

Adrian Toader

**Linguistic Realisations of Identity in  
Romanian and European Parliamentary  
Discourse**



Transilvania  
University  
Press

2024

## **EDITURA UNIVERSITĂȚII TRANSILVANIA DIN BRAȘOV**

Adresa: Str. Iuliu Maniu nr. 41A

500091 Brașov

Tel.: 0268 476 050

Fax: 0268 476 051

E-mail: editura@unitbv.ro

**Editură acreditată de CNCS, categoria B  
pentru domeniul Filologie (2020)**

Copyright © Autorul, 2024

Referenți științifici: Prof. dr. Andra VASILESCU

Prof. dr. Răzvan SĂFTOIU

### **Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României**

**TOADER, ADRIAN**

**Linguistic realisations of identity in Romanian and European  
parliamentary discourse / Adrian Toader – Brașov : Editura**

Universității Transilvania din Brașov, 2024

Conține bibliografie

ISBN 978-606-19-1713-6

81

The cover was made using free AI Art Generator and was edited by  
Roxana Oltean.

## **Acknowledgements**

*I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my scientific supervisor, Prof. Dr. Răzvan Săftoiu, a man of great character and invaluable insight. My sincere thanks to my family for their help and continuous support. To my father, who was always willing to exchange ideas throughout the writing process.*



# CONTENT

<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: THEORIES OF IDENTITY .....</b>	<b>25</b>
1.1. Preliminary discussions.....	25
1.2. An interdisciplinary examination of identity .....	26
1.2.1. The individual <i>self</i> and the social <i>self</i> . Theoretical directions.....	27
1.2.2. Identity as social interaction. Psycho-sociological perspectives (Cooley 1902; Mead 1913, 1934).....	29
1.2.3. Identity as a culturally determined phenomenon. Anthropologic perspectives (Malinowski 1923; Sapir 1934).....	31
1.2.4. Role-playing and identities „in action“. A sociological perspective (Goffman 1956, 1967, 1981).....	34
1.2.5. Identity studies and postmodernism .....	37
1.2.6. Identity as structure and agency (Burger and Luckmann 1966; Giddens 1984, 1991) .....	40
1.2.7. On the concept of group identities (Sacks 1995; Tajfel <i>et al.</i> 1978, 1979, 1982; Lave and Wenger 1991, 1996) .....	43
1.3. Identity formation and the <i>core self</i> .....	47
1.3.1. Identity and rhetoric (Aristotle [1928]; Amossy 2001, 2006).....	49
1.4 Identities „in action“. Linguistic perspectives .....	56
1.4.1 On the concept of „face“ (Brown and Levinson 1978; Culpeper 1996; Yule 1996) .....	59
1.4.2 Identities and <i>othering</i> . A CDA approach.....	62
1.4.3 Identity as <i>dialogic</i> (Weigand 2010) .....	63
1.5 On the multidisciplinary studies of identity. Concluding remarks.....	65

## **CHAPTER 2: FEATURES OF PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE .....71**

2.1 Political discourse: an introduction .....	71
2.1.1 Political discourse as institutional discourse .....	74
2.1.2 Political discourse as public discourse .....	75
2.1.3 Political discourse as „goal-oriented“ .....	75
2.1.4 Political discourse as media discourse .....	77
2.2 Organisational settings of parliaments .....	79
2.2.1 The European Parliament .....	81
2.2.2 The Romanian Parliament .....	85
2.3 The multilayered parliamentary discourse .....	88
2.3.1 Multilayered identities .....	89
2.3.2 The multilayered audience .....	92
2.3.3 The multilayered parliamentary settings .....	98
2.4 Pragma-rhetorical features of parliamentary discourse (Ruxăndoiu 2012, 2013; Ilie 2006, 2010b) .....	102

## **CHAPTER 3: PROJECTING IDENTITIES WITHIN THE ROMANIAN PARLIAMENT .....107**

3.1 Projecting the individual <i>self</i> .....	107
3.1.1 Underlining personal attributes .....	108
3.1.2 Underlining professional experience .....	119
3.1.3 Underlining political affiliation.....	128
3.1.4 Representing the multilayered audience.....	135
3.1.5 Showcasing other professional identities .....	138
3.1.6 Discussion.....	143
3.2 Projecting collective identities .....	145
3.2.1 Inclusive „We“ as members of political parties .....	145
3.2.2 Inclusive „We“ as larger political coalitions .....	152
3.2.3 Representing the multilayered audience.....	158

3.2.4 Discussion.....	167
3.3 Projecting the identity of <i>others</i> .....	169
3.3.1 Personal attacks through self-referencing remarks („I“ vs. „You“) .....	170
3.3.2 Group attacks through inclusive references („We“ vs. „You“/“They“) .....	178
3.3.3 Pronominal interplays: Mixed attacks through self and group references („I“/“You“ vs. „You“/“They“) .....	183
3.3.4 Discussion.....	188

## **CHAPTER 4: PROJECTING IDENTITIES WITHIN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT .....191**

4.1 Projecting the individual <i>self</i> .....	191
4.1.1 Underlining political affiliation.....	194
4.1.2 Overseeing national interests.....	200
4.1.3 Representing ethnic, religious, and regional <i>out-groups</i> .....	206
4.1.4 Showcasing other professional/social identities.....	213
4.1.5 Establishing rapport with the European Community .....	218
4.1.6 Discussion.....	223
4.2 Projecting collective identities .....	226
4.2.1 Underlining political ideologies .....	227
4.2.2 Establishing bonds with the audience.....	232
4.2.3 Invoking national affiliation: „We“ as Romanians .....	238
4.2.4 Invoking transnational affiliation: „We“ as MEPs.....	242
4.2.5 Discussion.....	247
4.3 Projecting the identity of <i>others</i> .....	250
4.3.1 Negative attributions of the <i>out-group(s)</i> .....	250
4.3.2 Positive attributions of the <i>out-group(s)</i> .....	257
4.4 Discussion .....	261

<b>FINAL CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>298</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>299</b>



# INTRODUCTION

## **Starting point and theoretical considerations**

In modern times, we are constantly surrounded by news, propagated through various media channels. Information is revealed almost instantaneously with the click of a mouse or the touch of a button, allowing us to follow the lives of public figures and assess their actions as we see fit. A subject of interest, often brought to attention in the media, concerns itself with the world of politics. People are invariably drawn to this as the future of their country and livelihood is determined by the decisions and policies of their political representatives. Parliamentary activity is no exception as it is frequently scrutinised in the public sphere. These norm-regulated environments, commonplace in contemporary democracies, can be seen as “fora for deliberation, legislation, problem-solving and decision-making” (Ilie 2010a:1), where politicians use their communicative competences to propose and vote legislation or address critical issues of national and transnational interest.

For this book, I found it relevant to focus on the discursive practices of some public figures that often capture the audience’s attention. Hence, the research constitutes a qualitative study of how Romanian politicians, with mandates in both the European and national Parliaments, use the flexibility of pronouns to mix their personal and professional identities during official sittings. To this end, I will look at how politicians invoke diverse facets of their multilayered identities with the intent of eliciting positive reactions from the targeted receivers. As the analysis will show, the active interplay between pronominal references constitutes mechanisms of persuasion, allowing parliamentarians to highlight their competences, advance personal and group objectives, express their points of view from different angles and

add subjectivity to their messages. A preliminary assumption is that, through pronominal interplays, speakers are able to put forward convincing performances by actively adding new layers to their public image perception. Although there are additional means of examining the process of identity formation (Wilson 1990, Chilton 2004, Weigand 2010), I start from the premise that the functions of personal pronouns in discourse extend past their features as referential and deictic language units, as they can be purposefully adopted by politicians to potentially achieve distinct outcomes, obtain positive responses from what is being said on stage, advance strategies of persuasion or mark aspects of their discursive style. Pronouns are seen as an intrinsic characteristic of political discourse which can, to great effect, “induce interpreters to conceptualise group identity, coalitions, parties, and the like, either as insiders or outsiders” (Chilton 2004: 56). Consequently, I draw on Weigand’s *Mixed Game Model* (2010) and view identity as a product of dialogic interaction, manifesting itself as dynamic, contextually bound, and actively negotiated in parliament. I further claim that, when speaking in public, individuals shape and re-shape their public image by attempting to maintain or reaffirm their position as the right person for the job at any given time.

It is worth noting that the strategic uses of pronouns were examined from different perspectives, such as *stancetaking* (Biber and Finegan 1988; Du Bois 2007; Kärkkäinen 2007; Vasilescu 2010), *subject positioning* (Tirado and Gálvez 2007; Epstein 2011; Angermüller 2011), *ventriloquizing and voicing* (Lauerbach 2006; Cooren 2010), or *person deixis* (Zupnik 1994, De Finna 1995). Other approaches centered on pronominal usage in varying political sub-genres like election campaigns (Steffens 2013, Săftoiu and Toader 2018, Kayam 2018), parliamentary discourse (Vuković 2012; Săftoiu

2013; Ștefănescu 2015), political interviews (Bramley 2001), or public speeches (Davis 1997, Bhatia 2006, Håkansson 2012).

The above-mentioned linguistic contributions support the idea that pronouns are an essential resource in the study of identity formation, which should be understood in their naturally occurring setting. Like an actor, a politician can invoke „facets“ of their personal and professional identities by enacting a plurality of voices (Bakhtin 1981). Identity is thus, continuously negotiated, as speakers add or subtract, rectify, or reiterate their multilayered public image. On the other end, audience members will form an opinion on the speakers“ discursive performances, ultimately deciding how to perceive and respond to them.

When proposing the theoretical and methodological layout, I have extensively reviewed the directions through which identity was previously investigated. As a result, the practical part of the book will be conducted from a multidisciplinary perspective. Borrowing some concepts from the field of sociology, I view parliament as a *community of practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991) and account for how members of the European and Romanian Parliament (henceforth MEPs and MPs) communicate in the same political environments characterised by subsequent rigours, norms, and practices. In other words, a key starting point for the analysis is to look at identity in context, more specifically, at how it is moulded by the discursive constraints of an institutional setting.

The second direction is rooted in the field of language studies. The multiple layers of identity will be examined from pragma-rhetorical and dialogical perspectives. This allows me to consider *how* they are invoked in discourse and evaluate *why* (or more specifically, to what ends) are *self*, *group*, and *other* references employed in parliamentary sittings. To address these linguistic realisations of identity, an investigation from multiple areas of

research will be conducted. Hence, *dialogue analysis* accounts for the process of identity formation as a naturally occurring phenomenon perpetuated through the use of language. To describe how identities are created at a linguistic level and to clarify the context in which they are fashioned, I use *pragmatics*. Lastly, rhetoric offers the possibility of evaluating the potential effects and strategies facilitated by the use of personal pronouns.

Going to the second level, I will concentrate on varying micro-analyses, which enabled me to structure the theoretical part of the study and add new dimensions to the research. In line with this, some theories of identity will be applied to the proposed corpus. These will be further discussed in the subsection reserved for methodological considerations.

Due to the multidisciplinary approach considered for the research, when referring to the process of communication in parliament, I have decided to use the term „discourse“. To clarify, this broad category extends beyond the meaning of a „one way conversation“ where researchers are chiefly preoccupied with investigating language as a means of delivering information in different social contexts. As the analysis intends to examine how pronouns constitute a means of establishing rapport with those at the receiving end of a message, language use is also viewed from a dialogic perspective as a way of building a relationship between senders and receivers. Consequently, an integrationist view (van Dijk 1985) is used to narrow the gap between discourse and dialogue or, otherwise stated, between “language-as-product” (Brennan, Kuhlen, Charoy 2017) and “language-in-action” (ibidem). The two perspectives will be viewed concomitantly as they “overlap, combine, and mutually inspire each other” (van Dijk 1985:11). The use of the term „discourse“ will be further refined in accordance with the theories introduced in the first two chapters.

It is worth noting that the layout of the book represents a personal contribution to studying identity in the field of linguistics. While some theories were influential in determining the methodology of the research, I assume that approaching the topic from different angles provides a broader view of the concept of identity in action (Weigand 2010) as speakers are involved in a continuous process of negotiating their personal and professional *selves*. As previously mentioned, the pragma-rhetorical and dialogical perspectives offer an encompassing view of the process of image building and might constitute a theoretical and analytical basis for further investigations of language use in parliamentary sittings.

### **Research objectives**

The main objective of the study is to identify and discuss various linguistic means that allow politicians to advance *self*, *group* and *other identities* in professional environments (the Romanian and European Parliament) by actively mixing and remixing their discursive identities through personal pronouns. The research intends to touch upon three critical aspects.

Firstly, personal pronouns will be organised into 3 distinct categories. To follow up on a point mentioned above, I start by considering identity as a by-product of the cognitive *self* (defined throughout the chapters as personal or *core* identity) and a social *self* (often viewed with collective or *social* identities). This classification aims to present personal attributions, (introduced by the pronoun „I“), inclusive group affiliations (made present through „we“), and exclusive contextualisations of *other* entities (referenced through second and third-person pronouns).

Secondly, systematising pronominal identities expands beyond the professional roles (Goffman 1956) enacted by members of the Romanian Parliament and members of the European Parliament, such as political

affiliations, ideological beliefs, attributions, responsibilities, and actions conferred by their position in parliament. I will also include instances that reveal diverse aspects of one's personal and professional *selves*, such as “ethnicity, gender, personal beliefs, taste, attitudes, class” (Vasilescu, 2010: 369). As such, I argue that “there are as many options for the speaker to build his/her public image perception as there are ways to differentiate between individuals or groups” (Toader 2022). All these aspects will be accounted for in the practical part of the research.

Thirdly, in the concluding remarks, I will touch upon contrasts and similarities in how politicians communicate at national and transnational levels. Otherwise stated, the final chapter will present some comparative findings between the use of pronouns in the Romanian and European Parliaments. Here, I will look at the most prevalent pronominal identities, how they are discursively constructed and mention some potential effects they might elicit from the targeted receivers.

To cover the research objectives, I propose the following questions:

1. What are the linguistic means of achieving multivocality in the Romanian and European Parliaments?
2. What strategies of persuasion and rhetorical effects are advanced through the projection of identities in discourse?
3. How do politicians invoke their multifaceted identities in the Romanian Parliament as opposed to the European Parliament? Are there any differences in terms of persuasive strategies identified in parliamentary sittings?

