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Inaugural Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev (1991-2015): Genre Peculiarities of Inaugural Discourse

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Abstract. *This paper represents an analysis of the texts of five inaugural addresses of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev from 1991 through 2015 and an attempt to elicit whether the functions peculiar to the American inaugural address, developed over the long history of inaugural tradition, are relevant to the study of the presidential inaugural addresses of Kazakhstan.*

Keywords: inaugural address, political discourse, inaugural discourse, inaugural genre.

Introduction

Scholars Karlyn K. Campbell and Kathleen H. Jamieson were the first to outline generic features and generalize the constituent elements of inaugural addresses of the presidents of the United States of America: first, in their article "Inaugurating the Presidency" in 1985 and later in their book "Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words" in 2008. As it was the first major work in categorizing inaugural addresses into a separate rhetorical genre it was decided to apply their approach to the inaugural addresses of Kazakhstan.

Their approach rests on an idea that there are four initial elements, or functions, present in all inaugural addresses that serve to: unify the audience by reconstituting its members as "the people," who can witness and ratify the ceremony; rehearse communal values drawn from the past; set forth the political principles that will govern the new administration; and demonstrate through enactment that the president appreciates the requirements and limitations of executive functions respectfully¹.

The findings illustrated that those four elements of the inaugural addresses of American presidents pointed out by Karlyn K. Campbell and Kathleen H. Jamieson are present in the inaugural Addresses of the leader of Kazakhstan.

Theoretical underpinning

Political discourse

Political discourse is a comparatively new field of study with social and political importance; it has become one of the most investigated topics in modern linguistics. There is no doubt that it always existed, but a theoretical definition of this term emerged only in the 1980s.

Considering the nature of the term "political discourse," John Wilson describes it as "reflexive and potentially ambiguous," and suggests two possibilities of interpreting this term: "First, a discourse which is itself political; and second, an

¹ K.K. Campbell, K.H. Jamieson, *Presidents creating the presidency: Deeds done in words*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2008. Cf. Aitmukhanbet Yesdauletov, Askhat Oralov, Aigerim Turkhanova, Ilyas Yesdauletov, Lyazzat Tuleshova, Ardak Yesdauletova, "A new stage of relations between the European Union and Kazakhstan: europeanization process," in *Astra Salvensis*, V (2010), no. 10, p. 77.

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analysis of political discourse as simply an example dis-course type, without explicit reference to political content or political context."²

According to T. Van Dijk³, "political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels."

As highlighted by the Russian linguist, A. Chudinov (Chudinov 2006: 8), the main postulate of political linguistics is a discursive approach to the analysis of political texts, thus, each specific text is analyzed referring to the political situation, in respect to other texts, targeted aims, political views and personal traits of the author, and peculiarities of perception of these texts by different people.

The aim⁴ of linguistic analysis of political discourse is to identify the mechanism of complex relation between power, perception, speech and behavior. Similarly, the Russian linguist E. Sheĭgal⁵ proposes that the aim of the political discourse is "power struggle." Stuckey⁶ claims that "inaugurals set forth the principles that will guide the new administration, enunciate a general political philosophy, and call for contemplation rather than action."

In a broad sense, it is an aggregate of all speech acts that are produced during any political discussions. In the last decade, investigation in the field of political rhetoric became an interesting theme for scholars, linguists and representatives of different schools.

Inaugural Discourse

One of the most important genres in the structure of the political discourse, not only from a political, but from a linguistic point of view as well, is the inaugural address of the newly elected president. It is a sub-discourse of presidential discourse, that itself belongs to the system of general political discourse.

The inaugural address is a small, yet crucial piece of a much larger subject of presidential rhetoric. T. Bimes⁷ claims that "after Wilson, presidents shifted from constitutional rhetoric and embraced a more popular, "inspirational" rhetoric, one that sought to "interpret the wishes of the people" and to use these public appeals to influence Congress through mass pressure."

² J. S. D. Wilson, D. Tannen, H.E. Hamilton, *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 2008.

³ T. A. Van Dijk, "What is Political Discourse," *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 1997, nr. 11(1), 11-52. Cf. Iuliu-Marius Morariu, "Aspects of political theology in the spiritual autobiography of Dag Hammarskjöld," in *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, LXXIV (2018), no. 4, a. 4857, p. 1.

⁴ K.L. Hacker, *Political Linguistics discourse analysis. Theory and practice of Political Communication research*. New York, State University of New York Press, 1996, p. 28-55.

⁵ E. Sheĭgal, *Semiotikė apolitičeskogodiskursa*, Volgograd, 2000.

⁶ M. Stuckey, Inaugural addresses. *Encyclopedia of the American presidency*, 2010, 1, p. 260-262.

