

Insights into Romanian Political Discourse

Insights into Romanian Political Discourse

Edited by

Andra Vasilescu,
Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu,
Ariadna Ștefănescu and Șerban Hartular

**Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing**



Insights into Romanian Political Discourse

Edited by Andra Vasilescu, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu,
Ariadna Ștefănescu and Șerban Hartular

This book first published 2024

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2024 by Andra Vasilescu, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu,
Ariadna Ștefănescu, Șerban Hartular and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without
the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN: 978-1-0364-1533-4

ISBN (Ebook): 978-1-0364-1534-1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables	ix
Editorial	x

Part I. Intersections Between Politics and Language in Use

Chapter One.....	2
Impoliteness Strategies in some Romanian Presidential Debates <i>Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu</i>	
Chapter Two	31
Populism(s). The Romanian Case (2016) <i>Andra Vasilescu</i>	
Chapter Three	66
Reinventing the Political. (Im)Politeness and Interdiscursivity in the Romanian Public Communication Sphere <i>Ariadna Ștefănescu</i>	
Chapter Four	99
Impoliteness in Forms of Address Used in Romanian Political Talk Shows <i>Anamaria Gebăilă</i>	
Chapter Five	141
Pragmatic Overtones in the Use of Evidential Markers in Present-Day Romanian Political Discourse <i>Cecilia-Mihaela Popescu</i>	

Part II. Festive Speeches

Chapter Six	180
The Rhetoric of Patriotism in Romanian Political Discourse. National Day Speeches—A Pragma-Rhetorical Analysis	
<i>Gabriela Stoica</i>	
Chapter Seven.....	223
Romanian Presidential and Royal Christmas Messages	
<i>Gabriela Biriș</i>	

Part III. Exploring Overt and Covert Aggressiveness

Chapter Eight.....	248
Verbal Disagreement and Aggressiveness in Romanian Parliamentary Debates during the Pandemic Period	
<i>Carmen-Ioana Radu</i>	
Chapter Nine.....	282
Conflictual Communication and Repair Strategies in a Romanian Parliamentary Debate: Around a Motion of No Confidence	
<i>Adriana Costăchescu</i>	
Chapter Ten	303
Insults and Offence in Romanian Parliamentary Debates. A Metapragmatic Perspective	
<i>Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu</i>	
Chapter Eleven	341
Unparliamentary Language in Disguise: Information in Excess, or Overspecification, as Strategic Maneuvering	
<i>Anca Gâță</i>	
Chapter Twelve	377
Irony and (Im)Politeness in Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. A Diachronic Perspective	
<i>Liliana Hoinărescu</i>	

Part IV. Participatory Politics

Chapter Thirteen	418
“Like Thieves in the Night”. A Pragma-Linguistic Analysis of Protest Slogans in Romania <i>Răzvan Săftoiu, Adrian Toader, Emanuela Tudorache</i>	
Chapter Fourteen	442
Romanian Memes on Controversial Policies: Visual and Verbal Strategies of Political Critique <i>Bianca Alecu</i>	
Contributors	472
Index of Subjects	479

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

3-1. <i>The communication framework of the presidential statements; the first communication sphere, Chapter 3</i>	75
3-2. <i>Communication frameworks of the journalistic texts. Communication spheres 2 and 3, Chapter 3</i>	76
3-3. <i>Communication frameworks at the level of online comments. Sphere 4, Chapter 3</i>	76
5-1. <i>Willett's classification of evidentiality, Chapter 5</i>	145
14-1. Captions: <i>PNL (National Liberal Party); veniturile IT-iștilor (programmers' wages), Chapter 14</i>	451
14-2. Captions: <i>nimeni: nimic (nobody: nothing); ludovic orban: să impozităm IT-iștii (ludovic orban: let's tax the IT employees), Chapter 14</i>	453
14-3. Captions: <i>PNL, imediat după ce câștigă alegerile și impozitează veniturile IT-iștilor (PNL, moments after winning the elections and imposing the tax on the IT employees), Chapter 14</i>	454
14-4. Title: <i>Scoateți[i] furca!</i> (Get your pitchforks!); Captions: <i>Eliminarea facilităților fiscale pentru IT (the abrogation of IT fiscal benefits) cresc taxele și impozitele maicăăă scoateți[i] furca</i> [fire emoji] (the taxes are rising oh my goodd get your pitchforks [fire emoji]), Chapter 14	456
14-5. Title: <i>Îi arde la buzunar...</i> (lit.: their pockets are burning; approx. transl.: they're in dire straits); Captions: <i>IT-iștii rămași fără privilegii fiscale (IT employees without fiscal privileges); restul românilor care plătesc impozit pe venit (the rest of Romanians who pay their revenue tax), Chapter 14</i>	458
14-6. Title: <i>Hainele cele noi ale împăratului IT-istului (The emperor's IT employee's new clothes); Captions: IT-iștii când nu plăteau impozit pe venit (IT employees before having to pay income tax): Cuaie, suntem de neînlocuit!</i> (Man, we are irreplaceable!), <i>7 la sută din PIB frățică!</i> ([we bring] 7% GDP, bro!); <i>IT-iștii plătind impozit ca restu' pulimii</i> (IT employees paying taxes like the rest); <i>Mă arde la buzunar!</i> (I'm in dire straits!); <i>Să facem evaziune fiscală!</i> (Let's commit tax evasion!), Chapter 14.....	460

LIST OF TABLES

8-1. Occurrences of disagreement, Chapter 8	253
10-1. The attribution of evaluation, Chapter 10.....	313
10-2. Causes of offence, Chapter 10.....	314
10-3. The offended, Chapter 10	315
10-4. The offender, Chapter 10	315

EDITORIAL

This is the first overview of Romanian political discourse, addressed to an international readership, that analyses samples of various political discourse genres (parliamentary and presidential campaign debates, political programs, political talk-shows, and festive speeches) and examines public perceptions and reactions to political discourses (protest slogans, memes, press editorials, and online comments). The focus is on present-day discursive practices with occasional references to the past. The volume promotes dialogue among researchers, analysts, and practitioners in the contemporary global society. It targets specialists in theoretical and applied linguistics, social/public communication, intercultural communication, cultural anthropology, social psychology, negotiators, politicians, media practitioners, as well as PhD and MA students interested in the functioning of political discourse.

* *
*

Political discourse studies are scarce in Romania before the 1989 Revolution. After the Revolution, political discourse became one of the frequent topics approached by discourse analysis, pragma-rhetorical, or argumentation theory studies. Romanian authors studying Romanian political discourse (apart from the studies dedicated to American, British, or French political discourse) have focused mainly on parliamentary discourse, presidential debates, political talk-shows and media articles, and, most recently, on politicians' online posts. The following review is obviously partial, based mainly on the works of the authors that also contribute to this volume.