The analytical directions constitute the main aims of the research and will account for (1) the polyvalence of pronominal identities in parliamentary discourse, (2) their subsequent rhetorical effects and (3) a parallel examination of identity in different parliamentary institutions.

In the practical part of the book, I will look at how both MPs and MEPs put forward a plurality of voices to come across as good, trustworthy, and competent politicians. As previously investigated (Wodak 2009), parliamentarians can potentially direct their speeches towards a diverse audience and employ rhetorical devices to augment the credibility of their characters and/or messages. Through 'we', politicians are able to showcase their associations with multiple political factions. This, in turn, might resonate positively with a broad audience or local groups or with those that are members of the invoked categories (Sacks 1995).

I will also account for the fact that, in some cases, the presence of the second and third-person pronouns unveils the speaker's perspective on various political and non-political entities. As such, I introduce the concept of *othering* (van Dijk 1989) and consider the dynamics of parliamentary controversies by looking at how politicians use linguistic resources to question, criticise, discredit, challenge, or judge their adversaries. Pronouns will also be discussed as a means of advancing positive attributions of *others* in discourse as I assume that MEPs strive to establish bonds and favourable outcomes when communicating in public.

### **Data and method**

The data collected for the study consists of 75 extracts collected from various types of parliamentary activities such as written and oral statements, interventions, and interpellations, delivered in the European and Romanian Parliaments. The transcripts are retrieved from the official websites of the institutions in question<sup>1</sup>, available as public information. In the case of the European Parliament, two legislatures will be accounted for: (1) Romania's

---

<sup>1</sup>The European Parliament, <http://tinyurl.com/3bx448sx>  
The Romanian Senate, <https://www.senat.ro/>  
The Romanian Chamber of Deputies, <http://tinyurl.com/d4t5ank5>

post-accession period (2007-2009) and the following mandate (2009-2014). The corpus on the Romanian parliament is drawn from the parliamentary sessions conducted in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008, 2008-2012, 2012-2016 [until 2014] legislatures). Since the main selection criterion is to include politicians with mandates in both institutions, I have decided to choose transcripts from a similar time frame.

Hence, in the Romanian Parliament, I have gathered data from 2004 to cover the activity of MPs that later represented the country in the capacity of European Observers (starting from 2007) before becoming full-fledged members of the European Parliament. Apart from this, I looked at the activity in both institutions until 2014 and included politicians with mandates in parliament during this time.

When proposing these legislatures, I operated under the assumption that suggesting similar intervals could add to the validity of the research. In line with this, I have postulated that speakers are involved in a continuous learning process (Hoinărescu 2018) when confronted with a novel political environment. As newly admitted members, I consider that Romanian MEPs need to account for many aspects such as the European Parliament's rules of conduct and time constraints, a broader audience (including the European community and subsequent member states), context (what is being addressed in the sittings), and topic (often extending to issues of transnational interests). Romanian politicians can respond to this by borrowing some of their discursive practices from the national parliament and applying them in a new political setting. Accounting for how parliamentarians adapt to the communicative environment can add to the validity of the contrastive analysis. This offers the possibility of assessing the discursive 'adjustments' made by Romanian delegates in the European Parliament in terms of projected identities, persuasive aims, and rhetorical effects.



No ethical issues were encountered when collecting data since the audio-visual transcripts are publicly available. Some of the fragments were gathered as a member of a project entitled “*The construction of identity in the Romanian and European discourse. A pragma-rhetorical approach*”<sup>2</sup>, which was conducted at the University of Transilvania Braşov, during 2015-2017.

I have decided to include the activity of 20 Romanian politicians with mandates in both parliaments during the proposed period. Initially, 816 fragments were extracted. This was done by identifying the presence of personal pronouns (singular and plural): ‘I’, ‘You’ (sg. and pl.), ‘He/She’, ‘We’ and their Romanian equivalents: ‘Eu’, ‘Tu’, ‘El/Ea’, ‘Noi’, ‘Voi’, ‘Ei/’Ele’, used as keywords to narrow down the corpus. To account for the fact that some pronominal references can be contextually inferred or grammatically omitted (particularly in the Romanian language), a thorough reading of the texts was warranted.

The excerpts will be organised into 3 categories: *self*, *group*, and *other* referencing. From here, 322 will be selected for the proposed subsections. I have decided to provide examples for each category, finally restricting the analysis to 75 fragments. It should be noted that the present analysis does not account for the MPs’ and MEPs’ political affiliation and subsequent relations between parties and coalitions. I have only included examples that are relevant to the proposed methodological framework and I will only mention political affiliation when interpreting the persuasive aims of the speakers.

At the next stage, personal pronouns will be examined from a pragma-rhetorical perspective and distributed as follows: *self*-references (or *I*-references), “through which the speaker conveys his personal and professional traits with the intent of establishing a favourable image as a

---

<sup>2</sup> <http://politicaldiscourse.unitbv.ro>, accessed on 05.05.2021

politician” (Săftoiu and Toader 2018: 30); *inclusion* remarks “by means of which the speaker attempts to gain the support of others, i.e., mainly MPs and audience members” (ibidem); and *exclusion* remarks largely “used by the candidate to define and characterise his political counterparts” (ibidem).

Some of these classifications will be presented as membership categories (Sacks 1995), accounting for profession, ethnicity, personal beliefs, education, attitudes, political influence, gender. To organise the corpus, I will account for prior considerations made on pronouns in political discourse from other studies (Bramley 2001; Vasilescu 2010; Săftoiu 2015) as well as my research on the topic (Toader 2015, 2016; Săftoiu and Toader 2018).

The analysis will not focus solely on classifying and identifying the multiple roles advanced by politicians as it will also investigate the perlocutionary effects of pronominal interplays. In the next stage, I aim to identify *how*, *why*, and *to what ends* these identities enhance the positive reception of a speaker’s messages. Examining the relationship between language and context will also include various pragmatic frameworks for the analysis of both inclusive and exclusive group identities. Of significant interest are the attack and defence strategies correlated to the idea of public image perception or face (Goffman 1956, 1981; Brown and Levinson 1978). This approach will mainly be used to showcase how politicians advance persuasive strategies by enacting different voices for (1) positive image-building or (2) in an attempt to discredit their opponents.

Various types of micro-analyses will provide a thorough examination of their persuasive design. To name a few, I will discuss attitude markers, repetitions, word choice, parenthetical remarks, quotations, figures of speech, and metaphors. Moreover, from a rhetorical standpoint, I intend to observe how politicians make appeals to ethos, pathos, and logos when negotiating their public image perception.

Finally, the last chapter will compare the findings between the Romanian and the European Parliament based on types of identities utilised, lexical structures, and subsequent means of persuasion identified in the corpus.

### **Validity of research and contribution**

Acknowledging how MPs and MEPs use pronouns to enact a multiplicity of 'selves', underlines the importance of adapting to communicative constraints. Comparing the persuasive functions of pronominal interplays provides an expansive view of image-building in context, as the same analytical methods are chosen to examine the institutions in question. A multidisciplinary approach can render a deeper comprehension of the contrasts and similitudes between the Romanian and the European Parliaments in terms of invoked identities, targeted receivers, and rhetorical aims.

With this in mind, the book will be written in English to formulate premises for cross-cultural examinations of parliamentary discourse due to its comparative and contrastive approach. This is based on two practical reasons. Firstly, I believe that the topic and methodological framework could generate interest for parallel analyses of different parliaments. To this end, the language choice provides more visibility to the current research. Secondly, in the preliminary stages of research, I have concluded that most studies on Parliamentary discourse are published in English. As the objective of the research is not to introduce and redefine terms of specialty in the Romanian language, the literature review will be comprised of concepts that were previously considered in the English-based body of research.

Lastly, I will bring forward the practical reasons for the selection of the topic. Identifying and discussing various persuasion strategies might help those at the receiving end of a message to better understand political behaviour. The present study intends to provide some analytical tools that

allow people (unfamiliar with rhetoric) to decipher the political message, the speaker's reasoning process and the mechanisms of persuasion evoked in public discourse.

The linguistic and extra-linguistic features of *self* and collective identities could also be integrated into a study of common political practices targeting the general public. Presenting some strategies and means employed by politicians to achieve persuasion will offer insight into how politicians communicate within a norm-regulated environment. Understanding the multiple nuances and effects of some invoked pronominal identities might be useful in deciphering the intricate and layered design of parliamentary discourse. Adding to this, the emphasis could also be placed on the individual activity of some delegates. While this was not a central objective for the book, analysing how speakers invoke *self*, *group* and *other*-referencing can be tracked throughout a speaker's mandates in the European Parliament. Aligning with the "community of practice theory" (Lave and Wenger 1991), one might observe if there are any differences in how politicians negotiate identities during their first years as MEPs and compare them with future mandates. A trans-individual analysis of parliamentary figures can provide evidence of how they adapt and shape their discursive practices to obtain different ends, address audience members and other political representatives, or use multivocality to achieve specific outcomes.

It is worth noting that the analysis will be discussed within the structure of Parliamentary discourse. As mentioned, this setting limits the speaker's discursive options. Consequently, the analytical framework proposed for the present analysis can be applied to other types of political discourse such as Romanian election or campaign interviews where, arguably, the purpose of communication elicits a more adversarial dynamic.

## Chapter overview

To cover the objectives and aims of the research, the book will be organised into four chapters. The first two constitute the literature review. Here, I establish an outline of identity theories spanned across several disciplines and fields of specialty. It is followed by examining the setting (the parliament) and subsequent discursive features of this political sub-genre. The practical part of the research is reserved for Chapters 3 and 4. Each section is dedicated to analysing discourse (the Romanian Parliament in Chapter 3 and the European Parliament in Chapter 4) by using the same analytical methods. The findings will be reviewed and addressed in the section reserved for concluding remarks.

In the first chapter, I put forward a diachronic outline of identity studies. This part presents multidisciplinary theories of identity by examining how language, society, and culture shape the very concept of individuality. Expanding beyond the delimitation of language studies, defining *self*, *group*, and *other* identities will be observed in different research fields, i.e., social psychology, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies. These perspectives support the claim that the process of identity formation is individually, socially, culturally, linguistically, psychologically, and biologically configured. While some directions in research were intentionally overlooked (as they did not align with the aims of the present research), the structure of the first chapter centres on theories and methods which influenced the conceptualisation of identity studies in political discourse. In line with this, other perspectives will also be discussed in specialties such as Critical Discourse Analysis, Dialogue Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Pragmatics and Rhetoric. Furthermore, this chapter includes theories utilised in my study, that allow me to define the terminology and directions proposed for the research.

The second chapter focuses on how MPs and MEPs communicate in a professional environment. To this end, I draw on Fetzer's (2013) classification of political discourse and account for its multifaceted nature as *institutional* (characterised by norms and practices), *public* (directed towards a multilayered audience via media channels), and *goal-oriented* (through which speakers achieve personal and/or collective outcomes).

In what follows, I establish a brief historical overview and mention some organisational features of the two parliaments in question. Apart from considering the functional design of the institution, the chapter will also touch upon features of parliamentary discourse. Consequently, a subsection is reserved for examining how the process of interaction in parliamentary sittings is constricted by a wide range of factors such as MPs' professional obligations, the physical configuration of parliament, temporal restrictions, topical potential, or interactional frames (how speakers cooperate or confront one another). In other words, the chapter looks at why MPs communicate (as goal-oriented individuals), the channels through which they speak, the setting (where the action takes place), the importance of topic and context, and the relationship between political factions. Lastly, I will mention some pragma-rhetorical features of parliamentary discourse, later applied in the practical part of the study.

The analysis of Romanian Parliamentary discourse will be conducted in Chapter 3. This part will be organised into three subsections. Firstly, I will look at the pronoun „I“ and explore how MPs project their individual *self* to come across as good politicians. Various subcategories will be drawn as each will display different types of identities advanced by speakers. Secondly, I will account for the pronoun „we“ to examine how MPs invoke collective identities and speak on behalf of various political factions or address a multifaceted audience. Lastly, second and third-person pronouns will be

analysed when discussing how the identity of *other* entities is projected in discourse. Here, I look at personal and group attacks perpetuated by speakers through pronominal interplays.

The last chapter follows the same organisational structure and focuses on the activity of Romanian delegates in the European Parliament. By accounting for the research findings, I assume that some proposed categories will differ from one institution to the other. To provide context, in some cases, MEPs choose to highlight different attributes when speaking in the capacity of Romanian delegates. To this end, when discussing *othering*, an additional subsection will be added to the study in order to show how positive image building is also projected to construct the image of political counterparts.

Lastly, in the concluding remarks, I will touch upon the critical aspects considered for the research, summarise the findings and mention some similarities and differences between how politicians communicate in the two parliaments under scrutiny. Here, I will consider the most common pronominal roles invoked by politicians, the addresser-addressee dynamics, and the persuasive effects of pronominal interplays presented through a comparative and contrastive approach.





# CHAPTER 1: THEORIES OF IDENTITY

## 1.1. Preliminary discussions

The concept of identity has been approached from multidisciplinary perspectives as a central area of interest in many research fields such as sociology (Goffman 1956; McCall and Simmons 1978; Sacks 1995; Burke and Stets 2009), anthropology (Malinowski 1923; Boas 1940), psychology (Freud 1923; Jung 1971), social psychology (Cooley 1902; Mead 1913, 1934; Erikson 1956; Tajfel and Turner 1979), linguistics (Davies and Harré 1990; Ochs 1993; Spencer-Oatey 2007), cultural studies (Williams 1960; Said 1978), or philosophy (Locke 1683; Nietzsche 1887; Wittgenstein 1922). The complex investigations of identity establish a plethora of meanings through which the term is construed in diverse specialties under a wide array of general classifications and methodological frameworks.

A common view that stretches beyond the fixed boundaries of specialised disciplines is that identity should not be interpreted devoid of the context in which it takes shape. Some theorists claim that culture and society must be regarded as integral formative elements of one's unique design or individuality. Hence, an interdisciplinary consensus when approaching this topic is that people acquire particular traits from their socio-cultural background(s) and, through active participation in societal practices, develop a range of beliefs, ideals, and value systems while sharing similar social, linguistic, cultural, and environmental surroundings.