⁷ T. Bimes, *Understanding the Rhetorical Presidency. Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*. Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 208-231. Tursun Khazretali, Yixing Amantai, Girithlioglu Mustafa, Orazkhan Nurlan, Kamalbek Berkimbaev, "Kazakh-Turkish Cultural Relationship of the 20th Century: through a Scientific Biography and the Works of Shakarim Kudaiberdyuly," in *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2011), no. 11, p. 209-211.

Inaugural addresses play an important role in the genre structure of political discourse. The absence of new facts in the speech deliberately draws the attention of the participants of communication (president and the audience) to the fact of delivering the speech. This is the most important and unique peculiarity of inaugural address as a genre: it is not only speech act, but a political action as well.

R. Joslyn⁸ describes inaugural addresses as a "riskless rhetoric," because "they contain little that anyone could disagree with, little that reveals evaluative or programmatic choice, and little that is challenging or thought-provoking."

The character of inaugural addresses is identified as⁹: "Specific lexical and grammatical tools and techniques of expression, tools of influencing (pragmatic and speech methods of impact, impact on mentality of the receiver, his morals, beliefs, ideals and values) a certain circle of discussed questions."

Inaugural addresses are full of meaning and symbols that bear encoded information about the history of the country and establishment of the institution of president, as the speech of a newly elected president is his message for his fellow citizens, friends, allies and, moreover, to everyone all over the world.

M.J. Korzi¹⁰ argues that although "they are sometimes dismissed because of their banality or their stilted form, presidential inaugural addresses furnish an important perspective of American political history."

Jamieson and Campbell (2008: 30) defend their classification of presidential inaugurals as belonging to epideictic discourse because these speeches are delivered on highly ceremonial occasions, link past and future in present contemplation, affirm or raise the shared principles that will guide the incoming administration, ask the audience to 'gaze upon' (reflect upon) traditional values, employ elegant, literary language, and rely on the 'heightening effect' by amplification and reaffirmation of what is already known and believed.

Further, the scholars give four elements or functions of inaugural address that correspond to the functions implied by Russian scholar Y. Sheigal¹¹ as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Functions of inaugural address by Jamieson and Campbell and by Sheigal

Functions suggested by Jamieson and Campbell:	Functions suggested by Sheigal:
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⁸ R. Joslyn, *Keeping Politics in the Study of Political Discourse. Form, Genre and the Study of Political Discourse*, Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1986, 301-337.

⁹ E. Sheigal, *In anguratsion oobraschenieka k zhanro politiches kogodiskurs*, Zhanryrechi, Sborniknauch statei. Saratov, GosUNTS, 2002, p. 205-214.

¹⁰ M.J. Korzi, *A seat of popular leadership: the presidency, political parties, and democratic government*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.

¹¹ E. Sheigal, *In augurat sionoeo braschenie kak zhanro litiches kogodiskursa*. Zhanryrechi, Sborniknauch, statei, Saratov, GosUNTS, 2002, p. 205-214.

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(1) Unifying the audience by reconstituting its members as the people, who can witness and ratify the ceremony;	(1) Integrative
(2) Rehearsing communal values drawn from the past;	(2) Inspirative
(3) Setting forth the political principles that will govern the new administration;	(3) Declarative
(4) Demonstrating through enactment that the president appreciates the requirements and limitations of executive functions respectfully.	(4) Performative

Inaugural Discourse of Kazakhstan Historical Background

Inaugural address is a newly forming genre in Kazakhstani political discourse, due to the young history of the country. The ceremony of inauguration of the President of the Republic has taken place only five times since 1991, a critical moment after the collapse of the USSR and the members of the Soviet Union forming independent countries. Obviously, the inaugural genre of Kazakhstan does not have its own evident traditions, as the American inaugural discourse with a long and consistent history does.

The earliest inaugural address by the first President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who at that time was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Kazakh SSR, was delivered on December 10, 1991 in Almaty. He was elected as the President of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, later renamed the Republic of Kazakhstan.

It was an important ceremony for Kazakhstan, a solemn moment, when the whole country, thrilled with the changes, yet in anticipation of the future, was making the very first steps towards democracy.

The next inaugural address was delivered on January 21, 1999. The third address was given on January 11, 2006, the fourth address on April 8, 2011, and the last, fifth inaugural address was delivered on April 8, 2015, all of them in Astana.

Integrative Function

The integrative function is characterized by the willingness of the president to unify the nation under his authority, and show the inextricable connection between the president and the people. This function tends to appear throughout the inaugural address as it is the main reason why the president delivers this solemn speech. In addition, this element is important in ratifying the ceremony. The nation witnesses the ceremonial occasion and confirms the ascent to power.

