahali ambapo mvua ilianza kutunyeshea sisi na tukasema tufanye marekebisho, sivyo, natukatambua mambo tisa na tukaandika yote katika ile mkataba tuliweka sahii, inaitwa M.O.U kwa kimombo, ambayo tunataka kurekebisha ili tukitoka hapa tuwe na nchi ambayo imeungana pamoja. Hakuna kijana wa Kenya ambaye atamaliza masomo, aende kufanya interview asipate kazi kwa sababu ya jina yake. Ati huyu ni Mong'are, enda pande hii. Hio sio sawa ili maendeleo iwe sawa kwa Kenya mzima. Hakuna ubaguzi kwa ukabila, hakuna ubaguzi kimaendeleo".)

English version

"We have brought the handshake home. This is the first time since we did the handshake on 9/3/2018 with my brother who is here. We decided that Kenya is more important than all of us together. We want to see Kenya on the path of prosperity. We want to see where the rain started beating us. We decided to undertake some amendments in the constitution and pinpointed nine areas which we agreed and signed as our M.O.U (Memorandum of Understanding). We want to see a united Kenya. No youth in Kenya will ever finish his/her studies and be interviewed and fail to get the job because of his/her name e.g. your name is Monga're, get that side, that is not good. We want to see equal developments in all parts of Kenya irrespective of tribal affiliations". (My translation)

Speech 10: President Uhuru's speech after being awarded degree at Jaramogi Oginga Odinga of Science and Technology during 6th graduation ceremony

Speech 11 : Speaker Raila Amollo Odinga

Venue: The above excerpts are from Raila's speech during the President's launch of Universal Health Care in the lakeside town of Kisumu.

"I want first to thank the President, and the Deputy President for coming to Kisumu to launch the universal health care... When we were campaigning, we kept on telling our people that we would like to introduce universal health care to our people, that every Kenyan who is sick irrespective of whether he/she has money will be able to access

quality Medicare. This is the reason why we are here today in Kisumu, and this is a very noble idea. We also equally want to give each and every child born into our country irrespective of the social economic background of the parents to access quality education from nursery up to higher levels of education. We would also like to see every Kenyan who has reached adulthood being able to access gainful employment, and that is the reason why I think coming here today Kisumu is a major milestone to the people of Kenya.

I want to thank the donors who are also working together with the government to enable the government to realize the wishes of the people of Kenya. Let me now welcome my brother Uhuru Kenyatta to launch the universal Health Care and talk to our people". (Source: YouTube, 20th September 2019 at 9am)

Speech 12

Raila's acceptance speech after being awarded an honorary degree for peace deal with Uhuru.

"The chancellor, the vice-chancellor, your Excellency the President of the republic of Kenya, I feel greatly honoured to have been conferred a doctorate degree, honoris causa and with humility I accept this honour, thank you".

Speech 13

"Mama Edith and the children, and the family of my late friend, Kenneth Stanley Nyindo Matiba, your excellency the President, Deputy President, fellow mourners.

We have come to celebrate the life of great Kenyan patriot Kenneth Stanley Nyindo Matiba. I am here with my wife, Ida Odinga, please stand up and wave. We are family friends of Ken, and I want to say without fear or contradiction that in that coffin lies a great patriot Kenenth Matiba. People have talked of him as a philanthropist, family man, bureaucrat, businessman, a sportsman, a politician etc.

We have lost a great hero, a strong person, a man who was dedicated and committed to principle. If Matiba said we go, we go. He was prepared to pay the ultimate price to bring about change to this country and he suffered for it, he paid so dearly. He has died when we have a new constitution in this country.

So, what would be the reward for Matiba? The ideals under which he suffered are achieved. And it is because of this, after what we have gone through in this country that we ask ourselves, where is our country going?

I said that I am ready to talk with my brother Uhuru for the sake of Kenya, and when we met, we sat down and talked for a long time. We asked ourselves when did the rain start beating us, what can we do to bring Kenya into the right track. So that we be able to achieve the Kenyan dream as coined by the founding fathers of our nation. We are so divided ethnically, and that's why we talked about inclusivity, ethnic cohesion, divisive elections, tribalism, corruption and security. We agreed that if we can address all these things, then we can bring our country together.

After we agreed, we said that now we can announce to the people of Kenya and we shake hands. That is the handshake. I believe strongly on what we agreed on. We are not talking about 2022. 2022 will come and go. We are thinking beyond 2022. And we agreed that

the divisions that have failed Kenya to achieve the Kenya dream must be removed. It will end with us. Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta, so that we can bequeath the Kenya generation, a better country. Our children, Our great grand children can live in a different country than the one we lived in.

I have spoken so much because of my friend, Matiba. Fare thee well Ken, pass our greetings to Mzee Kenyatta, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Pio Gama Pinto, Masinde Muliro and so on, thank you very much" (Source: YouTube, 20th October 2019, at 8am)

Speech 14: by president Uhuru

The President's speech below when the BBI task force presented report to him at State House reflects cases of perlocutionary acts that intent to persuade the listener:

"We are going to use this as an opportunity to heal the wounds and to create an environment that would make Kenya peaceful that would make Kenya prosper, that would make all Kenyans feel included.