When considering this vast and seemingly inexhaustible research topic, I felt that it was necessary to put forward a diachronic investigation of the concept and present some features and perspectives on how human beings are able to mould their public image in discourse. Hence, the literature review serves as a theoretical basis where identity is mainly discussed as dynamic, negotiable,

contextually bound, and multilayered. Furthermore, advancing linguistic and non-linguistic perspectives on the process of identity formation will be applied to the practical chapters of the book, allowing for a better contextualisation of the terminology, methodology, and directions of research, proposed for the analysis. Starting from the assumption that identity manifests itself in forms of social practices as a process of conveying meaning (Foucault 1988, Brubaker and Cooper 2000, Grad and Rojo 2008), I will advance some theories to support this premise.

## **1.2. An interdisciplinary examination of identity**

Deciphering the characteristics that make people unique both as individuals and as members of groups, communities and societies is a complex process. The broad, over-encompassing ways of defining the *self*, generated a lack of consensus about how the concept can be universally classified and categorised when approached in various specialties.

While some research centres on particular innate or inherited traits and features of individuality by overlooking social factors and cultural practices (discussed later in subsection 1.3), other theorists mainly define *identity* as a result of social interactions (discussed later in subsection 1.2.4). Consequently, this has led to the overuse of the term, gradually becoming “a word recognised as part of our core vocabulary, early learned, promptly used and often devoid of meaning” (Grad and Rojo 2008: 3).

Tracing the etymology of the word, the term was first used in France during the Middle Ages as *identityé*<sup>3</sup> (deriving from the Latin *identitat* or *identitas* regarded as an expansion of the term *idem*, meaning *sameness* or *same*). It was later applied in academia by psychologist Erik Erikson (1968), under the form of *identity crisis*, as it was referenced in conjunction with personality

---

<sup>3</sup> Definition taken from [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity), accessed on 20.04.2021.

trait development. Since then, *identity* gradually became an *umbrella* term, commonplace in diverse research areas.

### **1.2.1. The individual *self* and the social *self*. Theoretical directions**

When establishing the literature review, I have considered the following aspect: if identity is a form of conveying meaning in discourse on account of how people choose to represent themselves based on their social understanding of the world, then why do people conduct themselves differently if they communicate in the same environment, with the same intentions and in front of the same audience? The repertoire of discursive choices, though available for all speakers, is used differently and endowed with „personal touches“. It is difficult to imagine that individuals will deliver a speech without any identifiable differences.

Acknowledging people as unique entities and as ”social individuals” (Weigand 2015a: 11) generated a bi-partite classification. On the one hand, to investigate the mental, inherited, or deeply personal intricacies of „oneness“, the *core self*<sup>4</sup> was proposed (most notably in philosophy, psychology, and social psychology). On the other hand, individuality is also viewed as a socially embedded phenomenon:

Self and identity theories assume that people care about themselves, want to know who they are and can use this self-knowledge to make sense of the world. Self and identity are predicted to influence what people are motivated to do, how they think and make sense of themselves and others, the actions they take, and their feelings and ability to control or regulate themselves. (Oyserman, Elmore and Smith 2012: 70)

---

<sup>4</sup> The concept of *core-self* (or personal self) is often employed in the study of identity. Throughout the chapter, individual traits will be viewed as *cognitive* as they generally (but not definitively) refer to a subject’s mental processes, decision-making processes, creativity, and intentionality.

This further suggests that the unique design of the *self* is contextually bound in the sense that individuality is moulded by how people interact in diverse, ever-changing social scenarios.

A relationship of co-dependence between human beings and their actions as societal members generates the formation of *identities* and refers to specific socially determined classifications of the *self*, which can be *innate*, i.e., gender, race, or *acquired*, i.e., language, ethnicity, profession (McCall and Simmons 1978; Burke and Stets 2009). Individuality is categorised both inclusively and exclusively within particular groups, cultures and societies, constituting collective identities that contribute to our social understanding of the world.<sup>5</sup>

The current analysis will mention how context, setting, the purpose of communication, and interpersonal relationships all support the view of identity as fluid, ever-changing in public forms of speaking.

Advancing theories in which one category cannot be defined without the other as “self always precedes and introduces identity” (Cinoglu and Arıkan 2012: 1116), I will also bring into discussion what can be defined as unique features of the *self* which reside into the mind and/or genetic code of every individual and are generally (but not definitively<sup>6</sup>) categorised as mental, psychological, and biological factors. With this in mind, it is worth

---

<sup>5</sup> The book employs the term *identities* (pl.) when examining the *social self*. As the current analysis shows, individuals project many facets of their identity when taking the podium. Studied extensively across multiple disciplines, identities attain different classifications, i.e., *roles* (Goffman 1956, 1967, 1981), *membership categories* (Sacks 1995), *communities of practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991), *in-groups*, and *out-groups* (Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1982). These theories account for an individual’s *social self* as comprised of different types (or subsets) of identities, primarily regulated (among others) by interaction, institutional settings, the purpose of communication, and an individual’s socio-cultural background.

<sup>6</sup> The multifaceted nature of the *core self* is further discussed in subsection 1.3.

mentioning three main directions put forward by theorists in various disciplines:

- Analysing core identity features (or the personal *self*);
- Approaching identity by assessing individuals in broader group relations and communities (or collective identities);
- Studies on identity should account for both personal and social *selves*.

The theoretical background will primarily focus on the last category as it intends to offer an encompassing view of identity as derived from cognitive and social factors (Spencer-Oatey 2007). The former can be viewed as a collection of traits and features "defining one's personality" (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2014: 150), while the latter refers to "a number of features that are actively construed and negotiated within the dynamic process of so-called interaction" (ibidem).

Consequently, the first chapter will establish an outline of linguistic and non-linguistic theories concerning identity formation as being weaved through social practices by presenting some studies in which the concept has been previously discussed.

### **1.2.2. Identity as social interaction. Psycho-sociological perspectives (Cooley 1902; Mead 1913, 1934)**

One of the main approaches undertaken in such regard concerns itself with how active societal participation shapes the very concept of *individuality*. On this account, it is essential to mention the *Looking Glass Self*, a social theory that correlates the speaker's public behaviour with the process of identity formation. Postulated by Cooley (1902), this socio-psychological perspective underlines the idea that the development of the *self* is contingent upon the interpersonal relationships that human beings establish in day-to-day

interactions. Otherwise stated, identity is a mental construct determined by how individuals decipher the world around them and respond accordingly.

For Cooley, the *self* is determined by the speaker's mental assessment of the audience's expectations when taking the podium. The speech will be adapted to the receivers' „needs“ as they are the ones who evaluate the actions of the orator. To clarify, individuals acquire an understanding of how to present themselves when speaking in public. Their behaviour will adapt by responding to how they feel that that audience members, present in the social context, perceive their actions on a positive note.

Cooley's (1902) interactionist view sheds light on the fact that a speaker's public identity results from an ever-changing reactive mental response to the environment in which communication is attained. The cognitive process of assessment allows speakers to adapt their communicative competences and language choices in a way that satisfies and meets the expectations of the audience.

Drawing on this theory, Mead (1934) concurs that an individual's subjective, unique *self* („I“), derives from how she/he creatively and spontaneously responds to other people's attitudes in various forms of public speaking. Nevertheless, Mead posits that there is also a reactive component overlooked by his predecessor. Through interactions, people acquire knowledge and a sense of the others' *selves*, which are mentally internalised, and as a result, form the social *self* („me“). Speakers will adapt to the audience's needs and negotiate their identities by replicating what they regard as socially accepted instances of the *self*, which, in turn, might generate positive effects from other participants. As such, Mead's (1934) theoretical position is that the identity is moulded by a continuous process of evaluation and re-evaluation perpetuated through public forms of speaking.

Acknowledging the importance of both the social and the individual *self* introduced the concept of *role-playing* and solidified the claim that people can act and react with purposeful intent when engaging the audience.<sup>7</sup>

### **1.2.3. Identity as a culturally determined phenomenon. Anthropologic perspectives (Malinowski 1923; Sapir 1934)**

The connection between cognitive and social identities was also studied in anthropology, an area of research that gradually gained recognition during the 19th century. One of the main concerns of this social science was to analyse practices, beliefs, and value systems of different communities and to offer an encompassing, holistic view of how cultures can be viewed and interpreted.<sup>8</sup> Decades later, ethnographic researchers,<sup>9</sup> most notably Malinowski (1884-1942) and Boas (1858-1942) voiced their concern that members of a culture are unable to objectively assess other socio-cultural backgrounds without thinking in terms of their own socially acquired sense of understanding. To put things into perspective, a study conducted by Harrison (1937) on tribes of cannibals living in what is currently known as the island of Vanuatu is an example of how cultural bias can affect a

---

<sup>7</sup> Mead (1913) puts forward the idea of *role-playing*. In broad terms, this refers to how individuals internalise and assess the role of another person (both what he/she communicates and how he/she conveys information, e.g., gestures and facial expressions). This psychological process allows the subject to take on the role of the *generalised other* (or the social "Me") in order to establish his/her identity:

This response to the social conduct of the self may be in the role of another - we present his arguments in imagination and do it with his intonations and gestures and even perhaps with his facial expression. In this way we play the roles of all our group; indeed, it is only in so far as we do this that they become part of our social environment. (1913: 377)

<sup>8</sup> Merriam Webster Dictionary defines anthropology as “the study of human being and their ancestors through time and space and in relation to physical character, environmental and social relations and culture.” <http://tinyurl.com/mshd7sh9>, accessed on 20.04.2021.

<sup>9</sup> In anthropology, ethnography is a qualitative research method through which the study of social encounters and cultures is investigated (see Johnson 2000).

researcher's objectivity. The title of the paper, *Savage Civilization*, is structured as a dichotomy between civilised and uncivilised societies proving that social practices that are virtually incomprehensible in some societies are promptly judged by prejudiced members of other cultures (see Gillian 2010). Along these lines, it can be argued that one's socio-cultural background shapes his assessment of moral, ethical, and socially accepted behaviour, thus determining his/her assessment of other people.

To tackle this issue, Malinowski (1923) proposes a new approach, known as *participant observation*, which provided novel analytical and methodological frameworks in anthropology. The theory was based on the belief that, in order to decipher the cultural identity of a society (which differentiates from the researcher's in terms of beliefs, ideas, or values), one must always try to extrapolate data from members of that particular community as to obtain an academically valid and objective analysis. Interpreting the intricate and complex nuances of individuality is also hinging on actively participating and experiencing the cultural and social practices of everyday life. Anthropological research during the 20th century primarily regarded identity as a culturally embedded process understood through the analysis of daily interactions. In support of this, Malinowski coins the phrase „phatic communion“,<sup>10</sup> referring to the idea that language is an intrinsic part of social interactions that “serves to establish bonds of personal union between people

---

<sup>10</sup> The word *phatic* can be etymologically traced to the Greek *phatos*, a form of the verb *phFanai*, meaning „to speak“. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, “the term was used to define certain rote phrases (such as the standard greeting "how are you?")” merely to establish social connections (from <https://tinyurl.com/rohxbcj>, accessed on 20.04.2021). On the other hand, *communion* refers to the Christian act of breaking bread and drinking wine to commemorate the death of Christ. Put together, the two terms are used by Malinowski to emphasise the social needs of every individual for verbal social exchanges, which in his view, are commonplace across cultures and societies. (taken from <http://tinyurl.com/euksfksb>, accessed on 20.04.2021)



brought together by the mere need of companionship” (Malinowski 1923: 316). Identity emanates from the process of communication (mainly achieved through verbal exchanges), which would allow the researcher to assess and present an arguably different society and culture without being influenced by his/her culturally acquired biases. However, a problematic aspect of viewing identity mainly as a form of cultural determinism relates to how culture is understood and interpreted in fields of specialty. It can be argued that, through active participation in diverse social environments, human beings acquire particular ideas, beliefs, and values while possessing innate traits and characteristics which define them as individuals. By affirming that culture is simply a way of life (Williams 1960) determined by the collective actions of human beings at a specific time in history, the complexity of defining the process of identity formation deliberately or unintentionally overlooks other aspects such as mental, biological, or inherited individual traits.

To disprove the idea that culture fundamentally and univocally shapes how people act and interact, Sapir (1934) formulates the *Culture and Personality Theory*, which stems from the belief that the micro-elements of a social environment, i.e., personality traits and individual characteristics, also contribute to shaping the macro-structure of the same society. His socio-psychological approach originates from the belief that one’s unique design (or the *core self*) can influence society as much as culture can influence people’s thought processes. Complementing Malinowski’s ethnographic research approach, Sapir criticises the presupposed general assumptions taken by sociologists and anthropologists at the turn of the 20th century who focus their analyses on systematic and organised social structures, which, in his opinion, overlook the psychological and deeply personal formation of one’s identity:

culture, as it is ordinarily constructed by the anthropologist, is a more or less mechanical sum of the more striking or picturesque generalized patterns of behavior which has either abstracted for himself out of the sum total of his observation or has had abstracted for him by his informant in verbal communication. (Sapir 1934: 410)

The development of ethnographic research in anthropology influenced the emergence of new directions in the study of identity, particularly in the field of sociology.

#### **1.2.4. Role-playing and identities „in action“. A sociological perspective (Goffman 1956, 1967, 1981)**

One of the most influential sociological research on identity was introduced by Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956). The interdisciplinary study sparked novel interpretations and directions concerning the interdependency between the *cognitive* and the *social self*. By investigating how individuality is shaped in public forms of speaking, Goffman's theoretical position draws on Mead's concept of *role-play*. It supports the view that speakers will enact various roles to obtain a favourable image perception when interacting with a specific audience and/or interlocutor(s). The performative component of communicating in public, the purposeful shift between the roles, the importance of the setting all support the idea of public speaking as an active environment where individuals negotiate their *selves* as they strive for persuasion.

On this account, Goffman (1956) introduces the concepts of *intentionality*, i.e., people communicate in public to obtain a favourable outcome, and the *plurality of the social selves*, i.e., individuals will put forward various identities through active role-playing. Goffman posited that people's behaviour in public forms of address would change and adapt with the intent

of being positively perceived by others. Hence, making a good impression is determined by the sender's communicative abilities to meet the audience's expectations:

when an individual appears before others, his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have. Sometimes the individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing himself in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain. (1956: 3)

The researcher approached this topic by using terminology from the theatre world to define the multifaceted *self* as a conceptual metaphor for public acts of speaking. This classification is known as the *Dramaturgical Approach*. In Goffman's view, an individual that speaks in public can be symbolically viewed as an *actor* or *performer*. On the stage, speakers can purposefully "act out" different roles through which one "offers his/her performance and puts on his show for the benefit of the people" (Goffman 1956: 10). Otherwise stated, identity is seen as a fluid performance where the addresser knowingly assumes a role as a response to how he/she accounts for the observers' expectations of the public performance. To put it simply, individuals become actors who convey information by performing roles as the physical setting of the discourse itself becomes a metaphorical stage.