As a matter of fact, we can observe two types of integrative functions: first, when the president relates himself with the people (President – People) and the second when he unites the people as a nation (People – People). When the president wishes to show the relation between him and the people he uses tokens as: "my" (we), "nash" (our), "uvazhaemyesootechestvenniki" (dear fellow countrymen), "soratniki" (associates), odnasem'ia (one family), "edinomyshlenniki" (fellow-thinkers), "doriesograzhdane" (dear fellow citizens), "doriesdruz'ia" (dear friends).

The last is usually marked by such tokens as: "edinyi" (united), "edinstvonaroda" (unity of nation), "zemliamiraisoglasia" (land of peace and reconciliation), "dorieskazakhstany" (dear people of Kazakhstan), vysokorazvitaipoliteskaiatsivilizatsiia (highly developed multiethnic civilization), kazakhstanskaiاناتsiia (Kazakhstani nation), silaedinstvanashegoobshchestva (strength of unity of our society), odna Rodina (one motherland), kazhskaiazemlia (Kazakh land) etc.

The president relates himself to the nation by using the personal pronoun "my" (we) and "nas" (us) and representing himself as one of the people, or even one member of the family.

"My - odnasem'ia, i u nasodna Rodina. Sud'bakazhdogoiznas – v sud'beKazakhstana. My vmesteproshli put'otkhaosa k protsvetaniiu."

'We are one family, and we are one Motherland. The destiny of each of us is in the destiny of Kazakhstan. We together have followed the path from chaos to prosperity' (2015).

"My prodemonstrirovalivsemumirusiluedinstvaikrepkoisplochenostinaroda. Sostoiavshiesiavyboryvoidut v istoriiu, kaksamyemassovyepolektoral'nomuuchastiiu."

'We demonstrated to the whole world the power of unity and strong solidarity of the people. These elections will enter into history as the largest by electoral participation' (2015).

We also can easily observe the strategy of positive representation in his speeches as the people have already started their path to becoming a democratic country by electing their own president.

"VpervymillionykazakhstanstevimennovybiraliPrezidenta, odnogoizneskol'kikhkandidatov. I nikto ne doвлеnadnimi, kromesobstvennogorazumaisovesti".

'For the first time millions of Kazakhstanis specifically chose a president, one from several candidates. And no one dominated over them, except their own mind and conscience' (1999).

He also mentions the importance of the ceremony of Inauguration, the day when the nation and the president gather together to ratify the ascent of the newly elected president. He affirms that he and the people are one entity that supports the same political views, ideas, and beliefs.

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“To, chto my otmechaemsegodniā, – ne pobedaodnogocheloveka. Ètoobshchaiāpobeda. Èto ne torzhestvoudnogoizpobedivshikhkandidatov, a torzhestvoidei. Èto ne uspekhpoliticheskoiĝruppy, a uspekhpolitiki.”

‘That which we are celebrating today is not the victory of a person. This is a collective victory. This is not the celebration of one of the winning candidates, but the celebration of an idea. This not the success of a political group, but the success of politics.’

Vybory, sostoiaiv shiesiānagla zakhnablūdateleūzmnogikhstranmiraimezhdunarodnykhorganizatsiū, staliiārkimsvidetel’stvomuverennostinezavisimogoKazakhstana v svoemnastoiāshchemibudushchem, svidetel’stvomedinstvanas hegonaroda, splochnogo obshcheit’sel’iū” (2006).

‘The elections, which took place before the eyes of observers from many countries of the world and international organizations, became a bright testimony to the certainty of an independent Kazakhstan in its present and its future, evidence of the unity of our people, united towards a common goal (2006).

In his inaugural addresses the President Nazarbayev aptly uses the multinationality of the country and notes that this country will flourish further, not only for Kazakh nation, but for everyone living in it. For instance,

“Iā veriū, chto my sumeemsozdat’ nanterritoriin Kazakhstanavysokorazvituiūpolitētnicheskuiūtsivilizat’siū, v kodoroivozroditsiākazakhskaiānat’siā, v kodoroī budutsvobodnochuvstvovat’sebiāvsevkhodiāshchie v nee nat’siīnarodnost’”i (1991).

‘I believe that we will be able to create on the territory of Kazakhstan a highly-developed, multiethnic civilization, in which the Kazakh nation will be reborn, in which all nations and ethnicities within it will feel free.’

In his speech in 2006 Nursultan Nazarbayev uses "mногообразie" (diversity) and "единство" (unity) in parallel constructions to display the bond between these two opposite, to some extent, notions. The lexical repetition of these two opposed words influences the audience; it adds rhythm, emotionality, and expressiveness to his words.

“My sil’nyashimmногообразiem – mnogoobraziemnat’sional’nosteiūveroispovedaniū. Nashasila v edinstve – edinstvet’sennosteiūstremleniū k progressui prot’svetaniūnasheiRodiny”.