Romanian parliamentary discourse was analysed both synchronically and diachronically. Most of the studies target the present-day proceedings, in their various forms: political statements (Zafiu 2012), debates (Săftoiu 2008a,b, 2009a; Radu 2010, 2012; Ștefănescu 2011b), motions of no confidence (Săftoiu 2021; Chelaru-Murăruș 2022), etc. A monograph (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu and Constantinescu eds. 2018) covers the main characteristics of parliamentary discourse in the 1866–1938 timeframe: from the birth of Parliament as institution based on a constitution until its loss of real institutional value due to the royal dictatorship at the dawn of

the Second World War. Another volume, edited by Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Roibu, and Constantinescu (2012), also contains various articles by Romanian scholars focusing on both the old and the present-day Parliament. Presidential debates are studied either with a focus on the Romanian context, or by comparing Romanian and foreign debates (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2006, 2007a,b,c, 2011; Frențiu and Goșa 2006; Niculescu Gorpin 2007; Săftoiu and Toader 2022). Political talk-shows are analysed by Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2001), Ciolac (2003–2004, 2006), Vlad (2013), and Hoarță Căraușu (2013). As already mentioned, online political posts have recently come into focus (Săftoiu and Măda 2022).

Various forms of political discourse have been studied, due to the historical context or to the prominence of the type of discourse: totalitarian discourse and its characteristics (Ghiță 1992, 2022; Irimescu 2003; Zafiu 2009); populist discourse (Iețcu-Fairclough 2007a; Roventă-Frumușani and Ștefănescu 2019, 2020; Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2020); festive speeches (Săftoiu 2010, 2020; Ciolac 2010; Biriș 2010, 2017). There are also studies focusing on the discourse of female politicians, as well as on the way they are represented by the media (Roventă-Frumușani and Ștefănescu 2011; Roventă-Frumușani 2012, 2016, 2020, 2022; Roventă-Frumușani and Irimescu 2018, 2019, 2020; Roventă-Frumușani and Niculescu-Mizil 2018; Roventă-Frumușani et al. 2022).

Several pragma-rhetorical and argumentative characteristics have been highlighted in the studies: argumentative patterns (Niculescu-Gorpin 2003, 2008, 2009a; Iețcu-Fairclough 2007b, 2008a, 2009; Hoarță Căraușu 2008; Ștefănescu 2008; Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2009a,b, 2011a; Ștefănescu 2012b; Hoinărescu 2018), impoliteness (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2010a,c, 2011d; Ștefănescu 2010a), conceptual metaphors (Ștefănescu 2010b, 2011a; Hoinărescu 2015b, 2020; Vasilescu 2017), evidential and epistemic strategies and markers (Constantinescu 2014; Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2014; Ștefănescu 2015; Hoinărescu 2022), self-defence and political apologia (Chelaru-Murăruș 2017, 2018, 2022), forms of address and self-reference (Niculescu-Gorpin 2009b; Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2011c; Săftoiu 2013a,b, 2015), branding (Iețcu-Fairclough 2008b; Săftoiu and Popescu 2012, 2014), stancetaking and building the image of the speaker (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2010b, 2011b, 2012; Vasilescu 2010, 2011, 2012; Chelaru-Murăruș 2012; Ștefănescu 2012a; Săftoiu 2013a, 2015; Hoinărescu 2015a), humour and irony (Constantinescu 2008, 2010; Săftoiu 2009b; Hoinărescu 2016). There are also studies that pinpoint the way political issues are reframed by the general public (for example, political humour during the communist period, analysed by Constantinescu 2012) or by the satirical press (Constantinescu 2018, 2020).

Several scholars of Romanian origin or familiarized with the Romanian political sphere have published abroad. The topics vary from totalitarian discourse and pseudo-parliamentary discourse during the communist regime (Ilie 2005; Frumușelu and Ilie 2010) to the transition period (N. Fairclough 2005, 2006), present-day parliamentary discourse (Ilie 2010; Ilie and Ornatowski 2016), populist and crisis discourse (Ilie 2016; Ilie and Ștefănescu 2016), or public policies on education or economy (Wodak and N. Fairclough 2006; I. Fairclough and Mădroane 2016, 2020).

* *
*

Rooted in the previously mentioned contributions, this volume takes several steps further in pointing out the specific features of discursive practices in the Romanian political arena, which are characterised in close connection with the socio-cultural background.

The theoretical and methodological framework is grounded in the pragmatiscursive, interactional, and rhetorical perspectives. The 14 chapters of the book are interconnected by several recurrent key-concepts ((im)politeness, consensus–conflict–aggressiveness, manipulation, discursive creativity) and answer important and timely questions regarding the specificity of political discourse in a “young” democracy from Central-Eastern Europe. The corpus analyses and case studies reveal the Romanian style of political communication and foster cultural awareness, facilitating comparisons across languages and cultures and serving as a catalyst for further scholarly approaches and practical actions.

The book is designed in four parts, which approach political discourse from four different perspectives. The first one—*Intersections between Politics and Language in Use*—focuses on the pragmalinguistic strategies that politicians use to construct and negotiate their political identity in the public sphere (debates, political programs, political declarations, and talk-shows). Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (*Impoliteness Strategies in Some Romanian Presidential Debates*) examines the communication strategies of three presidential candidates in the 2004 and 2009 elections. The concepts referred to are *identity*, *ethos*, and *face*, and the theoretical background is built on issues of conflictive communication, disagreement, and impoliteness. Both in 2004 and in 2009, the winner was Traian Băsescu, which, according to the author, was due to two factors: on the one hand, he was the candidate of the opposition, perceived, at that time, as a guarantee for the consolidation of democracy in Romania; on the other hand, the voters were attracted to the image of a player-president he

built for himself, and they seemed to resonate with the negative topics of his campaign, his blunt impoliteness, negative insinuations, and verbal aggressiveness.

In *Populism(s). The Romanian Case (2016)*, Andra Vasilescu starts from the definition of populism in a political, sociological, and communicative perspective, narrowing the research to the populist style of political discourses. She defines discursive populism in terms of three interrelated pragmatic parameters: the macro speech act that the discourse stands for, the (im)politeness strategies used to negotiate meaning with the voters, and the pragma-stylistic features of the slogans that convey meaningful messages in a nutshell. Specifically, she analysed the political programmes of the four major parties that ran in the 2016 elections in Romania and she identified four types of populist discourses: the euphoric populism of commitment (The Social Democratic Party–PSD); the dysphoric populist discourse of radical change (The Popular Movement Party–PMP); subliminal populism (The Union “Save Romania”–USR); the populist discourse of self-assertion (The National Liberal Party–PNL). (Im)politeness strategies are viewed as strategies of managing relationships with the voters. A question arises: is the type of populism promoted in discourse a predictor for political success rate? The answer appears to be positive, at least in the case of Romania.