Other influential factors in the process of identity formation were attributed to where the action takes place. Thus, Goffman mentions two types of settings for performative acts. The first is introduced as the *front stage* and refers to the environment where a group of observers is addressed. During their speech, individuals will put on a *personal front* or a repertoire comprised of social categories, i.e., gender, age, race, and personal means of

expression, i.e., facial expressions, gestures, demeanour, artifacts.<sup>11</sup> In the researcher's view, this front is contextually bound. That means that the setting itself (where and how human beings address their peers) is pre-defined by the observers' mental understanding of what to anticipate from the speakers. In Goffman's view, this generates constraints in the process of communication, as one needs to adapt and account for the audience's expectations. Put differently, "when an actor takes on an established social role, usually he finds that a particular front has already been established for it" (Goffman 1956: 17). Hence, context is shaped by the audience's own socially and culturally acquired experiences on a specific front. In Goffman's view, this limits the possibility of performers to be genuine as environmental factors (mentioned above) dictate how they should address their peers. The second setting is the *backstage*, a physical space with no audience, where the performers can freely „step out of character.“ The changing of the context allows individuals to employ other roles, better suited to backstage interaction, e.g., talks between colleagues, friends, or members of the same political party.

Goffman's *Role Theory* (1956) supports the idea that identity formation derives from public interactions in pre-established social scenarios. In general terms, identity is viewed as a type of situational performance where people conveniently adapt their speech to discursively negotiate their identity (Weigand 2010).<sup>12</sup> These performative acts also correspond to an activity of representation or how performers project and introduce themselves to groups

---

<sup>11</sup> *Artifacts* can be generally defined as objects used by a speaker to accessorise his wardrobe, e.g., pins, necklaces, brooches, watches, piercings, etc. Moreover, *artifacts* can offer information about a speaker's ethnicity, religion, beliefs, or financial status.

<sup>12</sup> This perspective aligns with Weigand's Dialogic Action Game theory (later discussed in sub-section 1.4.3)

of observers. With this in mind, identity is created, reproduced, negotiated, determined, or revisited through public speaking.

Some contributions introduced by this *Social Constructionist* approach can be summed up as follows:

1. Individuals intentionally put forward various ,“facets” of identity in public forms of communication through active role-playing.
2. People communicate with intent, in the sense that they perform in front of others to obtain favourable results.
3. Identity is not unitary nor fixed, but fluid and negotiable.
4. Identity is determined by both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication.
5. The setting, i.e., where the action takes place, and the audience, i.e., to whom the speaker is communicating, determine an individual’s decision to enact various identity roles.
6. The social *self* is comprised of various subsets of identities.

In Goffman’s view, identity is fluid and determined through performative acts. It is a concept that incorporates pre-set social categories, used by members of the audience to make sense of the speakers’ performances. The setting, the individual’s purpose for communicating, his/her appearance, i.e., items which reflect the individual’s social status, and the speakers’ manner, i.e., “the way actors conduct themselves” (Wodak 2009: 10) will be further discussed in the present chapter, from other theoretical perspectives.

### **1.2.5. Identity studies and postmodernism**

Goffman's view of the *self* is widely regarded as a precursor to the postmodern schools of thought as it primarily explored "the ways in which interpersonal interactions mould an individual's sense of self" (Cerulo 1997: 385). The theories mentioned before, advanced during the second half of the

20th century, highlighted the importance of defining the individual *self* within the broad spectrum of culture and society.<sup>13</sup> This integrative perspective on identity sparked opposing views, particularly in postmodern critical thinking. On this account, Cerulo (1997) argues that *Social Constructivism* mainly centred on how identity is determined by social interaction. Yet, such an approach overlooks the subsequent relations of power that reside within society:

Some find constructionism's agenda insufficient, suggesting that it simply catalogues the identity construction process. Further, many contend that the constructionist approach implies identity categories built through interactive effort. (...) These weaknesses leave postmodern identity theorists skeptical of social constructionism's trajectory, fearing that the paradigm ultimately approximates the very essentialism it fights against. (1997: 391)

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, new directions in postmodern critical thinking challenged the bi-partite classification of identity, bringing into question the role of the core *self* in the process of identity formation. A formulated consensus in postmodern studies is that the "self is fragmented and decentered with a kind of emotional flatness or depthlessness" (Allan 1997: 3). Rather than assuming that each individual has a unique way of expressing their individuality within societies, postmodernists posit that meaning is decentralised by being continuously shifted and re-shifted through an organised system of symbols. Consequently, meaning is produced by how such sequences of symbols generate a representation of reality and

---

<sup>13</sup> Battershill (1990) argues that Goffman's sociological approach defined him as a critical influence for future postmodern sociological directions: "Goffman's writings on personhood and social organization bear evidence of the postmodern relational epistemology" (Battershill 1990: 164).

not through the individual's subjective assessment of the world (Allan 1997; Turner 2012).

A notable contribution to understanding the correlation between language and identity formation was advanced by Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). Borrowing from fields such as philosophy, semiotics, social theory, and history, the researcher introduced the concept of *discourse* in identity studies and brought forward the *technologies of the self* theory (see Foucault 1972). This generally refers to how "people put forward, and police, their „selves“ in society, and how" available discourses may enable or discourage various practices of the self" (Gauntlett 2002: 135-136). To clarify, in Foucault's view (1988), the institution with the highest social power, e.g., the government, perpetuates its existence through a constraining system of practices, followed and abided by citizens. This, in turn, constricts and determines the process of identity formation as the rules of maintaining social order invariably affect an individual's ways of conduct. Contextualised as „governmentality“ (Foucault 1988), social structures of power "define the individual and control their conduct, as they make the individual a significant element for the state through the exercise of a form of power" (Besley 2005: 77). In other words, knowledge and power relations derive from discourse. In turn, subjectivity results from how speakers (consciously and unconsciously) continuously communicate with others within embedded social practices (Foucault 1988).

Furthermore, postmodern thinkers: (1) focus their research on how hierarchies of power are historically instituted in contemporary society, (2) shifted their attention towards politics, (3) de-constructed social categories (by investigating differences between members on account of race, age, gender, or profession) and (4) sparked novel theoretical directions in the field of gender studies.

It is important to note that postmodern perspectives on identity formation established “a much broader change in the intellectual and political climate of the humanities and social sciences” (Barnard and Spencer 2009: 174). Postmodern contributions in identity studies, i.e., the relationship between identity formation and discourse, power dynamics that reside within social practices, the plurality of the *social self*, intensified the ongoing debate between structure and agency. Is identity eminently ingrained within social practices, or is our sense of “selfhood” also drawn from our mental understanding of the world and subsequent externalising processes (primarily but not definitively achieved through personal choices and creative inputs/outputs)? This aspect will be discussed in the next subsection.

#### **1.2.6. Identity as Structure and Agency (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Giddens 1984, 1991)**

The interrelation between the *core self* and *social identities* was also considered from a twofold perspective: (1) by accounting for the context (in general terms understood as *structure*) and (2) by acknowledging the deeply personal components of one’s *self* (defined as *agency*). Grad and Rojo (2008) provide a classification of the two by arguing that:

individuals are externally controlled, shaped by structured locations, social institutions, classification systems, rules, and arrangements whose existence is independent of any particular individual, and the belief that they have internal control as creative actors shaping their social world. (Grad and Rojo 2008: 16)

Put differently, *structure* defines the process of identity formation as an outcome of an individual’s presence within cultures and societies, built on a historically instituted social system with subsequent rules and practices. While these can be seen as “regular patterns that can both enable and



constrain individual actions” (Rigby et al. 2016: 296), *agency* refers to a person’s ability to make his/her own choices and to act as „themselves“, regardless of the afore-mentioned constraints. The two categories of the *self*, which at first glance only seem to widen the contrast between the cognitive and social identities, were gradually studied in terms of their interdependency.

Viewing identity as a mental assessment of societal actions was expanded into the *Social Integrationist* theory. Along these lines, it is worth noting the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966). Drawing on Mead’s *reflectivity of the self*, the researchers argue that identity is ”maintained, modified and re-shaped by social interaction” (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 194). Thus, it becomes a process of internalising an individual’s perception of other social participants based on objective *identity types*, i.e., gender, religion, which are “relatively stable elements of objective social reality” (ibidem). Identity types are viewed as historically instituted social practices acquired by human beings that emanate from processes of social interaction.

The *Social Integrationist* theory highlights the importance of *structure* and *agency*. Both of them fulfil well-established functions and work in unison to establish dynamic, ever-changing facets of an individual. Society is viewed as a regulated environment, where the actions of the actor (achieved through socialisation processes) are correlated to the externalisation of identity traits within the social world (Archer 2003).

Adding to this, Giddens (1984, 1991) mentions the importance of discourse in forming the *self* by developing the *Structuration* theory. He argues that language does not serve the sole purpose of connecting “the unsocialized part of the individual (the I) to the social self” (Giddens 1991: 53-54). Instead, it allows people to express and assess their identity subjectively. This action is shaped by the discursive setting, defined by the researcher as

dynamic. As such, people negotiate their *selves* in “shifting contexts” (ibidem). When assessing identity from the prism of structure and agency, Giddens concurs that both hold equal footing.

In *Constitution of Society* (1984), Giddens expands on this and argues that an individual monitors the world around him, as well as the “actions that human beings display and expect others to display” (Giddens 1984: 3). This process of reflectivity allows speakers to act with purpose and intentionality when making their intentions known. Knowledge is therefore internalised through an individual reflective process that cannot exist without structure. Through discourse, human beings can strategically “seek reflectivity to regulate the overall conditions of the system reproduction” (Giddens 1984: 28). Otherwise stated, *structure* presupposes *agency* as much as the latter determines the former:

to be a human being is to be a purposive agent, who both has the reasons for his/her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon the reasons (including lying about them). (Giddens 1984: 3)

The emergence of new theories and approaches to social and individual selves was influenced by post-structuralist schools. As a result, new research directions started to support the idea that identity should not be regarded as a socially fixed, monolithic concept but as a fluid process manifested and shaped within and through social practices.

Added to the studies of identity were: (1) the subsequent relations of power determined by structure and agents, (2) broadening the object of study to include both the *social* and the personal *self*, (3) viewing language studies as a source of identity formation, (4) analysing how identity is produced and reproduced through discourse, (5) looking at how knowledge is internalised and externalised by individuals (6) studying the importance of social,

cultural and interactional environments, (7) interpreting social identities within particular socially embedded contexts.

### **1.2.7. On the concept of group identities (Sacks 1995; Tajfel *et al.*, 1978, 1979, 1982; Lave and Wenger 1991, 1996)**

Besides classifying identity as a by-product of language, culture, and society, other directions in research centred on how the *core self* is determined by group affiliations. Based on this, Lave and Wenger (1991, 1996) put forward the *Communities of Practice Theory*, in which they forward the idea that *in-group* social interactions shape the unique design of every human being. The theorists define identities “as long-term, living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice” (Lave and Wenger 1991: 53). Otherwise stated, individuality can be seen as the result of how groups of people with shared passions, interests, or duties, e.g., engineers working on a project, soldiers on the battlefield, are actively engaged in a voluntary and involuntary learning process. Thus, identity is the product of interpersonal relations and *in-group* interactions. People acquire experience as social participants and develop their competences from within a collectivity.

Every community is bound by the existence of a domain (or a set of common interests for a particular aspect). Put differently, identities are shaped through what Lave and Wenger call *legitimate peripheral participation* (1991), entailing a process of learned behaviour through which new members will gradually become more experienced in established *communities of practice*. In turn, they will play a significant role in teaching other newcomers how to conduct themselves in their newfound collectivity. The theory supports the claim that the affiliation with diverse communities constitutes a catalyst in

the process of identity formation. Consequently, people acquire new skills, competences and norms, permeated through social interactions.

Adding to this perspective, Sacks (1995) advances the concept of *membership categories*, a term referring to how individuals make sense of the world by assessing and classifying human beings. People create and use social categories in their interactions as they "mobilize a range of discursive resources to design interactionally sensitive descriptions of themselves and others and this, in turn, positions them within specific categories" (Grad and Rojo 2008: 14). Drawing from this, membership category (Sacks 1995) refers to how identity is determined by well-established, socially determined collections of categories. To clarify, Sacks offers the following example:

Let me observe that 'baby' and 'mommy' can be seen to be categories from one collection: The collection whose device is called 'family' and which consists of such categories as (baby, mommy, daddy, etc.) were by 'etcetera' we mean that there are others, but not any others, not, for example, 'shortstop'. (Sacks 1995: 246)

The acquired knowledge that speakers have about these categories such as being a parent, a spouse, or a child allows speakers to ascertain culturally acquired values, which shape their own identities. Concepts such as "gender", "family", or "profession" are seen as ways of establishing inclusive as well as exclusive group identities as audience members can relate to speakers that invoke identities from the same groups that they adhere to.

Sacks (1995) put forward two main rules which explain the existence and use of membership categories. The first one is the *consistency rule*, and it stems from the belief that if one category identified within a device is employed for describing a member of a particular group, then all the other members of the group can be defined through categories linked with the same device. The hearer can interpret a specific category by making inferences about others

from the same group. The second rule proposed by Sacks is the *economy rule*, which states that group members can be described by a single membership category (Sacks 1995).

Drawing from this approach, the *Social Identity Theory* was formulated. Prominent in this direction are Tjafel *et al.* (1978, 1979, 1982). This approach accounts for interpersonal relationships established by individuals within socially constituted groups.<sup>14</sup>

Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that people understand their surroundings through a process of group categorising. Put differently, (1) individuals classify themselves and others on account of differences or similarities, i.e., age, race, ethnicity, profession, political views, entailing all activities conducted within society. This is followed by (2) an individual's mental response of self-identifying as a member of various groups. The process of self-inclusion can be determined by a person's value system or can be attributed to a wide range of *biological or contextual factors*, i.e., self-choice, deciding to support a political party, choosing your profession or *pre-determined*, i.e., the colour of the skin, gender, age, etc. Lastly, (3) group members will often protect their *self-image* as much as their collective identities. This, in turn, establishes relations of power between the *in-group* and *out-group* as individuals will intentionally speak against or discredit other groups in the interest of safeguarding their collective affiliations. The author posited that individuals internalise their understanding through a *cognitive* process of self-identification, an *evaluative capacity* for understanding the values present within the groups, and the *emotional*

---

<sup>14</sup> According to Tajfel:

“A „group“ can be defined as such on the basis of criteria which are either external or internal. External criteria are the „outside“ designations such as bank clerks, hospital patients, members of a trades union, etc. Internal criteria are those of group identification.” (1982: 2)

*investment* through which an individual decides to affiliate with various collectivities. Moreover, the external criteria of group formation are those where humans have no control over their affiliation in various social scenarios, e.g., becoming a patient at a hospital.