‘We are strong through our diversity – diversity in nationalities and faiths. Our strength is in unity – unity of values and aspiration towards progress and prosperity for our Motherland’ (2006).

When concluding his first inaugural address, the president refers to all the multinational body of electors by naming major ethnicities as if he was addressing his speech directly to them.

“1 dekabriānaizbiratel’ nykhuchastkakhprokhodilo ne prostoegolosovanie. Ono polozhilonachalofirmirovaniūnovogobratskogosoobshchestvakazakhov, russkikh, ukraintsev, koreitsev, nemtsev, uigurov — vsekh tekht,

ktoedinoiKomandoireshilprobivat'dorogucherezdramaticheskoenastoiashchee v zdorovoebudushcheenasheirespubliki" (1991).

'On December 1st in the electoral districts occurred not simply voting. It laid a foundation for the formation of a new brotherly community of Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Koreans, Germans, Uigurs – all those, who as a unified team decided to carve a way through the dramatic present to the healthy future of our Republic.'

Inspiring Function

The inspirational function emphasizes the traditional and national values, and the features inherited from the ancestors; it also refers to the great history that can bring lessons for the new government. By means of this function the president lets the people know that their common past is important, and that he is a devoted successor of the principles that our ancestors were true to.

Independence is the greatest of all traditional and national values for the Kazakhstani people. In his inaugural addresses, the president represents the notion of Independence as a longed-for and sacred idea, and matches it with the notion of "dream" as you can see in example 9 and 10.

"kazakhskoenatisonal'noedinstvoizmechty, zakotoruiumirali nashi predki v krovavykhbitvakhposlednikhtrekhstoletii, izmechty, zakotoruiuzaplilistrashnuiutsenudeiatelipartii «Alash» v nachaleveka, prevratilos' v real'nost'".

'A Kazakh national unity from a dream for which our ancestors died in the bloody battles of the last three centuries, from a dream for which the representatives of the party "Alash" paid a terrible price in the beginning of this century, became a reality' (1999).

The reiteration of the word "izmechty" (from a dream) in this excerpt is used to emphasize that the unity and independence that our ancestors were longing for and died for seemed to be delusory, but has now turned into a reality.

He binds the present generation with the past, suggesting that we are the ones who will make this dream come true and he is the one who will govern the people and continue to follow the traditions of his predecessors.

"My dolzhny byt' dostoynyna shik hmuzhestvennykh predkov, v zhestokikhbitvakhvekamizashchishchavshikhshirokieprostornasheiRodiny. Oni mechtali o nezavisimosti, o edinomisil' nomgosudarstve. Na doliuna shegopokoleniia vypalov elikoes chast'eosushchestvit'etumechtu."

'We must be worthy of our virile ancestors, who in cruel battles through the centuries protected wide expanses of our Motherland. They dreamt of independence, of a united and strong state. A portion of our generation was granted the great happiness of accomplishing this dream' (2006).

This element in American inaugural tradition contains admiration for the previous presidents. In the inaugural address of N. Nazarbayev we trace his deep respect of historical figures, as for instance, khan Abylai, (the first khan). Khan Abylai proved himself as a talented organizer and commander of detachments of the Kazakh militia fighting the Dzungars.

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“Unikal’nost’ inepovtorimost’ podobnogopolozheniia Kazakhstanaponimalim udryi Abylai, sumevshii vosstanovit’ v seredine XVIII vekaraspadavshuii kazakhskuii gosudarstvennost’, naladit’ dobrososedskie otnosheniia s prilegaii shchimigosudarstvami” (1991).

The uniqueness and singularity of a similar condition of Kazakhstan was also understood by the wise Abylai, who was able to restore in the middle of the XVII century the disjointed Kazakh nationhood, and establish neighborly relations with adjoining states’.

He talks not only about the distant past of the Kazakh nation, but mentions recent historical events because the achievements of the independent Kazakhstan have the same value for the citizenry. The accomplishments of modern Kazakhstan are unique and give the president a sense of pride, because it all took place during his diligent service.

“My zakryli Semipalatinskiispytatel’nyipoligon, reshitel’ nootkazalis’ otidernogooruzhiia. Seichas my idem v pervykhriadakh global’nogo antiidernogodvizheniia. My sozdalivmeste so svoimi sosediami, soiuznikamiipartneraminovymekhanizmy regional’noi bezopasnostiisotrudnichestva – SVMDA, SHOS, ODKB. V proshlomagodu uspešno proshlipredsedatel’stvo Kazakhstana v OBSE iSammit OBSE v Astane. V mire net bol’shetakoistrany, kotoraiaby zastol’korotkiisro k dostiglatakikh uspekhev!” (2011).