Ariadna Ștefănescu (*Reinventing the Political. (Im)Politeness and Interdiscursivity in the Romanian Public Communication Sphere*) analyses an intertextual series of three types of discourses: political discourse (the declarations of the President of Romania on the conditions of appointing the Prime Minister), media discourse (a press editorial and an op-ed on the President’s declarations), and cyber discourse (the comments to the op-ed posted online by the readers). The author pays special attention to the communication situation in order to provide the reader with relevant information that might help him/her contextualise the three types of interrelated discourses, the first two pertaining to “politicking”, the last two to the sub-polity (the domain of politics conversationalisation). The author explains the discursive behaviours of the President, of the journalists, and of the commentators in terms of the relationships between (im)politeness and power, as well as the dynamics of the communicative roles of overhearer, by-stander, and eavesdropper. Despite the common topic, the four types of texts build different representations for the same political situation: an uncertain equation, an incomplete dialogue, a road paved with obstacles, and blackmail, respectively. These various representations are the outcome of the interplay among several factors, i.e., the place of the author in the power hierarchy, his/her distance from the

centre of power, the discursive purpose, and the type of (im)politeness it enacts. The author highlights the idea that (im)politeness is a key factor that produces, changes, and maintains the social world.

Anamaria Gebăilă tackles address terms in 30 recorded talk-shows (*Impoliteness in Forms of Address Used in Romanian Political Talk Shows*). Some of her conclusions are: the forms of address used by the host contaminate the address terms used by the guests and the relationships among them; the address terms shape the power–solidarity relationships among the participants, the distance and attitudes, the ethos of camaraderie and spontaneity; address terms can develop into discourse markers; address terms are used especially in the initial part of the talk-show when the participants are introduced, in questions rather than in answers; address terms reflect the social status of the participants and the ethos they want to build; they are frequently associated with interruptions or they are used to facilitate conveying information.

Cecilia-Mihaela Popescu (*Pragmatic Overtones in the Use of Evidential Markers in Present-Day Romanian Political Discourse*) proposes a microstructural analysis in which she highlights the rhetorical and interactional effects of the use of epistemic and evidential modality in the Romanian parliamentary discourse. After an overview of the theoretical background and the introduction of the premise that the effects of modalisation correlate with the discursive genre, the author presents the main pragma-rhetorical functions of evidential modalisation in a Romanian corpus: alignment or disalignment of political actors to a point of view, the use of evidentials in positive politeness to support the personal or other political actors' ethos, in attacks, ironies, and derision of political opponents.

The second section of the volume—*Festive Speeches*—explores how political actors pack ideology and emotions into the discourses they deliver on special occasions (The National Day and Christmas), using language strategically to make their speeches meaningful by connecting the specific occasion to long term purposes and political stances. Gabriela Stoica (*The Rhetoric of Patriotism in Romanian Political Discourse. National Day Speeches—A Pragma-Rhetorical Analysis*) presents how patriotism is projected in 56 speeches delivered in the Romanian Parliament on the occasion of the National Day, between 2018 and 2019, 2021 and 2023: invoking and eliciting the patriotic feeling appear to be strategies of persuasion used by political actors to gain credibility, to undermine opponents' ethos, or to influence a course of action. The study is designed along two dimensions. Along the first dimension, the particularities of the speeches under analysis are presented: accessible and

simple content, based on the endoxic knowledge of the community, an evaluative lexicon, emotionally charged words, clichés, tropes, rhetorical mechanisms, overemphasis, intensifications, easily accessible arguments, a stereotypical structure, and a ritualistic dimension that evokes iconic images. Along the second dimension, aspects related to emotional templates in Romanian culture and their evolution over time are discussed, as well as the strategies through which personal emotions are institutionalised, politicised, and modified in order to be used as tools of political action meant to support and stage the political ethos. In particular, the author refers to the evolution of the conceptualisation and expression of patriotism in Romanian culture, starting from the 19th century up to current political discourse. In the festive political speeches delivered in the present-day Romanian Parliament, there is a parenetic perspective on the past, which involves the appeal to collective memory and experience. The present is criticised, the political actor shows himself/herself empathetic and sensitive to the needs and hopes of the people, assembles a prevalent ethos of identification and aspires to increase his credibility by generating an emotional synchronisation with the audience. Patriotism ends up being reshaped as a politicised self-validating emotion, used in the construction of one's own discursive ethos.

In a pragma-rhetorical perspective, Gabriela Biriş (*Romanian Presidential and Royal Christmas Messages*) draws a comparison between the Christmas messages delivered by King Michael of Romania and by three Romanian Presidents (Ion Iliescu, Traian Băsescu, and Klaus Werner Johannis), respectively. The article starts with a brief characterisation of ceremonial discourses: ritualised, short, addressed to the nation, and aiming to strengthen national identity and increase solidarity; free of ideological and political doctrine elements but containing ideologemes, i.e., maxims, moral, and cultural values assumed by the enunciator ("the mission of Romania", "the Romanian", "the Romanian's dedication"), references to historical events and autobiographical elements. Their ceremonial character is anchored in information, excitement, or enlivenment and celebration. The main conclusions are: (i) unlike presidential messages, royal messages are longer, contain elements related to the religious holiday, cultural and historical hints, as well as personal experiences or memories; (ii) royal messages are more informative, explanatory, and include self-disclosures and confessions, while presidential messages are mainly limited to ceremonial season's greetings; (iii) while the royal messages aim to build a relationship of trust and cooperation with the people, presidential ones are focused on social cohesion; (iv) the royal messages are less clichéd than the presidential

ones; (v) the royal messages are both past and future oriented, while presidential ones are solely future oriented; (vi) degree and type of pathos differ; (vii) as for the three presidential discourses, several differences are pointed out (degree of interactivity, the concern for the construction of the personal image, or reminiscences from the communist ideology).