The *core self* is represented by how a person associates or distances from groups (Ellemers et al. 2002). Social interaction is achieved within pre-existent categories, i.e., age, religion, political association, profession, gender. Identity emanates from a process of negotiation, as the speakers project the image of the groups they adhere to (*in-groups*), in favourable terms. This is often done in relation with collectivities (or *out-groups*) that are not part of the speaker's membership affiliations and are not part of his/her value system.

As derived from this classification of social identities, a focal point of interest is to investigate intergroup dynamics. Tajfel and Turner claim that individuals are more likely to protect the shared interest of their *in-groups*, which, in turn, generates conflict and adversariness:

The major characteristic of social behaviour related to this belief system is that, on the relevant intergroup situations, individuals will not interact as individuals, on the basis of their individual characteristics, or interpersonal relationships but as members of their groups standing in certain defined relationships to members of other groups. (Tajfel and Turner 2004: 278)

While the *core self* allows individuals to establish interpersonal relations (particularly within *in-groups*), Tajfel and Turner suggest that social membership affiliation supersedes the former in the sense that individuals are more likely to communicate on behalf of the *in-group* than to project their personal *self*. In the case of political discourse, for example, a party representative might opt to act as a group to protect its interests. However, if

individuals feel that specific group associations will harm their image, they can deliberately (1) dissociate from the group or (2) attempt to change the general perception of the group's value system to obtain a positive social identity, devoid of group affiliations.<sup>15</sup>

To sum up, the theoretical directions advanced within the *Social Identity Theory* support the idea that people purposefully choose to be part of certain groups. Hence, the process of negotiating identity is primarily achieved within the dynamics of *in-group* and *out-group* interactions. Discrediting *other* categories to improve social standing proves that cognitive and social identities fulfil specific functions in the formation of identity.<sup>16</sup>

### **1.3. Identity formation and the *core self***

One methodological challenge in defining the *self* comes from the deeply personal (or innate individual features) which are part of the human mind. Of significant importance for the present study is to briefly discuss genetically transmitted, inherited, and eminently unique character traits that are identified and approached in studies on public discourse and can be further regarded as discursive instances of subjectivity.

---

<sup>15</sup> Self-choice is determined by how individuals dissociate from certain groups "to protect their interests and their image or attempt to change the values assigned to the attributes of the group, so that comparisons which were previously negative are now perceived as positive" (Tajfel and Turner 2004: 287).

<sup>16</sup> Tajfel and Turner classify the main directions of research in the *Social Identity Theory* as follows:

- “1. Individuals strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity.
2. Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups.
3. When social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct.” (2004: 285)

To follow up on a point mentioned above, most research directions offer a multidisciplinary consensus as to how culture, language, and social practices are the very fabric through which identity is weaved and shaped. Adding to the ambivalence of the term is the fact that human beings are biologically gifted with intellectual and psychological traits that make them different from their peers. This aspect was discussed in multiple research areas, most notably in psychology, language studies, neuroscience, and philosophy.

The personal qualities of an individual are challenging to classify and quantify. Renowned psychologists, i.e., Freud (1923) and Jung (1971), define them as unique, psychologically embedded character traits that constitute elements of personality development. In philosophy, Locke (1683) advanced the concept of *tabula rasa*, stating that individuals see the world around them through innate, biological senses, i.e., smell, touch, sight. Neuroscientists researched how mental states, i.e., pain, love, pleasure, envy, hate, are pre-determined by the brain's biological structure. In terms of language, Chomsky (1956) put forward the *Universal Grammar Theory*, arguing that all individuals are born with mentally innate faculties, which allow them to understand and process what he deems as universal grammatical structures.

Of particular interest for the present analysis is the idea that public speakers can involuntarily express their feelings in discourse. Conveying emotion can be achieved through verbal, para-verbal, and non-verbal means and plays a significant role in how a message is transmitted, understood, and interpreted. Moreover, subjectivity determines the ways speakers shape their public image, which further influences how they are perceived by the outside world.

Whether we define emotions as part of human nature, an activity produced by the human brain, or genetically acquired personality traits, the result is



similar. Subjectivity is invariably linked to how individuals manage, express, and are driven by them. Along this line, I would add that the creative capacity of human beings and how they intentionally choose to project identities are key characteristics that primarily contribute to the speaker's ethos and pathos (discussed later in subsection 1.3.1). The validity of this statement is contingent on the fact that most people will express an identical range of emotions regardless of their cultural, social, and linguistic environment in unique and creative ways.

Conclusive studies in this direction were conducted by Ekman (2003), who investigated how emotions are expressed through facial gestures. Despite differences in cultures, societies, and languages, the researcher offers evidence to support the idea that people exhibit emotions identically through facial micro-expressions. Moreover, subjectivity is determined by an individual's physical manifestations of his/her emotional palette as uniqueness is determined by how human beings" experience feelings differently" (Ekman 2003: 214).

### **1.3.1. Identity and rhetoric (Aristotle [1928]; Amossy 2001, 2006)**

A significant contribution to studying public forms of speaking is also attributed to the field of rhetoric, as it investigates "the art of speaking or writing effectively".<sup>17</sup>

Prominent in this direction is Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, which centres on the idea that rhetoric entails the means for persuasion available for a speaker at a given time and place. The process of communication is comprised of three components: *ethos* (or ethical) "derived from the moral character of the speaker", *pathos* (emotional), which "puts the hearer into a certain frame of

---

<sup>17</sup> Definition taken from [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rhetoric](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rhetoric), accessed on 20.04.2021.

mind,” and *logos* (logical) through which “a real or apparent truth is demonstrated” (Aristotle 1928: xxxii). As such, rhetoric primarily investigates the subjective aspects of speech as “the faculty of discovering the possible means for persuasion in reference to any subject whatsoever” (Aristotle 1928: 12). Let us briefly examine Aristotle’s *Division of Proof* and its subsequent constitutive categories.

Firstly, it is important to mention that Aristotle underlined the importance of context and setting in public forms of speaking by identifying different types of speeches and audience members associated with the process.

In terms of the hearers, Aristotle mentions two types: *judges* (who form an opinion on the speaker based on history- or past actions) and *spectators* (who criticise) the speaker’s production, content, and delivery of his public performance. (Aristotle 1928: xxxiii).

When examining speech production, the author distinguishes between three types. The first one is defined as *Deliberative Oratory* (symbouleutic) and was mainly viewed as a way of “establishing policies and pursue actions that would contribute to the well-being of the citizens of Athens” (Aristotle 1928: 80). In other words, this type of speech deals with matters of national interests that would (or should, in theory) improve the livelihood of the hearers. In this regard, a speaker must use the art of rhetoric by grasping the ,“needs“ and ,“wants“ of an audience and by responding accordingly. The second type of speech is defined as *Epideictic Oratory* (epideiktikon), as “the existing condition of things that all those who praise, or blame have in view” (Aristotle 1928: 35). This particular speech is a form of ceremonial speaking in which the rhetor praises (and sometimes blames) other figures of public importance. The last category is defined as *Forensic Oratory* (dikanikon) and deals with issues concerning justice. Speakers act as advocates of truth

for those who stand trial. They can use their rhetorical skills to advance *accusations* (kategoria) or *defenses* (apologia).

The speakers' arguments will be interpreted by the audience (particularly functioning as judges). In the process of communication, the orator will bring forward past events to further substantiate his/her claims when defending his/her actions.

When discussing the categories through which persuasion is achieved, Aristotle brings forward the concepts of *artificial and inartificial proof*. The former represents an individual's communicative means: *ethos* (the perceived character of the speaker or the appeal to ethics), *pathos* (the appeal to emotions), and *logos* (the appeal to logic). To expand, Aristotle classifies all categories as follows:

As for proofs, some are artificial, others inartificial. By the latter, I understand all those which have not been furnished by ourselves but were already in existence, such as witnesses, tortures, contracts, and the like; by the former, all that can be constructed by system and by our own efforts. Thus, we have only to make use of the latter, whereas we must invent the former. (Aristotle 1928: 15)

When mentioning the constitutive elements of speech in various forms of public speaking, all of these factors must be accounted for. In this regard, logos can be purposefully used by a speaker as he appeals to the hearer's reasoning process. At a micro-level, logos is achieved by carefully selecting words and arguments put forward by the orator. At a macro-level, the argumentative structures determined by the individual's decision-making processes (particularly what argument to advance and how to combine argumentative sequences) generate the logic of the speech itself, which intends to appeal to the audience. Moreover, pathos is used to elicit emotion from the hearers. Simply put, when taking the floor, individuals must utilise

their rhetorical competences by identifying the emotional triggers of others and acting upon them. While etymologically speaking, pathos refers to "a quality that evokes pity or sadness",<sup>18</sup> Aristotle links this emotional palette to include anger, love, fear, shame, and benevolence (Aristotle 1928: xxxvii). Lastly, ethos is constituted of goodwill (euk),<sup>19</sup> virtue (arete)<sup>20</sup> and practical wisdom or intelligence (phronesis).<sup>21</sup> This constitutes a means of contextualising one's character traits to augment his credibility and public perception. In order to achieve what Aristotle deems as the art of rhetoric, a speaker must employ all of the above-mentioned oratorical proof.<sup>22</sup>

To this day, Aristotle's classic view on rhetoric paved the way for new methodological directions across various disciplines, i.e., gender studies, discourse analysis, media studies, critical theory, science, legal and political studies, and history. Moreover, *deliberative rhetoric* became a centrepiece in linguistic studies (and subsequently in dialogue analysis). Understanding how the subject employs different linguistic choices to obtain favourable results, analysing the structure of a message by decoding the arguments brought forward by a speaker, interpreting verbal and non-verbal cues, understanding how a speaker positions himself with the audience in various political settings, interpreting the subjective components of discourse are just

---

<sup>18</sup> Definition taken from [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pathos](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pathos), accessed on 20.04.2021.

<sup>19</sup> In Aristotle's view, goodwill "requires a knowledge of the emotions. Each of these falls under three heads: (1) the frame of mind which produces it, (2) those who are the objects of it, (3) the usual occasions of it (Aristotle 1928: xxxvii).

<sup>20</sup> Virtue is defined as a palette of attributes that the speaker must invoke, i.e., justice, courage, self-control, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, mildness, wisdom (both practical and speculative) (Aristotle 1928: xxxiv).

<sup>21</sup> Practical wisdom is defined as "a virtue of reason which enable men to come to a wise decision in regard to good and evil things which have been mentioned as connected to happiness" (Aristotle 1928: 93).

<sup>22</sup> "The orator must therefore be a competent judge of virtue and character; he must have a thorough knowledge of the emotions (or passions); and he must possess the power of reasoning." (Aristotle 1928: xxxii)

a few of the directions through which the concept of political identity was put under scrutiny (later discussed in Chapter 2).

It is also important to mention a contemporary contribution advanced in the field of rhetoric by Amossy (2001). Exponential in the study of public discourse is the concept of the *prior ethos*, which is to say that activities undertaken by speakers in a particular field (constituting their public history) "precedes the construction of the image in the discourse" (2001:7). When communicating in public, speakers use rhetoric to reinforce their prior ethos or make attempts to change their public image perception. In other words:

When they take the floor, orators evaluate the impact of the prior ethos on the current subject matter and operate to confirm their images, to rework or transform them so as to produce an impression which is in keeping with the demands of the projected argumentation. (Amossy 2001: 7)

*Prior ethos* can be seen as a collective view of one's public image as it is derived from the general knowledge shared by the audience in regard to the speaker's past actions. Consequently, a speaker will try to achieve persuasion by (1) enacting his/her pre-determined ethos (if he/she deems it as appropriate for reaching his/her objectives), (2) attempting to re-shape aspects of his/her public image (to counteract former actions which elicited negative reactions from the audience) or (3) "underline dimensions of his or her person that are not altogether clear to the public" (Amossy 2001: 20). To clarify, let us look at the following example. During Trump's 2016 presidential election campaigns, the candidate would often bring into discussion his *prior ethos*. Through the use of *self*-referencing and narration, Trump highlighted his financial success and previous professional endeavours to potentially reiterate his public image as a successful American working man rather than just a political contender in the race for the

presidency. This, in turn, might have influenced public opinion, helping the candidate win the elections. (see Săftoiu and Toader 2018)

Undoubtedly, rhetoric is an intrinsic component of public speaking which emphasises the importance of the *core self* in the construction of identity. To better understand this claim, let us look at Herrick's (2000) characteristics of political discourse:

1. *A subject plans his course of action in public forms of address.* More specifically, a speaker will intentionally think of what to say to elicit particular reactions from the audience. The creative nature of the *self* allows the addressee to craft his arguments, bring forward different ideas, and structure his speech beforehand.
2. *Individuals can purposefully adapt their messages to suit the audience's expectations.* If rhetoric aims for persuasiveness, then a speaker's main intent is to find the best course of action to achieve his/her objectives.
3. *Rhetoric entails both dialogical and situational components.* This accounts for the place, the time, the purpose of communication and the type of audience involved in public speaking. Furthermore, rhetoric is defined as dialogic (Weigand 2010) due to its interactional component of being "response-inviting" (Herrick 2000: 11). In other words, when speaking in public, other participants might react to what a subject has to say. Consequently, the subject might plan his/her actions in advance, to counter such interventions.
4. *Individuals communicate with intentionality.* More explicitly, a speaker will choose from a repertoire of discursive and rhetorical options<sup>23</sup> to generate particular reactions from the audience.

---

<sup>23</sup> Among the strategic mechanisms used for achieving persuasiveness, Herrick mentions the following:

5. *Rhetoric seeks persuasion.* One of the main features of discourse is represented by its persuasive component “usually intended to influence an audience to accept an idea, and then to act in a manner consistent with that idea” (Herrick 2000: 12).