We closed the Semipalatinsk testing facility and decisively rejected nuclear weapons. Now we are leaders [lit. walk in the first rows] in global anti-nuclear action. We created together with our neighbors, allies, and partners new mechanisms of regional security and cooperation – CICA, SCO, CSTO. In the last year, the leadership of Kazakhstan successfully went to OSCE and the OSCE Summit ACC. in Astana. There is no other country in the world which would have achieved such success in such a short period.

The President also represents the traits of the Kazakh nation, acquired over time from their ancestors, as national values. These traits assisted the nation in overcoming hardships in the past, and they will do the same favor for the present generation. This character is common for the nation, i.e. each citizen has inherited these features.

“Kazakhskaiianatsiia vobravshaii v sebiatraditsiiimudrost’predydushchikhpokolenii, skontsentrirrovshaiianerastrachennuii energiiisozdaniia, nakopivshaiiagromnyiopyt “The internatsionalizma, natsional’nogo igrazhdanskogoglasiiia, mozhetidolznavzaiat’nasebiavelikuiimissiiu – vystupit’garantom stabil’nostii spokoistviia v svoem regione, dostoinovoi v mirovoesoobshchestvo”.

Kazakh nation, incorporating the traditions and wisdom of preceding generations, GEN. concentrating unspent energy of creation, and gaining

enormous experience in internationalism as well as national and civil accord, can and must take on the great mission of acting as a guarantor of stability and peace in its region and honorably enter the global community' (1991).

To heighten the emotionality of the speech and highlight the national values in his last two inaugural addresses the president gives an excerpt from a poem and an essay of two little school girls. President Nazarbayev uses them as the voice of modern Kazakhstan and as the symbol of the future.

In his penultimate address, by the means of an excerpt from an essay of a 5th grade school girl whose grandparents suffered during several wars, he introduces the notion of peace as the main value of the people of Kazakhstan.

“Mneochen'khochetsiävsegdazhit' v blagopoluchnoïimiroïstrane», - napisalaona.

“CHtoby ne bylo voïn, kakie byli v CHEchne ili TadzhiKistane, otkuda vy nuzhde ny byli uekhat'moiprababushkaipradedushka – veteran Velikoï Otechestvennoï voïny». Mirnoe nebo nad golovoï – vot samoe glavnoe dliã kazhdogo iz nas”.

'I very much want to always live in a safe and peaceful country,' she wrote. 'Where there are no wars like were in Chechnya or Tajikistan, Where my great-grandmother and great-grandfather, veterans of World War II were forced to leave.' A peaceful sky above one's head – this is the most important for each of us' (2015).

Whereas in his last inaugural address he introduces the notion of Independence as the main value of the nation by giving an excerpt from a poem of a young poet:

“Taiãuda men
NargyzImangazydegenastanalykbuldirshinakynkyzdyngzhyrzholdaryntyngdady.
Ondabylaï dep zhazylgan:

Tauelsizdik, atyngkandaïkieli!
Senikorgau –arkazaktyngparzy,
Arkazaktyngsen dep sogarzhuregi!
Tauelsizdik – kandaïgazhapbulugym!

'Recently I listened to the poetic lines of a little poet girl from Astana named NargyzImangazy. She wrote:

Independence, your name is sacred!
To defend you is each Kazakh's duty,
Each Kazakh's heart beats for you!
Independence – what a wonderful notion!

Declarative Function

The declarative function of the inaugural address includes the outline of the objectives, admonition of the urgent problems, and of course the step-by-step algorithm of actions that the office of the president is ready to take. Using terms and cliché is typical for this function, as the president sets the tone with more authoritarian language.

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This block was very crucial and difficult in Nazarbaev's first inaugural address, because there were many hardships that the Kazakhstani people as a nation had to overcome. He comprehended that the people had to hear these problems from him to realize the difficulties and be ready to face the struggles.

The president was open, hardheaded and straightforward; he understood the civil disturbances. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the habitual pace of life was broken and now the country was on its own.

"Segodniā, v krizisnoīdliāobshchestvasituatsiī – narubezhedvukhēpokh – faktor vremeniimeetogromnoeznachenie. Narastaiūshchaiānapriāzhennost' v respublikakhbyvsheīfederatsiī, ostrotatekh problem s kotorymi my stolknemsiā v blizhaīshiemesiātsy ne ostavliāūt vremenidliāraskachki, zastavliāūt deīstvovat' bystro, reshitel'noichetko".

'Today, in a situation that is a crisis for society – on the border between two epochs – the factor of time carries a huge significance. The growing tension in the former Soviet republics and the acuteness of the problems which we will encounter in the coming months do not leave time for slow starts, but force us to act quickly, firmly and carefully.'