Section three—*Exploring Overt and Covert Aggressiveness*—deals with a key feature of Romanian political discourse: aggressiveness, whether direct or indirect, on record or off record, ranging from masked disagreement to blunt irony and sarcasm. The authors analyse how speakers use language resources to instantiate various forms of attack against political opponents. Writing on *Verbal Disagreement and Aggressiveness in Romanian Parliamentary Debates during the Pandemic Period*, Carmen Ioana Radu starts from the idea that the period of the Covid-19 pandemics led to changes in verbal interactions and accelerated verbal conflict and disagreement in the public space. The author analyses 43 conflictual Parliamentary debates, most of them motions of no confidence. First, she characterises three forms of non-consensual interactions, disposed along a continuum: softened disagreement (marked by negative politeness, questions, hedges, clichéd elements used to express approximation, verbs of uncertainty, etc.); strengthened disagreement (often indicated by contradictory statements and verbal shadowing); aggravated disagreement (marked by rhetorical questions, emphatic statements, intensifiers, accusatory *you*, or judgemental vocabulary). Then she focuses on aggravated disagreement. The corpus analysis casts light on mockery, offense, teasing, irony, sarcasm, vulgar words, slander, denigration, or the amplification of topics that have become highly sensitive due to the crisis situation, increasing discursive aggression based on ideology (especially extreme right-wing ideology), the exacerbation of negative emotions in the context of a large number of daily deaths, the *ad baculum* and *ad misericordiam* arguments, putting pressure on the interlocutor, and the conspiracy scenario.

In *Conflictual Communication and Repair Strategies in a Romanian Parliamentary Debate: Around a Motion of No Confidence*, Adriana Costăchescu discusses the strategies of impoliteness and image repair in the parliamentary debate of 5/10/2021 on the motion of no confidence that led to the fall of the Cișu government and the formation of a new ruling coalition. The main pragma-rhetorical strategies used by the Prime Minister to defend and remake his public image are: enumerating decontextualised ideas, directing the speech to the nation, not to the parliamentarians, black and white dichotomic evaluations, guilt-switching, bolstering, staircase wit, and a *mea culpa* attitude voicing regret for not

having acted differently. In their interventions, his fellow parliamentarians accuse or criticise by resorting to modified proverbs and figures of speech, insinuations, mocking nicknames, code-switching from Romanian to English, or challenges on cultural topics. This type of dialogism underpinned by different political affiliations shows, once more, how politicians use words to enact political power. The analysis favours theoretical comments on the irony/sarcasm distinction.

Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu proposes a shift to the metapragmatic perspective in approaching language use (*Insults and Offence in Romanian Parliamentary Debates. A Metapragmatic Perspective*). The author analyses a corpus of around 300000 words (oral or written political statements, debates, motions of no confidence, corpus compiled for the period February 2021–September 2023), in particular those fragments where parliamentarians comment and evaluate speeches delivered in the Parliament on the continuum taking–claiming offence. The theoretical support is organised around the concept of reflexive awareness, while the communicative behaviour of the interactants is evaluated at the macro- and microinteractional level by referring to the degree of (im)politeness and conventional(alised) and creative insults. The pragmalinguistic resources of insults and their functions are highlighted: asserting superiority over the interlocutor, manipulation, limiting the other's possibilities of expression, (self)victimization, etc. The superordinate concept to which the author refers is “unparliamentary language” (Ilie 2001). Interested in highlighting the cultural particularities of offence, the author noticed that insults and comments regarding insults are built around the terms/concepts *thief*, *hypocrite*, and *shame*; the Romanian Parliament is tolerant of insults and verbal aggression is used mainly to promote one's personal image and to satisfy the expectations of a part of the political public. The chapter is also interesting for some theoretical suggestions and original classifications, illustrated with a rich set of examples.

Building on the same concept of “unparliamentary language” (Ilie 2001) (*Unparliamentary Language in Disguise: Information in Excess, or Overspecification, as Strategic Manoeuvring*), Anca Găță, in the framework of impoliteness theories and the pragma-dialectic model of argumentation, argues that overspecification and unnecessary wording in the parliamentary discourse have a potential for aggression. Such constructions depart from the discursive principles of informativeness, economy, and rationality; they are highly situational, often advance an implicit point of view, seduce the general audience, and represent a fallacious strategic manoeuvre between rationality and linguistic efficiency/economy. Their main function is to disqualify and discredit the

targeted referent by amplifying negative impoliteness or *via* over-politeness. As indirect strategies of attacking the opponent, information in excess or oversimplification share some features with irony and sarcasm. As islands of impoliteness, they interrupt the ideational flow and build an ethos of superiority for the parliamentarian who uses them; they index a high degree of interpersonal knowledge, and, at the same time, reshape interpersonal relationships.

Liliana Hoinărescu complements the analysis of parliamentary impoliteness with a diachronic and comparative dimension (*Irony and (Im)Politeness in Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. A Diachronic Perspective*). An overview of various theories of irony, starting from antiquity up to modern or recent times, is provided as a background for the study. Then the author focuses on the relationship between irony and (im)politeness in some samples from parliamentary discourses in the period 1875–1889 and from the meeting of the assembled chambers of the Parliament of Romania from 27/04/2012, when a motion of no-confidence that led to the fall of the Mihai Ungureanu government was debated. The comparison shows that in the old Parliament, speeches were authoritative and aimed for clarity and direct assertions, employed humorous irony, joke, persiflage, or cheeky irony; this “elegant paradigm of irony” did not use personal attacks but rather targeted a situation, an action, or a declaration. In the present-day Romanian Parliament, speeches use irony as a strategy of impoliteness or gendered irony, personal attacks are generally aggressive and contemptuous, ridicule the target, or express condescension. This paradigm shift in irony use takes place in a context when Romanian culture still oscillates between the French model of politeness, which prefers formality in institutional contexts (in the 19th century), and the American model of politeness that uses directness and informality in institutional settings (in the 20th and 21st centuries), also influenced by the colloquialism and informality of the media.

In section four—*Participatory Politics*—protest slogans and memes are analysed as creative linguistic mappings of civic attitudes towards politicians and politics, blending tacit cultural knowledge with global forms of expression. Răzvan Săftoiu, Adrian Toader, and Emanuela Tudorache (“*Like Thieves in the Night.*” *A Pragma-Linguistic Analysis of Protest Slogans in Romania*) explore crisis communication, specifically the 2017 protests against corruption, which resulted in an unprecedented mobilisation of the civil society and impacted public discourse. In a pragma-discursive and stylistic approach, the authors analyse 300 slogans of the #rezist movement and discuss their linguistic form, intended meaning, and the communication strategies they enact, in tight connection

with the socio-political context. The slogans are extremely creative, dialogic, and multimodal in nature, with a strong mobilising potential and strong emotional triggers. The authors focus on the linguistic resources exploited for persuasive aims (the rhythmic structures, the preferred speech acts, irony and self-irony, derogatory language, intertextuality, ludic repetitions, or humour) and comment on the impact of these slogans on the various social groups they target considering the cultural background (i.e., political, literary, and religious).

Bianca Alecu studies political memes viewed as popular and digital cultural objects (*Romanian Memes on Controversial Policies: Visual and Verbal Strategies of Political Critique*) which question political agents and actions in order to influence public opinion. The corpus consists of memes, collected from Facebook and Reddit.ro, concerning the topic of a tax exemption for IT personnel. The emic perspective of the qualitative analysis in the framework of Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis leads the author to a characterisation of this digital discourse genre. Occurring in a specific political context, political memes voice public opinion and opposition to power excess, while memes' creators became political actors of a sort. Some features of the memes under analysis are: lexical connotations, overlexicalizations, omissions, semantic relations as part of rhetorical strategies of opposition between scenarios, and the objectification of the humans.