In Herrick’s view, public communication is achieved through a purposeful and rhetorically efficient selection of arguments and strategic devices used by individuals to evoke a wide palette of emotions from the audience (appeals), to structure their message (arrangement) and to make it more engaging (to highlight "the form, beauty, and force of symbolic expressions") (2000:14).

The theories advanced in this subsection underline the idea that individuals can intentionally build their *selves* by using different strategic devices with the intent of achieving persuasion. As a result, dialogical negotiation of identity in public forms of communication becomes a craft, or what Aristotle deemed a form of art. This is partly because the speaker must simultaneously create logical arguments that would resonate with the audience, put forward a convincing and powerful performance, identify the needs and wants of others and appeal to their emotions during a well-structured, cohesive, and convincing performance. Furthermore, individuals must be responsive to how their public image is projected in the audience's minds and must find appropriate ways of achieving various ends by attempting to adjust, readjust and clarify their ethos when taking the podium.

---

making converts to a point of view, seeking cooperation to accomplish a task, building a consensus that enables group action, finding a compromise that breaks a stalemate, forging an agreement that makes peaceful co-existence possible, wishing to be understood, or simply having the last word on a subject. (2000: 10)

#### **1.4. Identities „in action“.Linguistic perspectives**

In this subsection, I will approach identity from fields of specialty which originate in the broad spectrum of language studies. To narrow it down, I will mention three directions in research through which the concept was advanced as classified, mainly *Discourse Analysis* (DA), *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), and *Pragmatics*. Accounting for identities as “multiple, dynamic and contextualized” (Waugh 2008: 211) allows for a better understanding of how speakers strategically negotiate their selves to elicit particular reactions and obtain desired outcomes.

Important strides in the development of DA and CDA are attributed to Foucault (1972, 1988). The author put forward the idea that identity is shaped by context and socially bound systems of knowledge. He asserts that discourse is comprised of a priori rules and regulations which govern our society. This, in turn, establishes a „prohibitive“ context that constricts what speakers can or cannot say in a specific time and place (Foucault 1972). For the researcher, discourse represents the mental representation of the world, shaped by how a speaker’s choice of words generates meaning. As a result, discourse entails forms of knowledge “organized through structures, interconnections and associations that are built into language” (Whisnant 2012: 6).

As previously stated, Foucault’s view on discourse highlighted the importance of studying social identities and the subsequent relations of power derived from them.<sup>24</sup> Hence, discourse is viewed as a fluid process

---

<sup>24</sup> “Between every point of a social body between a man and a woman, between the members of a family, between a master and his pupil, between every one who knows and every one who does not, there exist relations of power.” (Foucault 1980: 187-188)



through which individuals express themselves and are identified by others through a universal, organised knowledge system. Discursive identity is constructed within social categories, which in turn, establish power relationships between interlocutors.

Borrowing from sociology, psychology, philosophy, or cultural studies, ample and diverse research directions were classified under the term of *Discourse Analysis* (DA). From this perspective, identity can be interpreted by looking at language structure (in fields such as semantics, pragmatics, grammar) and the situational context (encompassing the subject's choices and selection of words, the purpose of communication, situational constraints, intentionality). DA analyses the structures of written and oral discourse, incorporating non-verbal and para-verbal elements. This research field also identifies the speaker's intent regarding his/her discursive choices, i.e., conceptions, opinions, and knowledge. By investigating both the structural forms of language production (at the level of words, sentences, phrases) and the inter-linguistic dimensions of speech acts (social context), DA primarily concerns itself with the subsequent meaning behind communication processes produced in written and spoken discourse. (see Widdowson 2007)

During the 1970s, a new qualitative method of analysing identity, developed under the name of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). Of particular relevance for the emergence of this field of academia is the acknowledgement of social structures (i.e., political, economic, language systems) that establish a context based on dominance and subordinating relations of power.

In broad strokes, CDA defines language as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). Meaning, on the other hand, is formed within the confines of the afore-mentioned system of practice and is externalised

through various discursive means. This, in turn, supports the claim that discourse is “a form of social action and interaction” (van Dijk 1997: 20).

A focal point of CDA is to identify, classify, categorise, and theorise the social effects propagated through language use and, at the same time, to analyse individual and social effects identified in inter-linguistic lines of dialogues. In other words, the main objective of CDA is to look at how “social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and revisited in text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk 2000: 352).

Identity studies were also conducted in *Pragmatics* (Levinson 1983; Sperber and Wilson 1995; Yule 1996). In general terms, pragmatics concerns itself with analysing language and meaning in context. Webster Merriam provides a more elaborate classification, defining it both as a (1) branch of semiotics that deals with the relationship between signs or linguistic expressions and their users and (2) a branch of linguistics that is concerned with the relationship of sentences to the environment in which they occur. Otherwise stated, pragmatics deals with “the study of meaning communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader)” (Yule 1996: 3).

The area of interest in the field of pragmatics expands beyond linguistic structures as it also takes into account “world knowledge, cultural norms, and individual components of specific interactional contexts” (Wilson 2009: 744). Pragmatics deals with interpreting speech acts, the actions of the participants (their relations, goals, knowledge), the discursive settings and social context, politeness theory, person deixis (among others), as its main purpose is “to identify how individuals use language in different contexts and to what extent” (Cruse 2006: 136). In terms of identity formation, pragmatics looks at how speakers negotiate their public image in interactions by using the concept of positive and negative face (Brown and Levinson,

1978), interprets the dynamics between participants through politeness and impoliteness theories (Culpepper 1996), and analyses identity formation through deixis<sup>25</sup> (Lyons, 1977, Levinson, 1983).

All of these aspects contribute to contextualising identity as a nuanced, multifaceted and complex phenomenon. In the following subsections, I will mention two important theoretical directions advanced in language studies. The first one introduces the term „face“ and investigates how speakers are actively invested in the process of guarding their public image perception. The second aspect deals with the concept of *othering* as it explores power dynamics between groups based on socially instituted differences and subsequent intergroup relationships.

#### **1.4.1. On the concept of „face“ (Brown and Levinson 1978; Culpepper 1996; Yule 1996)**

When accounting for some forms of speaking oriented towards an intended audience (as is the case with election speeches, judicial proceedings, or business negotiations), discourse can be viewed as a mechanism of persuasion where individuals actively strive to enact convincing performances by using a wide array of linguistic and non-linguistic means.

In such instances (where interaction is by design adversarial and competitive), speakers often question their opponent’s ethos, i.e., a political candidate, a business competitor, or an individual standing trial. Discrediting them in the eyes of other participants brings into discussion the importance

---

<sup>25</sup> Developed in the field of pragmatics (Lyons 1977; Levinson 1983, Zupnik 1994), *person deixis* accounts for how the roles of the speaker, addressee, and other participants, i.e., bystanders or hearers, are referenced in speech acts. The term *deixis* provides a useful understanding of the relationship between language and context: who is speaking, what is it about, where and when it is placed (in the string of utterances or in a more geographically or time-bound perspective).

of discursive adaptability, mainly how individuals respond when their image is put under siege by their opponent's discursive arsenals.

Along this line, it is important to mention that speakers purposefully employ defence strategies (to protect their *self*-image perception) and attack strategies (to tarnish the image of *others*). Understanding the dynamics of interpersonal relationships requires further examination within the field of pragmatics, particularly in regard to the concepts of *politeness* and *impoliteness*.

To follow up on a point mentioned before, one of the speaker's main interests is to convey messages that positively resonate with his/her recipients. In doing this, people voluntarily or involuntarily establish social interrelationships with other participants. Consequently, an emergent direction in identity theory concerns itself with the concepts of politeness and impoliteness. (Brown and Levinson 1978, Culpeper 1996; Yule 1996)

Yule argues that, by definition, "a linguistic interaction is necessarily a social interaction" (Yule 1996: 59). The relationship between interlocutors is influenced in public forms of communication by what he defines as *external* and *internal* factors. The former concerns itself with the participants' status, i.e., the relationship of power, age, or professional affiliation. These factors are established before the communicative exchanges and, in turn, can influence how speakers choose to interact with one another. For example, at the workplace, an employee might address his co-workers differently than his/her boss, partly due to the difference in their professional status. When discussing internal factors, Yule argues that context is also provided by the "degree of friendliness between interlocutors" and the "amount of imposition" (1996: 59) identified in communicative exchanges. The previously mentioned factors "have an influence not only in what we say but also how we are interpreted" (Yule 1996: 60). This

behaviour allows others to label and interpret a subject's actions in a positive or negative direction. As such, politeness is regarded as a linguistic and extra-linguistic dimension of public communication that allows individuals to build and maintain a favourable image.

On the one hand, a speaker might deliberately show signs of disrespect to other participants as speakers often attempt to discredit their adversaries. Culpeper (1996) argues that impolite behaviour is generally comprised of attack strategies that target the image of other participants. Making reproaches, accusations, critiques, insults, allusions, insinuations are just some of the means through which impoliteness can be expressed. On the other hand, the interlocutor might (1) employ defence strategies to protect his/her threatened public image, (2) choose to launch his/her very own attacks in order to discredit his counterpart, or (3) choose to remain silent. Exponential in the development of politeness and impoliteness strategies is Goffman's definition of *face*:

The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes." (Goffman 1967: 213)

Goffman claims that public image derives from the projection of the *self*. Individuals can purposefully enact performances that will put them in a favourable light. At the same time, the researcher acknowledges that the continuous, discursive process of protecting one's *face* represents a social constraint in the process of communication.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> "Approved attributes and their relation to face make every man his own jailer; this is a fundamental social constraint even though each man may like his cell." (Goffman, 1967: 10)

Influenced by this approach,<sup>27</sup> Brown and Levinson's (1978) *politeness theory* underlines the importance of *saving* and *losing face*. To expand, the researchers identify two types of *face*: *positive* and *negative*. The former refers to an individual's desire to be liked, appreciated, and socially accepted by others, while the latter can be viewed as "the need to be independent, to have freedom of action and not to be imposed by others" (Yule 1996: 61). Consequently, speakers will use face-saving acts to protect their public image and face-threatening acts to endanger others' self-image through various linguistic devices. In public discourse, a speaker's performance, along with the general knowledge shared by other participants concerning his/her public image, are constitutive elements of identity. Individuals can purposefully construct their selves by actively and re-actively protecting their *face*.

#### **1.4.2. Identities and "othering". A CDA approach**

Researchers in the field of CDA were particularly interested in approaching pressing social issues through discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993, Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). In this regard, analysing the subsequent relations of power derived from social practices introduced the concept of *othering*. Influenced by the *Social Identity Theory* (see subsection 1.2.7), this term is used to highlight relations of domination and subordination established between membership categories. In recent years, the concept has become a significant source of interest in political studies. Derwin provides a definition for the term as "an interdisciplinary notion that refers, amongst other things, to differentiating discourses that lead to moral and political

---

<sup>27</sup> "Our concept of *face*" is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with the idea of being embarrassed or humiliated, or *losing face*". Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction." (Brown and Levinson 1978: 61)

judgment of superiority and inferiority between „us“ and „them“, and within groups.”(Dervin, 2015:1).

Applied to political discourse, *othering* puts membership categories in opposition, investigating how this dichotomous relationship is perpetuated in discourse. Issues such as gender studies, racism, migration, ideology were integrated within the field of CDA through the prism of the opposing „us“ vs. „them“ categories.<sup>28</sup> In accordance with this, Tekin (2010) puts forward three constitutive elements of *othering*: membership categorization, lexicalizations and the selective use of possessive personal pronouns.

The speakers make a “selective use of positive lexicals to accentuate better the positive traits attributed to the Self” (Tekin 2010: 159) and use negative lexicals to define the opposing category. Along these lines, they can purposefully employ referential strategies (achieved through the use of the plural pronouns) to create a discrepancy between the positive self-representation of the “we” group and the negative predication of other groups. Differently stated, “othering, more than often, involves the ascription of varying degrees of negativity to the out-groups” (Silverman 1998: 161).

#### **1.4.3. Identity as *dialogic* (Weigand, 2010)**

A significant contribution to identity studies is represented by the *Mixed Game Model* (Weigand, 2010). This approach constitutes a holistic theory of dialogue structured around the premise that language should be viewed as a „unified whole“ and should account for human behaviour and decision-making processes, cultural background, and adaptability to the environment

---

<sup>28</sup> As van Dijk (1989) argues, when referring to how *othering* is represented in parliamentary discourse, “people make strategic inferences from these kinds of discourse, build mental models of ethnic situations and generalize these to general negative attitude schemata or prejudices that embody the basic opinions about relevant minority groups” (van Dijk 1989: 202).

where the action occurs. All of these components are deeply embedded in language and determine how individuals communicate.

In the MGM, Weigand (2010: 76-86) considers human beings at the centre of the dialogic game. As such, a central concept of the MGM is “competence-in-performance”, which describes the multiple competences required for people to communicate, including perception, interpretation, and language. Individuals simultaneously integrate “human nature, culture and the external environment not created by human beings” (Weigand 2011: 546).<sup>29</sup>

To expand, every individual is endowed with particular biological traits which make him/her inherently unique. Adding to this, Weigand (2010) claims that interpreting language as rule-governed does not account for aspects such as individuality, intentions, or decision-making in particular circumstances (2010: 60). Moreover, human beings are (1) goal-oriented individuals, as people protect their interests both as an individual or as group affiliates and are (2) persuasive beings as they will tend “to bring their dialogue partners over to their side” (Weigand 2010: 62) by using different rhetorical strategies in order to persuade others to accept their viewpoint. In line with this is the concept of *social interactive purpose*, which further leads to the idea that actions are not autonomous, but dialogically oriented. Speakers and hearers negotiate meaning, so that they can come to an understanding. This is an integrative view of language use, which can be better understood if human abilities, cultural insights, and external surroundings are put together in the analytical framework.

---

<sup>29</sup> The paragraph was taken from Săftoiu, Răzvan, Toader, Adrian (2018), The persuasive use of pronouns in action games of election campaigns, In *Language and Dialogue*, Vol 8(1), pp. 21-43, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.



Weigand (2010) asserts that dialogic use of language means presupposes interaction. Action is the fundamental concept of the theory of dialogue, and Weigand (2010: 77) distinguishes between three types of actions: (1) practical (by virtue of physics), (2) mental (by virtue of the mind), and (3) verbal (by virtue of language). Although she calls it „verbal action“, Weigand makes it clear that the “verbal action is only in part realized by speaking [...] dialogic interaction does not presuppose interaction exclusively by speech acts but can also rely on gestures or practical actions“(2010: 77).