He already knew the questions that his fellow citizens were bothered about, and with no hesitation he set the question:

"Kakiemerynamneobkhodimopredpriniāt' v pervuiūoched'?"

'Which measures must we take in the first stage?' (1991)

And then to be clear, he precisely points out the answer:

Ėto shagi, sviāzannye s chetkim razdeleniem vlastei...'

'They are steps connected with distinct division of power...'

"Ėtoob"ektivnaiā transformatsiā Verkhovnogo Soveta respubliki v professional'nyi parlament ..."

'It is objective transformation of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic into a professional parliament...'

"Ėto podderzhka politicheskogo pliūralizma..."

'It is support of political pluralism...'

"Ėto reshitel'nye deīstviā poukrepleniū pravoporiādkais obliūdeniū zakonnost i..."

'It is prompt action on the strengthening of public order and compliance with the law...'

"Ėto sokhraneniemezhnatsional'nogosoglasiiā..."

'It is the preservation of interethnic concord...'' (1991)

His commitments in the 1999 inaugural address are explicit and well-defined. He simply points out two objectives that, according to him, will be the principles of his office. As it is his second inaugural address, he shows that right now there is nothing more important than "dostatok naroda" (welfare of the nation) and "razvitiē demokratiī v strane" (developing democracy in the country).

In his following inaugural addresses the president represents the goals that he proposed in the State strategic plans: in the 2006 inaugural address he represents

the goals of the Strategy of Development “Kazakhstan 2030”, in 2011 the “Strategic Plan of Development 2020”, and in the last inaugural address he announces the goals of the “Plan of the Nation.”

In the inaugural addresses in 2006, 2011, and 2015, the head of the country starts to indicate his allies and strategical partners. In contrast, in his first two inaugural addresses he did not avow his loyalty to any country, ally, or organization.

“My tverdostoimnapozitsiĭakhstrategicheskogopartnerstva s Rossieĭ, Kitaem, SoedinennymiSHtatamiAmeriki. Rasshireniesotrudnichestva s EvropeĭskimSoiūzomimusul'manskimistranamiiĀvliĀetsiĀodnimizglavnykhprioriteto vnasheĭpolitiki. My pridamosoboeznachenienashimotnosheniĀm s blizhaĭshimisosediĀmi v Sentral'noiĀzii” (2006).

‘We stand firmly on our positions of strategic partnership with Russia, China, and the United States of America. Broadening cooperation with the European Union and Muslim countries is one of the main priorities of our policy. We place particular significance on our relations with our closest neighbors in Central Asia.’

“Vmeste s RossieĭiBelarus'iu my budemrazvivat'TamozhennyĭSoiūz, v blizhaĭshiegodyformiruemEvraziĭskiiĕkonomicheskiiSoiūz. My priverzhenyrasshireniiūvzaimovyygodnogosotrudnichestva s Kitaem. Kazakhstan natsĕlennaukrepleniestrategicheskogopartnerstva s SoedinennymiSHtatamiAmerikiiStranamiEvropeĭskogoSoiūza. My budemboletesnovzaimodeĭstvovat' s NashimitSentral'no-aziatskimisosediĀmiitiĀrkskimistranami” (2011).

‘Together with Russia and Belarus we will develop a Customs Union and in the next few years we will form a Eurasian economic union. We are committed to broadening mutual cooperation with China Kazakhstan is focused on strengthening its strategic partnership with the United States of America and the countries of the European Union. We will more closely cooperate with our Central Asian neighbors and Turkic countries.’

“My prodolzhimisotrudnichestvo s nashimistrategicheskimiĀpartnerami – Rossieĭ, KitaĭskoĭNarodnoiRespublikoi, SSHA, stranamiEvropeĭskogoSoiūza, islamskogomira”.

‘We will continue cooperation with our strategic partners – Russia, the People’s Republic of China, the USA, the countries of the European Union, and the Islamic world’ (2015).

Performative Function

The performative function of the inaugural address embraces the appreciation of all the duties and requirements of the presidency. In this part of his speech the newly elected president demonstrates his capacity to be a good leader and his ability to fulfill the responsibilities of the president within the limitations of executive power.

First and foremost, the performative function is expressed in the Oath that is taken just before the inaugural address. The oath is the constitutionally assigned

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rite of the ceremony in both American and Kazakhstani inaugural traditions. By taking the oath, the president for the first time confirms his devotion to the ideals of the state and only after it, he ascends to the highest position in the country.