* *
*

The initiative for a volume dedicated to Romanian political discourse belongs to Cornelia Ilie, following the 4th ESTIDIA Conference, which took place at the “St. Kliment Ohridski” University, Faculty of Philosophy, Sofia, in 2017.

Initially, Cornelia Ilie, professor of Linguistics and Rhetoric at Strömstad Academy, Sweden, and president of ESTIDIA, invited the Romanian participants in the Conference to publish their contributions in a volume; then it was decided to extend the volume with chapters authored by more Romanian linguists with previous contributions to the research of local political communication, in order to offer the international readership a broader overview. Hence, at a first stage, Cornelia Ilie and Ariadna Ștefănescu gave substantial feedback on the contributions signed by Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Anca Găță, Anamaria Gebăilă, Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Andra Vasilescu, and, partly, Liliana Hoinărescu. At a second stage, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Andra Vasilescu, and Șerban Hartular continued their work, inviting other authors to contribute

to the volume, giving them feedback and editing their texts: Bianca Alecu, Gabriela Biriș, Adriana Costăchescu, Liliana Hoinărescu, Cecilia Mihaela Popescu, Carmen Ioana Radu, Răzvan Săftoiu, Adrian Toader, and Emanuela Tudorache, Gabriela Stoica, and Ariadna Ștefănescu.

The Editors

References

- Biriș, Gabriela. 2010. "Mesajul prezidențial de Anul Nou—discurs argumentativ 'slab'" [Presidential New Year Address—'Weak' Argumentative Speech]. In *Discurs, limbaj, context, societate* [*Discourse, Language, Context, Society*], edited by Gabriela Biriș, 61–84. Craiova: Editura Universității din Craiova.
- Biriș, Gabriela. 2017. "Rhetoric and Imagology: Some Characteristics of Romanian Presidential Discourses." *Philologica Jassyensia*, 1(25): 25–38.
- Chelaru-Murăruș, Oana. 2012. "Style and Rhetorical Strategies in the Discourse of a Romanian Nationalistic Party. A Case Study: Corneliu Vadim Tudor's Parliamentary Speeches." In *Parliamentary Discourses across Cultures: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Melania Roibu, and Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, 151–172. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Chelaru-Murăruș, Oana. 2017. *Limbaje sectoriale, texte și contexte*. [Sectoral Language, Texts and Contexts] București: Editura Universității din București.
- Chelaru-Murăruș, Oana. 2018. "Rhetorical Strategies of Self-Defence in Varujan Vosganian's Parliamentary Speech (February 12, 2015)." *Analele Universității din București. Limba și literatura română*, LXVII: 3–18.
- Chelaru-Murăruș, Oana. 2022. "Political Apologia. Rhetorical Strategies, Speech Acts, and Stylistic Registers. A Case Study." In *Orientări actuale în lingvistica teoretică și aplicată. Actele celui de-al XXI-lea Colocviu Internațional al Departamentului de lingvistică, București, 19–20 noiembrie 2021* [*Current Trends in Theoretical and Applied Linguistics. Proceedings of the 21st International Conference of the Department of Linguistics, Bucharest, November 19–20, 2021*], edited by Isabela Nedelcu, Irina Paraschiv, and Andra Vasilescu, 435–445. București: Editura Universității din București.

- Ciolac, Marina. 2003–2004. “Metacomunicarea într-un tip special de *talk show* politic teledifuzat.” [Metacommunication in a Special Type of TV Political Talk Show] *Fonetică și dialectologie*, XXII–XXIII: 47–54.
- Ciolac, Marina. 2006. “Attaque et préservation des faces dans un type à part de talk-show politique télédiffusé.” In *Cooperation and Conflict in Ingroup and Intergroup Communication. Selected Papers from the Xth Biennial Congress of the IADA, Bucharest 2005*, edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, and Liliana Hoinărescu, 285–294. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ciolac, Marina. 2010. “Vœux présidentiels dans deux pays de l’Union Européenne.” In *Dialog, discours, enunț. In memoriam Sorin Stati* [Dialogue, Discourse, Utterance. In Memoriam Sorin Stati], edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, and Liliana Hoinărescu, 115–132. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica. 2008. “Ethosul ludic al parlamentarilor.” [Parliamentarians’ Ludic Ethos] In *Limba română. Dinamica limbii, dinamica interpretării. Actele celui de al 7-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (7–8 decembrie 2007)* [Romanian Language. Dynamics of Language, Dynamics of the Interpretation. Proceedings of the 7th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics (December 7–8, 2007)], edited by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, 267–274. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica. 2010. “Comunicarea bona-fide vs. non bona-fide în discursul parlamentar românesc din secolul al XIX-lea.” [Bona-fide vs non bona-fide Communication in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse of the 19th Century] *Analele Universității din București. Seria Limbă și literatură română*, LIX: 69–79.
- Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica. 2012. *Umorul politic românesc în perioada comunistă. Perspective lingvistice*. [Romanian Political Humour during the Communist Regime. Linguistic Perspectives] București: Editura Universității din București.
- Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica. 2014. “Evidential and Epistemic Strategies in Romanian Parliamentary Debates.” *Language and Dialogue*, 4(1): 132–148.
- Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica. 2018. “Strategii discursive în presa umoristică românească. Prezentarea Războiului de Independență (1877–1878).” [Discursive Strategies in Romanian Satirical Press. The Presentation of the Independence War (1877–1878)] *Analele Universității din București. Limba și literatura română*, LXVII: 19–33.

- Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica. 2020. "Framing War in the Humoristic Press." In *Romanian Humour*, edited by Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Stanca Măda, and Răzvan Săftoiu, 57–88. Krakow: Tertium.
- Fairclough, Isabela, and Mădroane, Irina Diana. 2016. "An Argumentative Approach to Policy 'Framing'. Competing 'Frames' and Policy Conflict in the Roșia Montană Case." In *Proceedings of the Eighth Conference of the International Society for the Study of Argumentation (ISSA), 2014*. Rozenberg Quarterly. <https://rozenbergquarterly.com/issa-proceedings-2014-an-argumentative-approach-to-policy-framing-competing-frames-and-policy-conflict-in-the-rosia-montana-case/>.
- Fairclough, Isabela, and Mădroane, Irina Diana. 2020. "An Argumentative Approach to 'Framing'. Framing, Deliberation and Action in an Environmental Conflict." *Co-herencia*, 17(32): 119–158. DOI: 10.17230/co-herencia.17.32.5.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2005. "Transition in Central and Eastern Europe." *British and American Studies*, 11: 9–34.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2006. "Discursive Transition in Central and Eastern Europe." In *Discourse as Cultural Struggle*, edited by Xu Shi, 49–72. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Frențiu, Luminița and Goșa, Codruța. 2006. "When Talk is War: A Metaphor Approach to Election Political Debates." *Romanian Journal of English Studies*, 3: 115–126.
- Frumușelu, Mihai D., and Ilie, Cornelia. 2010. "Pseudo-Parliamentary Discourse in a Communist Dictatorship: Dissenter Pârvolescu vs. Dictator Ceaușescu." *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(4): 924–942.
- Ghiță, Andrea. 1992. "Aspects of the 1st Person Singular Forms in the Totalitarian Discourse." *Journal of the American-Romanian Academy of Sciences and Arts*, 16–17: 220–226.
- Ghiță, Andrea. 2022. "The Last Christmas. Stancetaking in the Transcript of Ceaușescu's Political Trial." In *Attitude and Stance in Discourse*, edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Gabriela Stoica, and Șerban Hartular, 148–199. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hoarăță Cărașu, Luminița. 2008. "Strategii persuasive în discursul politic românesc actual." [Persuasive Strategies in Present-Day Romanian Political Discourse] In *Români majoritari/Români minoritari: interferențe și coabitări lingvistice, literare și etnologice* [Majority Romanians/Minority Romanians: Influences and Linguistic, Literary, and Ethnological Cohabitation], edited by Luminița Botoșineanu, Elena Dănilă, Cecilia Holban, and Ofelia Ichim, 143–153. Iași: Editura Alfa.

- Hoară Cărașu, Luminița. 2013. "Dezbaterea politică televizată. Studiu de caz." [TV Political Debates. A Case Study], *Limbaj și context/Speech and Context. International Journal of Linguistics, Semiotics and Literary Science* III, 1 (V): 93–103.
- Hoinărescu, Liliana. 2015a. "Construction of Identity and the Rhetoric of Lying in Romanian Political Discourse." *Language and Dialogue*, 5(1): 22–43.
- Hoinărescu, Liliana. 2015b. "Statul în discursul parlamentar românesc: conceptualizări metaforice." [Metaphorical Conceptualisations of the State in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse] In *Variația lingvistică: probleme actuale. Actele celui de-al 14-lea Colocviu Internațional al Departamentului de lingvistică* [Linguistic Variation: Current Issues. Proceedings of the 14th International Conference of the Department of Linguistics], vol. II, edited by Rodica Zafiu, and Claudia Ene, 83–93. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Hoinărescu, Liliana. 2016. "Ipostaze și funcții ale ironiei în discursul parlamentar românesc (1866–1900)." [Forms and Functions of Irony in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse (1866–1900)] In *Perspective comparative și diacronice asupra limbii române. Actele celui de-al 15-lea Colocviu Internațional al Departamentului de lingvistică* (București, 27–28 noiembrie 2015) [Comparative and Diachronic Perspectives on Romanian Language. Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of the Department of Linguistics (Bucharest, November 27–28, 2015)], edited by Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Adina Dragomirescu, Alexandru Nicolae, Gabriela Stoica, and Rodica Zafiu, 133–144. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Hoinărescu, Liliana. 2018. "Definition as an Argumentative Strategy in Parliamentary Discourse. A Cross-Cultural and Comparative Approach." *Language and Dialogue*, 8(2): 209–234.
- Hoinărescu, Liliana. 2020. "Conceptual Metaphors in Romanian Media Political Discourse." In *Exploring Discourse Practices in Romanian*, edited by Andra Vasilescu, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Gabriela Stoica, and Jonathan R. White, 303–335. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hoinărescu, Liliana. 2022. "Epistemic Certainty and Metalinguistics of Truth in Political Discourse." In *Attitude and Stance in Discourse*, edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Gabriela Stoica, and Șerban Hartular, 57–94. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- Iețcu-Fairclough, Isabela. 2007a. "Populism and the Romanian 'Orange Revolution': A Discourse-Analytical Perspective on the Presidential Election of December 2004." *Studies in Language & Capitalism*, 2: 31–74.
- Iețcu-Fairclough, Isabela. 2007b. "Legitimation and Argumentative Strategic Maneuvering in the Political Field: Traian Băsescu's 'Suspension Speech'." *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2: 28–42.
- Iețcu-Fairclough, Isabela. 2008a. "Legitimation and Strategic Maneuvering in the Political Field." *Argumentation*, 22(3): 399–417.
- Iețcu-Fairclough, Isabela. 2008b. "Branding and Strategic Maneuvering in the Romanian Presidential Election of 2004: A Critical Discourse-Analytical and Pragma-Dialectical Perspective." *Journal of Language and Politics*, 7(3): 372–390.
- Iețcu-Fairclough, Isabela. 2009. "Legitimation and Strategic Maneuvering in the Political Field." In *Examining Argumentation in Context: Fifteen Studies in Strategic Maneuvering*, edited by Frans H. van Eemeren, 131–151. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ilie, Cornelia. 2001. "Unparliamentary Language: Insults as Cognitive Forms of Ideological Confrontation." In *Language and Ideology*, vol. II, *Descriptive Cognitive Approaches*, edited by René Dirven, Roslyn M. Frank, and Cornelia Ilie, 235–263. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ilie, Cornelia. 2005. "An Integrated Approach to the Analysis of Participant Roles in Totalitarian Discourse." In *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Louis de Saussure, and Peter Schulz, 191–212. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ilie, Cornelia. 2010. "Managing Dissent and Interpersonal Relations in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse." In *European Parliaments under Scrutiny*, edited by Cornelia Ilie, 193–223. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ilie, Cornelia. 2016. "Populism in Post-Communist Romania and Hungary: Representing Cultural and Political Otherness." *Rhetoric and Communications*, E-Journal, 23. <http://journal.rhetoric.bg/>.
- Ilie, Cornelia, and Ornatowski, Cezar M. 2016. "Central and Eastern European Parliamentary Rhetoric since the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Romania and Poland." In *Parliaments and Parliamentarism: A Comparative History of a European Concept*, edited by Pasi Ihalainen, Cornelia Ilie, and Kari Palonen, 192–215. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Ilie, Cornelia, and Ștefănescu, Ariadna. 2016. "Interdiscursive Strategies of Metaphor-Driven Rhetoric in Romanian Discourses on a Political Crisis." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, 61(1): 139–160.

- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2001. "Réfutation et correction dans un débat politique télévisé." In *Lengua, discurso, texto. I simposio internacional de análisis del discurso*, vol. II, edited by José Jesús de Bustos Tovar, 2431–2439. Madrid: Visor Libros.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2006. "Prezentarea și negocierea identității în dezbateră electorală." [Presenting and Negotiating Identity in the Electoral Debate] In *Limba română—aspecte sincronice și diacronice. Actele celui de al 5-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (8–9 decembrie 2005)* [Romanian Language—Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects. Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics (December 8–9, 2005)], edited by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, 349–353. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2007a. "O dezbateră atipică. Alegerile prezidențiale din 2000—dezbateră televizată finală." [An Atypical Debate. Presidential Elections of 2000—The Final Televised Debate] In *Interacțiunea verbală (IV II). Aspecte teoretice și aplicative. Corpus* [Verbal Interaction (IV II). Theory and Practice. Corpus], edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, 277–290. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2007b. "Dezbateră electorală televizată ca formă discursivă." [The Televised Electoral Debate as a Discursive Form] In *Limba română: stadiul actual al cercetării. Actele celui de al 6-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (29–30 noiembrie 2006)* [Romanian Language: The Current State of Research. Proceedings of the 6th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics (November 29–30, 2006)], edited by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, 235–240. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2007c. "Sugestii privind interpretarea pragma-retorică a discursului electoral." [Suggestions for a Pragma-Rhetorical Approach of the Electoral Discourse] In *Studii lingvistice. Omagiu profesoarei Gabriela Pană Dindelegan la aniversare* [Linguistic Studies. Homage to Professor Gabriela Pană Dindelegan on Her Anniversary], edited by Rodica Zafiu, Camelia Stan, and Alexandru Nicolae, 313–317. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2008. "Discursive Perspective and Argumentation in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. A Case Study." *L'analisi linguistica e letteraria* (issue *Word Meaning in Argumentative dialogue*), XVI: 435–441.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2009a. "Sintaxă și funcționare discursivă: preteritia în discursul politic." [Syntax and Discursive Functioning:

- Preterition in the Political Discourse] In *Studii de gramatică. Omagiu doamnei prof. Valeria Guțu Romalo* [Grammar Studies. Homage to Professor Valeria Guțu Romalo], edited by Rodica Zafiu, Blanca Croitor, and Ana-Maria Mihail, 105–108. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2009b. “Perspectivă și modalizare în discursul politic. Studiu de caz.” [Perspective and Modalisation in the Political Discourse. A Case Study] In *Limba română: teme actuale. Actele celui de al 8-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română* [Romanian Language: Current Topics. Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics], edited by Rodica Zafiu, Gabriela Stoica, and Mihaela N. Constantinescu, 271–278. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2010a. “Impolitețea în *absentia* în discursul parlamentar românesc. Studiu de caz.” [In *Absentia* Impoliteness in Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. A Case Study] In *Dialog, discurs, enunț. In memoriam Sorin Stati* [Dialogue, Discourse, Utterance. In Memoriam Sorin Stati], edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, and Liliana Hoinărescu, 59–72. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2010b. “Plurivocalitate și perspectivare în discursul parlamentar românesc din secolul al XIX-lea.” [Plurivocality and Perspectivation in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse of the 19th century] In *Limba română: controverse, delimitări, noi ipoteze. Actele celui de al 9-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română* [Romanian Language: Controversies, Delimitations, New Hypothesis. Proceedings of the 9th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics], vol. II, edited by Rodica Zafiu, Adina Dragomirescu, and Alexandru Nicolae, 95–100. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2010c. “Straightforward vs. Mitigated Impoliteness in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. The Case of *in Absentia* Impoliteness.” *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, LV(4): 343–351.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2011a. “The *Argumentum ad Hominem* in a Romanian Parliamentary Debate.” In *Proceedings of the 7th Conference on Argumentation of the International Society for the Study of Argumentation*, edited by Frans H. van Eemeren, Bart Garssen, David Godden, and Gordon Mitchell, 875–880. Amsterdam: Rozenberg/Sic Sat.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2011b. “Identitate și imagine în dezbateră electorală.” [Identity and Image in the Electoral Debate] In *Studii de lingvistică. Omagiu doamnei profesoare Angela Bidu-Vrănceanu*

- [*Linguistic Studies. Homage to Professor Angela Bidu-Vrănceanu*], edited by Isabela Nedelcu, Alexandru Nicolae, Alice Toma, and Rodica Zafiu, 207–213. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2011c. “Forme nominale de adresare în discursul parlamentar românesc din secolul al XIX-lea.” [Nominal Forms of Address in 19th Century Romanian Parliamentary Discourse] In *Limba română: ipostaze ale variației lingvistice. Actele celui de-al 10-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (București, 3–4 decembrie 2010)* [*Romanian Language: Aspects of the Linguistic Variation. Proceedings of the 10th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics (Bucharest, December 3–4, 2010)*], vol. II, edited by Rodica Zafiu, Camelia Ușurelu, and Helga Bogdan Oprea, 271–280. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2011d. “Strategii ale impoliteții în discursul parlamentar românesc (1866–1938).” [Impoliteness Strategies in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse (1866–1938)] In *Text și discurs. Omagiu Mihaelei Mancaș* [*Text and Discourse. Homage to Mihaela Mancaș*], edited by Oana Chelaru-Murăruș, Maria Cvasnîi-Cătănescu, Claudia Ene, Camelia Ușurelu, and Rodica Zafiu, 283–292. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2012. “Perspectivation in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse.” In *Dialogue in Politics*, edited by Lawrence Berlin, and Anita Fetzer, 151–166. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2014. “Strategic Uses of Certainty and Uncertainty in a Political Debate.” *Language and Dialogue*, 4(1): 150–163.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana. 2020. “Populism in an Emerging Post-Communist Democracy. The Case of Romanian Political Discourse.” *French Journal of Media Research*, 14. <http://frenchjournalformedia.com/lodel-1.0/main/index.php?id=1886>.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana, and Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica, eds. 2018. *Discursul parlamentar românesc (1866–1938). O perspectivă pragma-retorică* [*Romanian Parliamentary Discourse (1866–1938). A Pragma-Rhetorical Perspective*]. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana, Roibu, Melania, and Constantinescu, Mihaela-Viorica, eds. 2012. *Parliamentary Discourses across Cultures: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- Irimiaș, George. 2003. *Structuri textuale ale discursului politic totalitar: studiu din perspectiva semioticii textului* [Textual Structures of the Totalitarian Political Discourse: A Text Semiotics Approach]. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Clusium.
- Măda, Stanca, and Săftoiu, Răzvan. 2022. "Political Posts on Social Networks from a Dialogic Perspective." In *Attitude and Stance in Discourse*, edited by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Gabriela Stoica, and Șerban Hartular, 200–234. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Niculescu-Gorpin, Anabella-Gloria. 2003. "Modalități de persuadare și efectul perlocuționar în discursul politic." [Persuasion Strategies and Perlocutionary Effect in the Political Discourse] In *Aspecte ale dinamicii limbii române actuale* [Aspects of the Dynamics of Present-Day Romanian], edited by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, 495–518. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Niculescu-Gorpin, Anabella-Gloria. 2007. *Relevance and the Perlocutionary Effect—The Case of the 2004 US and Romanian Presidential Debates*. PhD diss., University of Manchester.
- Niculescu-Gorpin, Anabella-Gloria. 2008. "Ad Hoc Concepts and Argumentation in Political Debates." *L'Analisi Linguistica e letteraria* (issue *Word meaning in argumentative dialogue*, vol. II), XVI: 777–787.
- Niculescu-Gorpin, Anabella-Gloria. 2009a. "Influența câtorva elemente retorice în înțelegerea și acceptarea discursului politic." [The Influence of Some Rhetorical Elements in Understanding and Accepting Political Discourse] In *Lucrările celui de-al doilea Simpozion Internațional de Lingvistică* [Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Linguistics], edited by Nicolae Saramandu, Manuela Nevaci, and Carmen Ioana Radu, 575–584. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Niculescu-Gorpin, Anabella-Gloria. 2009b. "De ce Eu? Pronumele personale în discursul politic." [Why I? Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse] In *Limba română: Teme actuale. Actele celui de al 8-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (București, 5–6 decembrie 2008)* [Romanian Language: Current Topics. Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the Department of Linguistics (Bucharest, December 5–6, 2008)], edited by Rodica Zafiu, Gabriela Stoica, and Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, 333–345. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Radu, Carmen Ioana. 2010. "Comunicarea conflictuală în dezbaterile parlamentare." [Conflictual Communication in Parliamentary Debates] In *Lucrările celui de al treilea Simpozion Internațional de Lingvistică*