### **1.5. On the multidisciplinary study of identity. Concluding remarks**

The present chapter primarily investigated how identity is theorised across a variety of disciplines. To understand how the core and social selves work in unison in the process of identity formation, I discussed Cooley’s (1902) and Mead’s (1934) *Symbolic Interactionism* theories. Widely regarded as the precursor for identity studies, the previously mentioned approaches highlighted how social exchanges determine an individual’s sense of self and how people are aware of the social implications associated with their public image. The active and reactive mental components involved within this process and the concept of role-playing, i.e., how individuals take on the role of a „generalised other“ to achieve social validation, support the idea that identity is individually crafted and socially determined and can change depending on the nature of the public interaction. Furthermore, individuals act with intent to obtain a favourable image, one that actively hinges on how a speaker’s image is built and rebuilt in the mind of the observers.

To understand how identity is culturally bound and shaped by social interactions, I have approached the issue within the confines of anthropological studies. Along these lines, the emergence of ethnographic

research in this respective field of research highlighted the importance of context and interaction in the process of identity formation. This view supports the idea that culture and society are intertwined formative elements of the *self*. People think, act, react, and classify others based on their own culturally and socially acquired understanding of the world. Anthropological thinking during the 20th century provided evidence to support the idea that culture and society shape the individual self as much as the latter influences the former as creativity and self-choices should not be overlooked by researchers but rather acknowledged as formative components of identity.

To underline the idea that identity is dialogic and achieved through performative acts enacted by actors when portraying various facets of their social selves, Goffman's (1956) sociological approach is brought to attention. This perspective enriched the previously mentioned body of research, focusing on both innate and socially acquired selves. Goffman's (1956) theory advances the idea that people act and react with others in public forms of communication with the intent of obtaining a favourable outcome. Identity formation is expressed both verbally and non-verbally by actors, carefully choosing from a repertoire of social roles to elicit positive responses from the audience. In the researcher's view, role-playing, performativity, the speaker's intentionality, and the importance of the setting all contribute to identity formation.

To provide a better understanding of how the field of identity studies was enriched with novel directions and methodological approaches during the second half of the 20th century, I have mentioned the development of postmodern theories by discussing concepts such as discourse, power relationships, and the newly found importance for language analysis in identity studies. By all accounts, postmodern approaches in this direction shifted the attention towards investigating how relations of power reside

within social categories and how meaning is perpetuated through discourse. This, in turn, intensified the ongoing debate between structure and agency and led to the development of theories in which the two are seen as co-dependent in the process of identity formation.

Supporting this view, Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue that individuality emanates from socialisation processes, in which the subject will acquire different identity types through interaction within a well-established system of practices. This shows that identity is ever-changing as an individual will shape his/her behaviour in various social scenarios (determined by the institutional design/structure and his/her individual creative choices/agency). Reinforcing this position, Giddens' *Structuration Theory* (1984) brings forth arguments to support the view that structure and agency hold equal footing in defining the self. In discourse, individuals can generate social change through a process of reflectivity (by assessing the world around them) and action (achieved through discourse) while the social system in which they communicate (the setting) constricts their communicative options.

To offer a better understanding of collective identities, the body of research also brought into question the formation of the social *selves*. Whether classified as *communities of practice*, *membership categories* or „in“and „out“ *groups*, the above-mentioned theoretical directions define social identities as comprised of multiple facets. A consensus drawn from this analysis is that social identity is fluid (in the sense that human beings can often purposefully shift between social selves), learned, or acquired (through a mental process of deciphering the outside world), and achieved dialogically (as individuals actively negotiate their public image). The theories bring arguments to support that both the subject and the social selves should be accounted for when discussing identity.

When approaching the concept of the *core self*, I investigated rhetorical components of discourse and provided arguments in favour of how the speaker plays a significant role in shaping his/her own social identities. In this regard, individuals express themselves through the use of emotions (discarded involuntarily or used strategically to build their professional selves). Emotions play a significant role in how a speaker interacts and is perceived by other participants. Furthermore, the rhetorical craftsmanship of a public form of address actively hinges on the speaker's public performance and his ability to use ethos, pathos, and logos efficiently with persuasive intent. When discussing the public image of interlocutors, the concept of *face* introduces the idea that speakers are involved in a continuous process of negotiation. Establishing a favourable image is correlated with the subject's intentionality of achieving persuasion, allowing him/her to put forward attack and defence strategies suited for these purposes.

Lastly, *othering* primarily discusses the dynamics of power between *in-groups* and *out-groups*. Analysing linguistic elements that form the dichotomous relationship of "us" vs. "them" is primarily achieved by using pronominal markers that further constitute dominant and subordinate group relationships.

All in all, the linguistic and non-linguistic theories of identity show the complexity of analysing and interpreting identity. The afore-mentioned classification underlines the importance of cultural, linguistic, social, biological, and psychological elements in defining individuals as unique or part of a group.

The body of research provides evidence to support the claim that identity is ubiquitous; it is part of the human genetic and biological code, it is shaped by common ideals, values, and belief systems, it is conveyed through discourse and is determined by the „why“, „how“, „where“ and „when“ of

social interactions. To put things into perspective, I suggest the following classification:

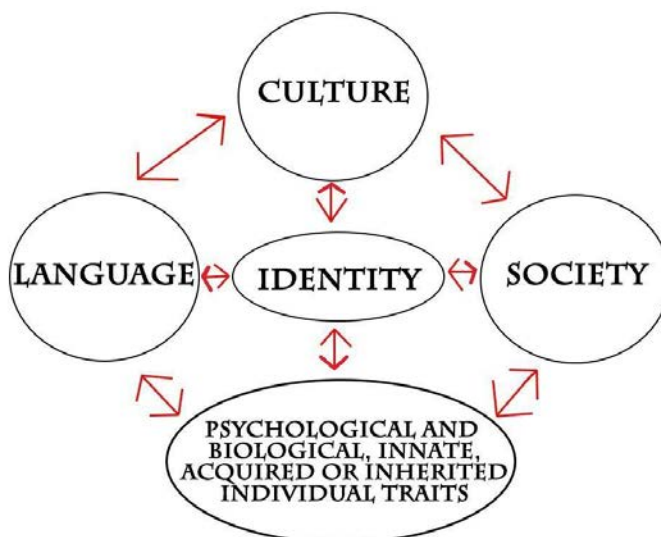


Figure 1: Understanding identity and the complex whole

Some conclusions can be drawn from the chapter:

- Identity is a culturally-bound and context-dependent;
- Social and personal identities can be expressed voluntarily or involuntarily, strategically or accidentally;
- Identity is a fluid concept, which is negotiated in discursive practices;
- Through language, speakers perform well-defined roles with purposeful intent;
- People are classified in terms of their collective identities; which are socially determined at a specific time and place;
- Identity is context-dependent, regulated, and affected by the time, place, purpose of the interaction, as well as by the speaker's intention;
- Social categorising might generate conflict which is governed by group power relationships;

As previously mentioned, the purpose of this section is to bring to the fore particular linguistic and non-linguistic theories of identities that view the core and social selves as interdependent in the process of identity formation. While postmodern approaches generally disregarded the importance of the former (see Foucault 1972), the same directions in research were influential in developing other theoretical conceptualisations, which lay claim to the idea that both facets of the self, contribute to the development of identity.

It is difficult to imagine that our sense of self is not influenced by our socially acquired values, ideals, and belief systems as much as it is almost impossible to think that individuality is, in its entirety, socially determined. Self-choices, creativity, emotions are used by speakers to build their image, purposefully communicate, and obtain desired outcomes.

While the process of identity formation is, by all means, complex and ambiguous, it can be viewed, albeit in general terms, as being influenced by our unique designs as an individual within various cultures, languages, and societies. The above-mentioned classification of identity will be further discussed in the following subsection within the context of political discourse.

## CHAPTER 2: FEATURES OF PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE

### 2.1. Political discourse: an introduction

A human activity that stood the test of time concerns itself with deciphering the intricate nature of political communication. As some cultures and societies flourished while others disappeared, as individuals developed new ideas, beliefs, and value systems, as political configurations changed and adapted with the ages, a question remains valid to this day: how can politics be understood?

An area of investigation, which gradually gained recognition during the 20th century, deals with the study of discourse and politics (Schäffner 1996; McNair 1999; Foster 2010). Research in this direction was conducted from various standpoints, theoretical and methodological approaches, most notably in media studies, sociology, pragmatics, cultural studies, discourse analysis, social psychology, and political science.

One of the main features of political discourse analysis is provided by its multilayered and multifaceted design, as it incorporates “a whole palette of meanings” (Titscher et al. 2000: 42). Consequently, this area of research was approached in conjunction with diverse topics such as gender studies (Lombardo and Meier 2006, Tannen 2007), the subsequent relationships between language, power, and ideology (Wodak 1989; Fairclough 1989), socio-political discrimination (van Dijk 1984, 1987, 1993), discourse and language structure (Wilson 1990, Chilton and Schäffner 2002, Fetzer 2013), or political sub-genres (Miller 1984, Weizman 2008, Cap and Okulska 2013, Fetzer 2013).

A definition of political discourse is drawn from the terms themselves. The word *political* can be used to incorporate all actions, policies and practices

undertaken by human beings within the broad spectrum of politics.<sup>30</sup> Discourse, on the other hand, constitutes “a mode of organizing knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete contexts.”<sup>31</sup> If we consider the definition provided by the conjoined terms, *political discourse* can be generally discussed as the analysis (by way of different methods and approaches) of the political language used to decipher (or make sense) about political practices.

Wilson (1990, 2008) notes that political discourse should be primarily understood from a twofold perspective: (1) as a discourse which is political in nature and (2) as a type of discourse “without explicit reference to political content or political context” (Wilson 2008: 398). From this perspective, all those involved in politics (ordinary citizens, bystanders, political figures, media representatives) are integral elements in understanding the dynamics of parliamentary discourse.

Wilson expands his view on political discourse and defines the participants as “politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and the political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals.” (Wilson 2008: 398) This, in turn, brings into question its complex dynamics. Apart from the human component, he also highlights some constitutive elements of communicating in a professional environment. Some of these are defined as follows: the importance of political setting (i.e., where the action takes place), the type of the political discourse (i.e., presidential, or parliamentary discourse), the actions, roles and power of political supporters, the goals/ends of the political speakers as well as the channels of “production, reception, transmission, and distribution in traditional media and new media” (Fetzer 2013: 1).

---

<sup>30</sup> Definition taken from: <http://tinyurl.com/yztap2wx>, accessed on 29.04.2021

<sup>31</sup> Definition taken from: [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/discourse](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/discourse), accessed on 29.04.2021



These aspects and many others were discussed by linguists who primarily investigated discourse to decipher the meaning behind political forms of communication across cultures, societies, and institutions. Among the subjects of research put forward in this direction, van Dijk (1997) mentions:

“the text and talk of professional politicians, or political institutions, such as president and prime-ministers, and other members of government, parliament, or political parties, both at the local, national, or international levels.” (van Dijk 1997: 12)

Here, van Dijk discerns the speaker (the politician) as the main source of enquiry within a multitude of contexts and professional environments pertaining to the world of politics. To provide context, it is important to mention that, in democratic systems of governance, the political speaker is usually an elected official who represents the interests and well-being of its constituency. In line with this, politicians and political parties work as constitutive parts of a system that, in theory, safeguards the common interests of the population, similar to that of the justice system, law enforcement, army, etc. As van Dijk notes, politicians can be seen as “the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity.” (van Dijk 1997: 13) The author expands on this idea and argues that politics is merely an individual’s professional affiliation (no different from that of a medic, a lawyer, teacher, etc.).

Yet, politicians are also representative members of a population and are endowed with decision-making policies and actions which directly or indirectly affect the livelihood of the citizens they stand to represent. As a result, acceding, maintaining, or advancing into political positions (which by default are positions of power) are strongly determined by how a designated audience publicly regards their actions and characters.

In what follows, I will mention some features of parliamentary discourse such as the setting (or the professional environment), the channels of transmission and reception of political messages and the speakers' overall purpose of communication.

### **2.1.1. Political discourse as institutional discourse**

Due to the complex nature of political discourse, a wide array of factors can influence its production. Parliament can be further understood as a well-established political institution with subsequent rules and practices. Among these, it is important to mention the discursive constraints of the setting where politicians conduct their affairs.

Concerning herself with the pragmatic interpretation of political discourse (or political discourse as micro-analysis), Fetzer (2013) argues that the institutional nature which predominantly characterises this type of discourse entails "contextual requirements" as it limits the topical options of the speaker, establishes a turn taking-system "constrained by the requirements of institution as regards to possible self-selection and length of turns" and introduces "more neutral discursive styles and discourse identities" (Fetzer 2013: 1). In the European Parliament, for example, political debates are subject to well-established rules of procedure. Some of the constraints relate to a pre-established turn-taking system, a pre-established speaking time for political groups, or specific topics which constrict the speaker's discursive options.

By all accounts, the political environments and their subsequent institutional configurations are exponential in understanding the nature of the political discourse on the one hand and the production of political discourse, on the other hand. Added to this is the idea that the previously mentioned type of discourse is not eminently institutional and can also be discussed as a form

of “public dialogue” through which both “professional and non-professional politicians (ordinary people) work together to achieve power in dialogic interaction.” (Săftoiu 2015: 430).

### **2.1.2. Political discourse as public discourse**

In the case of democratic systems of governance, the relationship between politicians and the people they represent was gradually moved “into the public sphere” (Lilleker 2006: 5). This political system offers people the option of getting involved in political decision-making directly (e.g., through voting and election procedures) or indirectly (e.g., as part of public opinion through which politics is asserted). Aside from the democratisation process, which characterises a vast majority of political structures nowadays, technological advancements and improved education levels resulted in an ever-growing number of politically active citizens. A central component of political discourse is provided by how the political activity is of public interest and available to the population (through different communication channels).

Along these lines, political discourse should be discussed as, mainly but not limited to, forms of public discourse (Fetzer 2013). The nature of political communication was influenced by the factors mentioned above and, in turn, facilitated the emergence of more competitive political environments (Lilleker 2006: 5), where the relationship between political agents/ groups is influenced by how the audience regards their actions, decision-making policies and discursive performances. These aspects will be further discussed in section 2.3.