“Torzhestvennoklianus' vernosluzhit' narodu Kazakhstana, strogo sledovat' Konstitutsii zakonam Respubliki Kazakhstan, garantirovat' pravaisvobody grazhdan, dobrosovestnovypolniat' vozlozhennyye nameniavyssokie obiazannosti Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan.”¹²

‘I solemnly swear to faithfully serve the people of Kazakhstan, to strictly follow the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan, to guarantee the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and to honestly fulfill the high duties assigned to me as the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.’

For instance, this excerpt from the inaugural address of President Nazarbayev from 1999 can be considered a duplication or a direct continuation of the Oath:

“IA tol'ko chtoprinesprisiagu Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan. IA pokliasiabliustinashu Konstitutsiu, nashi zakony, nashunatsional'nui chest'idostoinstvo. I ianikogda ne narushuetoikliatvy” (1999).

‘I have just sworn the oath ACC. of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. I have sworn to preserve our Constitution, our laws, our national pride and our dignity. And I will never violate this oath.’

In the undermentioned excerpt in Kazakh, the President Nazarbayev compared the ceremony of inauguration with the traditions of enthronement of ancient Kazakh khans (kings), where the new khan sat on a white thick felted cloth and was raised three times by the people.

“Men zhangagana Kazakstan Prezidentiretindeatabalarymyz dankal ganakkiizdingustindeturyp, saltanatty turde ant berdim” (2011).

‘I have just given a solemn oath as the President of Kazakhstan, just as the ancestors gave standing on white felt.’

In his inaugural addresses the president appreciates the credibility of his fellow citizens, recognizes their role and expresses his gratitude by using such expressions as “vysokoedoverie” (high trust), “ogromnai chest” (great honor), “mandatvsenarodnogodoveriia” (mandate of nationwide confidence), “ogromnai otvetstvennost” (great responsibility), “velikai agordost” (great pride), “glubochaishaia otvetstvennost” (deepest responsibility).

He appeals to the people that he united as a nation to support him in the days to come, to overcome hardships, face the challenges of the modern world, and reach the highest achievements, i.e. act together.

“Vstupai v dolzhnost' i agord tem, chtomeni apodderzhaliivpred'budut so mnoichestnye, patriotichnye, vernyesvoemugrazhdanskomudolgu, kazakhstanty.

¹²Konstitutsionnyĭ zakon o Prezidente Respubliki Kazakhstan. 26 dekabriā 1995 goda, №2733, Glava I, Stat'ia 3. Available at: https://online.zakon.kz/document/?doc_id=1004068

Поётому и уверен в том, что нам по силам достигнуть самых высоких вершин” (2006).

‘Entering into this position I am proud that I am supported and will be joined by honest, patriotic, Kazakhstanis who are loyal to their civic duty. For this reason I am sure that reaching the highest peaks is within our power.

The performative purpose of the inaugural address involves the president’s acknowledgement of the people’s role through accepting the responsibilities and limitations of his position. This function is mostly indicated with the personal pronoun “я” (I), as he takes on all the obligations, and makes a strong emphasis on that. The president sends his message directly to the people who supported him by using the pronoun “вы” (you) in order to once again confirm the covenant between the people and him.

“Я в полной мере осознаю высокую ответственность, которую возлагали на меня граждане Республики Казахстан” (1991).

I fully understand the high trust and enormous honor that you have shown me in the first nationwide elections for the president of Kazakhstan.’

With the help of this element, the president reassures the people that his work is dedicated to them, for their prosperity and well-being; he recognizes that without the people there is no president, and without their support he will not be able to lead the country.

“Мандат народного доверия – это не только право действовать, но и огромная ответственность перед всем народом. И я надеюсь на вашу поддержку и обещая делить все в возможное, чтобы оправдать ваши ожидания” (1991).

A mandate of nationwide trust is not only the right to act, but an enormous responsibility before all people. And I hope for your support ACC. and promise to do everything possible in order to fulfill your aspirations and hopes’.

“Ваше доверие даёт мне право действовать, но и огромная ответственность. И я надеюсь на вашу поддержку и обещаю делить все в возможное, чтобы оправдать ваши ожидания” (2015).

‘Your trust has always inspired me and given me confidence and strength. And now I want to say with full responsibility, that just as in previous years, I will faithfully serve the people,

guard the country and the prosperity of all of our citizens, and protect our highest nationwide interest’.

In his last inaugural address the president recognizes the mandate given to him as a blessing of the people by using the word “akbata”, which has a great significance and sacred meaning in Kazakh traditional culture. “Bata” is not just a blessing, but a broad concept that includes the set of well-wishings, gratitude, and encouraging words.

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Bugingimereĭlisattemaganberilgensenimmandaty —
memlekettigimizdinygaituzholyndagykyruaristerimizdingbagasy! Kazakstandyengku
attyelderdingkatarynakosudykozdeĭtinulymaksatkaberilgenkhalkymnyngakbatasy
(2015)!