- [*Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Linguistics*], edited by Nicolae Saramandu, Manuela Nevaci, and Carmen Ioana Radu, 579–586. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Radu, Carmen Ioana. 2012. “Identitatea discursului parlamentar românesc în context european. Studiu comparativ.” [The Identity of the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse in European Context. A Comparative Study] In *Modernitate și interdisciplinaritate în cercetarea lingvistică. Omagiu doamnei profesor Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu* [Modernity and Interdisciplinarity in Linguistic Research. Homage to Professor Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu], edited by Mihaela-Viorica Constantinescu, Gabriela Stoica, and Oana Uță Bărbulescu, 423–436. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela. 2012. “Femmes politiques et discours journalistiques.” In *Intersexion. Langues romanes, langues et genre*, edited by Fabienne Baider, Daniel Elmiger, and Julie Abbou, 135–147. Munchen: Lincom Europa.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela. 2016. “Images publiques et vie privée sur Facebook. Etude de cas: Femmes politiques roumaines.” *International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies and Environmental Communication*, 4(2): 29–45.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela. 2020. “Visibilité, campagnes électorales et dimension de genre. Les femmes politiques roumaines dans les campagnes électorales locales”. In *Représentations sociales et discours médiatiques*, edited by Christiana Constantopoulou, 147–172. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela. 2022. “Stance Taking, Gender Identity and Romanian Women Politicians in Presidential Electoral Campaigns.” *Anthropological Researches and Studies*, <https://www.journalstudiesanthropology.ro/en/no-12-2022/>.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Irimescu, Alexandra. 2018. “Web 2.0 et la politique au féminin en Roumanie postcommuniste. Éthos féminin et campagnes électorales sur Facebook.” *Communication*, 35(1). <https://journals.openedition.org/communication/7636>.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Irimescu, Alexandra. 2019. “La construction de l’éthos des femmes politiques sur les pages Facebook en campagne électorale. Le cas des élections locales roumaines de 2016.” *French Journal of Media Research*, issue *Minorities and Social Networks/Minorités et réseaux sociaux. XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology—Power, Violence and Justice. Reflections, Responses, Responsibilities (AISLF et RC14)—Toronto, Canada, July 15-21, 2018*, <http://frenchjournalformediaresearch.com/lovel/index.php?id=1714>.

- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Irimescu, Alexandra. 2020. "Romanian Women Politicians, Gender Identity, (Im)Politeness. Facebook and Electoral Campaigns." *The International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies and Environmental Communication IJCCSEC*, 9 (1): 1–22.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Niculescu-Mizil, Ana. 2018. "Le *Social Media Turn*. L'espace public et la nouvelle visibilité des femmes politiciennes en Roumanie postcommuniste." *INTERSTUDIA*, 25: 63–76. <http://interstudia.ub.ro/en/category/is-242018/>.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, Rodat, Simona, and Branea, Silvia. 2022. "Gender and Multimodality in 2019 European Parliament Election Campaign." In *The 2019 European Electoral Campaign in the Time of Populism and Social Media*, edited by Edoardo Novelli, Bengt Johansson, and Dominic Wring, 83–105. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Ștefănel, Adriana. 2011. "Identité narrative et identité discursive des femmes politiques roumaines." In *Récits et fictions contemporains*, edited by Christiana Constantopoulou, 61–87. Paris: l'Harmattan.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Ștefănel, Adriana. 2019. "The Populist Contagion. The Influence of Populist Discourses on the Political Communication of Traditional Parties in Romania." In *Politics and Populism across Modes and Media*, edited by Ruth Breeze, and Ana Maria Fernandez Vallejo, 155–181. Berna/Berlin/Bruxelles etc.: Peter Lang.
- Rovența-Frumușani, Daniela, and Ștefănel, Adriana. 2020. "Populism-Style and Strategy of Communication. The Romanian case." *Hypothesis*, 2(2): 29–59.
- Săftoiu, Răzvan. 2008a. "Debutul sesiunii parlamentare românești din perspectivă comunicativă." [The Beginning of the Parliamentary Session from a Communicative Perspective] In *Dinamica limbii, dinamica interpretării. Actele celui de al 7-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (7–8 decembrie 2007)* [Romanian Language. Dynamics of Language, Dynamics of Interpretation. Proceedings of the 7th Conference of the Department of Romanian Linguistics (December 7–8, 2007)], edited by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, 493–502. București: Editura Universității din București.
- Săftoiu, Răzvan. 2008b. "Perspectivă interacțională asupra discursului parlamentar." [An Interactional Perspective on Parliamentary Discourse] In *Dinamica limbii, dinamica interpretării. Actele celui de al 7-lea Colocviu al Catedrei de limba română (7–8 decembrie 2007)* [Romanian Language. Dynamics of Language, Dynamics of Interpretation. Proceedings of the 7th Conference of the Department of