I honestly believe that we have set the path to long term prosperity and stability for our nation.

I think we can all agree, we don't want to achieve our individual ambitions on the altar of peace, prosperity, and stability of the people we wish to lead". (Source: YouTube, 2nd February 2020).

Speech 15:

Speech 15: By president Uhuru

"You will never achieve anything if you think you are going to climb the mountain alone. But if we want to walk and work together, there are many things that we will be able to achieve. This our handshake is not about who shall be where and who shall have what position? Who shall do what, but how can we as Kenyans together not leaving the past but learn from it. Not plan for today but living it, but plan for our future because that is what we can give as a gift to this country.

Why am I saying these stories? I am just showing you what potential exists in this country if only we could just become visionary leaders and work together in partnership.

There's no reason why this republic of ours should not be where Singapore and Asian Tigers are. There's nothing that is supposed to be done that does not exist in one shelf or another in our Kenyan archives. Everything is there.

You know we like to talk and that's why I am saying we must decide for ourselves. We have the infrastructure, now we want to get our people decent work. We want those factories to come here.

Why can't we see that future? For every step you take, every leap you make, in technology and development you move from being one thing to another.

Now we want our people to be the ones who will be making textiles, to be making all different components that would be used to assemble cars. That's where we want to take our people, but, how do we do it if we are fighting one another". (Source: YouTube, 1st March 2020 at 2pm)

Speech 16: By uhuru

"Many of these differences are already well entrenched in the third generation of Kenyans… My brother and I have therefore come together today to say this descent stops here. We refuse to allow our diversity to kill our nation. We refuse to be the leaders under whose watch Kenya slid into a failed nation.

We have to look into ourselves and challenge our readiness to make the changes that will allow our institutional reforms to work… We therefore seek your partnership in this initiative fellow Kenyans. We are all sailing in this one ship. We must come together to scoop out the water that has been sipping in or we shall capsize... Our only option is to come together and scoop out these waters of animosity that we have been pouring into the boat before we all sink. Once again, as Lincoln said.... "The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail." (Source: YouTube, 20th March 2020 at 8am)

Speech 17: by Uhuru

"Building better Kenya Honourable speakers is ultimately the desire of every Kenyan… Honourable speakers, in all our cultures, handshake is an expression of good will, friendship, trust and reconciliation. it is synonymous with peace. Indeed, our handshake has been followed by millions of handshakes across the length and breadth of the republic… Against this backdrop honourable speakers, I reaffirm a commitment previously made and which I hope this house this year will pass of designating 10 Billion Kenya shillings to compensate and settle victims of political violence." (Source: YouTube, 10th April 2020 at 9am).

Speech 18: by Uhuru

"Fellow Kenyans, today marks the key milestone and a historic journey for our nation as we inch closer towards the realization of health for all… The vision 2030 envisions a society in which no one is left behind... Today therefore marks the actualization of Kenya's full commitment for ensuring health lives and promoting good health for all.

Fellow Kenyans my administration recognizes the social and economic challenges that Kenya faces due to the cost of health care... We must therefore endeavour to build resilience and responsive health systems that guarantee equitable access to health for all."

Speech 19 Prime Minister Raila Odinga Speeches

"Actually we were not there on 26th October 2017 repeat elections for reasons that we made it clear for the people of Kenya. You ended up in Kasarani and we ended up in Uhuru Park, that's where we are coming from. So now we ended up as President and the peoples President respectively.

Then our people said that since ooh now we are sworn in, lets remove all the portraits of the President from all Public buildings in our strongholds; hide them somewhere and torch them, and declare ourselves supreme and begin to collect taxes.

I looked at that and I said that is taking Kenya to Somalia. On the other hand, the President's people told him that if somebody else is sworn in, that's treason, arrest him, prosecute him and hang him. So that person is Raila now and the President also had an issue with that one.

It's under those circumstances that counsels of good will prevailed and we ended up having a conversation with the President. We took 19 hours and it was not easy as the President will explain to you later, because we had called each other all sorts of names. After all those long deliberations, we agreed that we now had something that we could actually put together.

How we can change this country, begin a new narrative and bring our people together. We want to see all the people of Kenya united and working together as one people. That was the purpose of the BBI (Building Bridges Initiative)". (Source: YouTube, 30th May 2020 at 9am)

Speech 20:

Speaker:

Venue:

"In the past, we have given a lot of attention to institutional reforms in the hope that these could lift us to the next level of nationhood and make us a blessed land…We must be courageous enough to admit that it has not worked. It has failed because we are yet to upgrade our software. We have been pouring new wine into old wine skins. The Gospel tells us that new wine needs new wine skins.

The time has come to confront and resolve our differences. These differences are becoming too entrenched…

Fellow Kenyans, in the life of any nation, a time comes when the people and their leaders must audit the progress made towards the attainment of the goals and prayers laid out at

the founding of the nation. Abraham Lincoln said.... If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it." Such a time has come for Kenya… We, the leaders are equally summoned to reflect on our performance towards the achievement of our nation's aspirations… Our diversity appears destined to be a curse to ourselves today and to our children tomorrow." (Source: YouTube, 9th June 2020 at 8am)