“The given mandate of trust on today’s glorious moment is the assessment of the hard work done to strengthen our country! The blessing of my people for a great goal to see Kazakhstan among the most developed countries of the world!

Conclusion

Due to the fact that the inaugural discourse in the American political culture has a history of more than 200 years, while the ceremony of the presidential inauguration in the Post-Soviet Union countries such as Azerbaijan, Armeniya, Belorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan has existed for just over two decades, we can assume that the tradition and the genre itself is heavily influenced, if not directly borrowed, from the American.

The application of the approach to the American inaugural addresses suggested by Jamieson and Campbell to all five inaugural addresses of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan NursultanNazarbayev supports the following:

The inaugural genre of Kazakhstan fits in the epideictic genre as it meets its main requirements. It: a) is performed during the official ritual (Ceremony of Inauguration); b) positions the people of Kazakhstan as the key receivers of the inaugural address, who at the same time are the attestors of the Inauguration ceremony; c) recalls the historical background of the country, notes the achievements and progress of modern Kazakhstan, and through the prism of the present looks into the future; d) uses literary language with superlative forms and stylistic devices throughout the inaugural address, in particular, in integrative, inspirational, and performative functions, whereas the declarative function contains political (autarchy, political pluralism, political stability, national policy, extremism, etc.) and economic terminology (financial recovery, income per capita, Gross Domestic Product, price liberalization, privatization, market infrastructure, foreign fund, market economy, inflation, economic collapse, effective economy, etc.).

All four elements, or functions, proposed by the scholars are present in the inaugural addresses of the President of Kazakhstan: The president unites the multinational population as a nation, alludes to the history of his great country, announces his principles for directing the office, and demonstrates his readiness to lead the country.

However, due to the differences in culture, traditions and worldviews, as well as political and social systems, the present study suggests the following alterations between American and Kazakhstani inaugural genres:

Like most of the official speeches of the political elite in Kazakhstani political culture, presidential inaugural addresses are performed both in Kazakh and Russian languages. Kazakh is the state language, and Russian is used officially together with Kazakh.

The election of the president is already represented as an act of unification as we can see in the example (2), (3), (4), (8). In all five inaugural addresses President Nazarbayev highlights that the election was the first crucial moment when the nation united. They elected him for the highest position in the country, supported his campaign among other candidates, and on the day of inauguration once again gathered to witness his ascent. On the other hand, in American inaugural addresses the election is not highlighted or used as a tool of unification, apparently because it is mentioned in the Victory Speech on the Day of the Inauguration.

Considering the performative nature of the oath, it was considered a part of the Performative function, unlike Jamieson and Campbell's interpretation, which proposed that it is a part of the integrative function, a tool that unites the nation as "the people".

As was noted by Jamieson and Campbell, the inaugural tradition of the United States contains elements referring to God. In the speeches of the President of Kazakhstan, unlike in those of American presidents, there was no reference to God or any Holy Book or scripture. Kazakhstan is a sovereign country that has constitutionally divided religion from the state. However, in his Inaugural Address in 1999 he uses a verse from the Old Testament (Ecclesiastes): "Est' vremyarazbrasyvat' kamni, I est' vremyasobirat' kamni" (a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together) (3:5).

However, in Kazakhstani culture this phrase it is already perceived as a proverb. Instead, President Nazarbayev's speech is full of traditional wisdom, aphorisms and sayings, which have profound meaning and cultural importance for the Kazakh nation. For instance, "Kop tilegi – kieli, zhurtyngsozi – uali" (The wish of many is sacred, the peoples' word is holy) (2011), "Asubermesaskarzhok" (There is no height that cannot be crossed over) (2015), "Eslivyzagadyvaetena god vpered - vyrashchivaitekheleb; eslivyzagadyvaetenasto let vpered - posaditederev'ia; eslivyzagadyvaetenatseliuvechnost' - vospityvaitecheloveka" (If you are planning for a year ahead, grow bread; if you are planning for one hundred years ahead, plant trees; if you are planning for eternity, bring up children) (2015), and, surprisingly an idiom of Thomas Carlyle, Scottish philosopher, satirical writer, and essayist: "Opytuchitel'dorogoberushchizasvoiueroiki, no nikto ne uchitluchshenego" (Experience takes dreadfully high wages, but teaches like no other).

The national and cultural aspects of inaugural discourse of Kazakhstan contain the mechanisms of preserving the unity of the state, allusions to early history and contemporary achievements, indications of the principles of the new office, representation of the president as a person with the abilities to lead the country and a person who is entrusted the responsibilities of the highest position in the government. All of these aspects on a pragmatic level reflect the implicit call for unity, ideas of equality and brotherhood of the Kazakhstani people, and the power and pride of the nation.

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