### **2.1.3. Political discourse as „goal-oriented“**

Generally speaking, people working in the political sphere, like any other employees from other domains of activity, follow both a personal and a

professional agenda. Individuals always have a set of goals and objectives which they attempt to fulfil in their chosen profession. The public nature of political discourse and subsequent roles of the population in choosing their political representatives are common features in most political configurations. This influences and limits a politician's options of forwarding his/her objectives.

As shared political goals, Chilton identifies "the struggle for power", more specifically, how politicians purposefully communicate with the intent of acceding into influential political positions or protecting their political standing. He also emphasises the importance of cooperation, as the collective actions and efforts of politicians and political institutions deal with "resolving clashes of interest over money, power, liberty and the like." (2004: 3)

From the perspective of CDA, political discourse entails conflictual relations between "those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" (Chilton 2004: 3), which are negotiated between political actors or political groups on the one hand and with interlocutors and the audience, on the other hand.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, politics entail relationships of cooperation between political members or groups. In other words, political positions can be seen as clusters of a governance system that must cooperate and work in unison for the system to function properly (e.g., at a macro-level, cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of government).

While attempting to keep and accede into power or fulfilling their job obligations, politicians can also protect their self-interests rather than the ones of the groups or constituencies that they represent. Because political

---

<sup>32</sup> This relationship can also be influenced by media discourse as well as political mediators. (see sub-section 2.1.4)

discourse presupposes the existence of an audience “without which no political message can have any relevance” (McNair 1999: 10), it is important to note that the audience can also set up their own goals and objectives as an overall assessment of how politicians represent their best interests. Hence, politicians should always seek to meet the audience’s expectations to meet their agenda (as seen in the figure below).

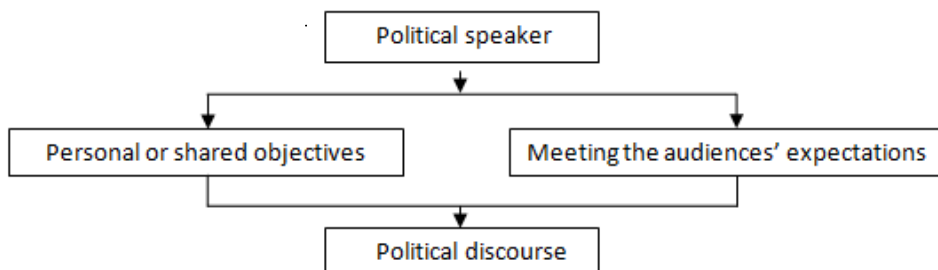


Figure 2: Political discourse as „goal-oriented“

If political discourse is by design, goal-oriented, and often available to the public, a subject of inquiry in this field refers to how speakers will identify the 'needs' and 'wants' of an audience and use them to forward personal and shared objectives. Rather than just conveying messages of public interest through different communicative means, discursive strategies are purposefully employed by speakers. Consequently, “one of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out how language choice is manipulated for specific political effects.” (Wilson 2008: 410). This aspect will be further discussed in subsection 2.3.

#### **2.1.4. Political discourse as media discourse**

The relationship between politicians and the public sphere is also influenced by the channels through which communication is attained. Fetzer (2013) argues that political discourse falls under the category of *media*

*discourse*.<sup>33</sup> On the one hand, media can be understood as a vehicle through which politicians address a higher number of people. A broader reach is provided in this sense, as opposed to a more limited one found in live, untelevised public performances. On the other hand, media discourse can also be seen as a form of mediated discourse, as third parties such as journalists, bloggers, news anchors, political analysts, all can influence public opinion by discussing, commenting, or assessing diverse aspects from the world of politics by putting forward their subjective views on the topic. One of the characteristics advanced in this direction, as argued by McNair, is that the media “are laden with value judgments, subjectivities and biases” (1999: 12) as non-political public figures can subjectively respond to what transpired in the political arena. This, in turn, influences how politicians convey information and interact with the public sphere. Hence, their political image depends on how they establish relationships with both citizens and the media (as seen in the figure below).

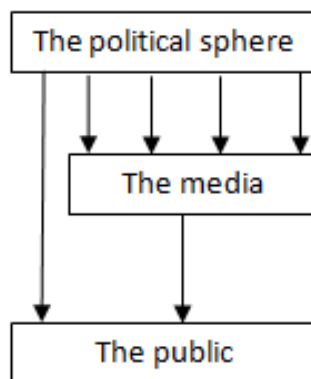


Figure 3: A traditional view of political communication (Lillaker 2006: 5)

---

<sup>33</sup> “In a world, which is becoming more and more global and more and more mediated and digitalized, political discourse has become just another sort of media discourse.” (Fetzer 2013: 3)

Rather than just conveying information through speech, political actors attempt to bring forward convincing, credible performances. At the same time, the technological developments which facilitated the emergence of new media, influenced how politicians communicate in the public sphere.

To provide context, I will reference the first electoral U.S. debate between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy held in 1960. Although Nixon was ahead in the voting polls, the public nature of political discourse (as televised media discourse) influenced public opinion and facilitated John F. Kennedy's win. This, in turn, can be associated with the public performances of the speakers as political actors should always take into account, among other factors, the channels through which they communicate as well as how their discourse can positively resonate with the audience. Moreover, the mediated aspect of new media is in itself a form of political discourse as "analysts who themselves wish to present a political case, become, in one sense, political actors, and their own discourse becomes, therefore, political" (Wilson 2008: 399).

To better understand the process of identity formation, I will advance some characteristics of parliamentary discourse and discuss them within the context of the European and Romanian Parliaments.

## **2.2. Organisational settings of Parliaments**

In modern times, most governing systems attribute power to the parliament as "the legislative body of a usually major political unit that is a continuing institution comprising a series of individual assemblages."<sup>34</sup> Simply put, parliament should mainly be viewed as a legislative body that cooperates and regulates other political state powers.

---

<sup>34</sup> Definition taken from: <http://tinyurl.com/yb7bujxs>, accessed on 30.04.2021

As a political institution, the parliament is subjected to rules, procedures, and principles, regulated by political configurations, and shaped by socio-historical and cultural factors (Vasilescu 2010). This brings into question the “organizational structures” (Hoinărescu 2018: 202) under which parliaments conduct their activity.

To follow up on this, it is worth noting that parliaments are ubiquitous, as they are constitutive legislative bodies in democracies as much as they are present in totalitarian systems of governance. The political system's design influences and determines the organisational structures of parliament itself. The power in overseeing and regulating other branches of government and its legislative decision-making processes is constrained by the political system and constitutional frames in which it resides. Undoubtedly the configuration of parliament is influenced by a country's culture and historical background (see Bayley 2004), which generates the formation of specific institutional practices. While their multifaceted design makes it difficult to provide an over-encompassing definition of the term, I will mention some universal features and characteristics which are generally (but not definitively) integral aspects of the legislative body:

- I. A parliament is an assembly that is elected by universal suffrage.
- II. Once elected, it assembles under its own initiative.
- III. Participation in elections is freely open to political parties, movements, and individuals.
- IV. Its functions include that of the legislation and scrutiny of the workings of the executive.”

(Bayley 2004: 2)

As the author notes, this is particularly valid in the case of democratic systems of governance. In many such political designs, people can directly elect political parties and/or candidates, which assign members to different political positions. The election process allows for the participation of the



most widely popular political parties and other parties and/or candidates as stipulated by the constitutional framework of a country.

Aside from its central legislative role, the parliament also functions as part of a check-and-balance system, regulating other governmental branches (i.e., the Executive and the Judicial) as the two cooperate to establish a stable, efficient governing system. Even these attributes and functions are not universally valid in democratic systems, as institutional differences are commonplace.

To better understand how parliaments function as norm-regulated institutions (Ilie 2003, Ilie 2010a), I will discuss parliamentary settings at transnational (The European Parliament) and national (The Romanian Parliament) levels.

### **2.2.1. The European Parliament**

Following the aftermath of political and social events that generated military conflicts during the first half of the 20th century, a new political structure emerged in Europe to mediate tensions and conflicts between the nations of the world. Safeguarding stability and democratic principles are the European Parliament's key objectives. From its formation, following the Second World War, until today, this organisation has undergone significant changes in terms of structure, practices, functions, and roles and has become a key symbol of shared unity and cooperation between member states.

The history of the European Parliament can be linked to a diplomatic consensus reached by the French and German governments in 1950. Both countries agreed that their shared economic interests in the steel and coal industries should be looked after by a common authority. As a result, they successfully formed a coalition under the name of the *European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)*. This organisation's main goal was to regulate and

supervise the industries mentioned above, chiefly aiming to diminish potential backlash between France and Germany. Not long after establishing the coalition, five more countries joined the coalition (Belgium, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and Great Britain).<sup>35</sup> The shared economic interests of the ECSC's member states represented the foundation on which the European Union was built, emerging as "a product of the confused but dynamic movement to achieve European unity that marked the late 1940s and early 1950s" (Palmer 1981:19).

The growing tensions generated by the Cold War and the rising threat of communism sparked novel interests shared by the member states of the ECSC. Under the guidance of French president Charles de Gaulle, the coalition reached a consensus in establishing an institution comprised of politically appointed representatives from each country in an attempt to "to seek the methods by which closer political cooperation could be organized."<sup>36</sup> In 1962, the first parliamentary assembly between the pre-existing communities marked the first session of what will later become the European Parliament.<sup>37</sup>

For decades, the roles and functions of the EP were continuously negotiated and shaped by member states. Following the Maastricht Treaty (1993), the EP would become a co-legislative body (alongside the European Commission) and would be endowed with more transnational power and responsibilities establishing the current European Parliament's functional design.

---

<sup>35</sup> Great Britain became part of this coalition in 1973

<sup>36</sup> Definition taken from: <http://tinyurl.com/3v7b592a>, accessed 30.04.2021

<sup>37</sup> Following the *Treaty of Rome* (1958), two new committees were established, namely the *European Economic Community* (which sought to improve the economic relationship between member states) and the *European Atomic Energy Community* (which oversaw the production, distribution, and selling of nuclear arsenal). The three bodies of power were bound in 1967, establishing the European Committee.

Today this institution is comprised of 751 Members of Parliament from 28 countries<sup>38</sup>, representing a population of over 50 million, thus becoming the second-largest legislative body in the world (taken from the European Parliament website).<sup>39</sup>

As mentioned on the official website, the roles and functions of the EP can be summed up into four broad domains of activity in terms of powers and procedures.

Firstly, the EP functions as a co-legislative body. Together with the European Council, MPs have the power to approve, reject or propose amendments brought forward by the Council in the form of a report. Issues concerning immigration, economic governance, transport, energy, the environment, and consumer protection, among others, are relevant topics in parliament.

Secondly, the EP functions in a supervisory capacity, regulating the activities of other EU bodies such as the European Council, The Council of the EU, European Commission, The Court of Justice, and many others.

Thirdly, following the Treaty of Lisbon (2009), the EP attempts to build stronger relations by cooperating with National Parliaments to identify common goals and objectives which can later be put forward and discussed at a transnational level. As such, “European Parliaments and National Parliaments should together determine the organization and promotion of effective and regular inter-parliamentary cooperation in the EU.”<sup>40</sup>

Lastly, the EP works with the European Council and has the last say in deciding the European Union's annual budget.

---

<sup>38</sup> Following the UK's decision to leave the European Union, 27 countries will remain in the EU as of 2020.

<sup>39</sup> Taken from: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/home>, accessed on 30.04.2021.

<sup>40</sup> Taken from: <https://tinyurl.com/ezpfhm68>, accessed on 30.04.2021.

Like any other legislative body, the European Parliament is governed by rules, practices, and ways of conduct. Some of these aspects can be discerned in how political activity is regulated and structured within this institution. To provide context, I will mention some norms and rules of conduct as follows: (1) The EP functions throughout a calendar year during which MEPs meet each month in plenary sessions. (2) The political activity of the EP is mainly conducted through deliberations in parliamentary sittings. (3) Each sitting is chaired by the President and vice-presidents of the EP. (4) During the sittings, the President introduces the daily agenda, calls upon the speakers, and makes sure that all the procedures are followed to the letter. (5) When it comes to voting procedures, the President discusses the report, directs the voting process, and announces the results. (6) In the case of debates, political groups can address different issues later discussed in plenary sessions. (7) Members of the EP can propose amendments to legislation pieces or submit various reports that are debated during parliamentary sessions.

Furthermore, as a forum for deliberation, the EP is comprised of different types of parliamentary discourse, subject to their procedures and rules of conduct.

As a primary form of political deliberation within the EP, *debates* follow specific institutional guidelines that regulate its activity. Some of these aspects can be mentioned as follows: (1) debating and voting on a report can only occur if the text was distributed 24 hours before the sitting. (2) every political group is allocated a certain amount of time for deliberation, (3) no MP is permitted to speak if he/she was not invited by the President of the Parliament, (4) only the President of the EP can interrupt a speaker.

In parliamentary sittings, members of the European Commission and the Council of Europe are also present and can be invited at the rostrum to make speeches. The cooperation between the EU and the EP extends even further

as MPs are allocated special sessions to address questions to members of the European Commission and members of the Council of Europe. Each sitting is comprised of a *question-time* session. These questions have to be submitted in advance to the President of the European Union, which would decide if the debate topics are acceptable. Moreover, a committee responsible for drafting a legally binding act can discuss this matter with members of the European Commission and Council of Europe in the form of follow-ups.

### **2.2.2. The Romanian Parliament**

The Romanian democratisation process is the result of laden political history. During the 1800s, Romania was a predominantly rural country where people had limited access to education and were not involved in political decision-making. A significant change came during Alexandru-Ioan Cuza's reign, who introduced a series of reforms that would constitute the formation of the modern Romanian state. During this time, the first legislative body was the Elective Assembly [Adunarea Electivă], comprised of members from Wallachia and Moldavia, which later became the Romanian Elective Assembly in 1862. Although prior attempts have been made to establish a legislative branch of governing during the ruling of Alexandru-Ioan Cuza, the Parliament was first ratified by the Constitution on the 1st of July, 1866, as a legislative body comprised of The Deputy Assembly [Adunarea Deputaţilor] and the Senate. Up until 1923, Parliament became a central political institution, formulating the Declaration of Independence (1877) and contributing to the union of the Romanian states with neighbouring Romanian lands at the end of World War I. Years later, in 1923, a new Constitution was adopted to function as a legislative body for all united Romanian territories. However, this parliamentary system was subject to

changes in 1937 when the growing political tensions in Europe affected the country's political design. In a short period, Romania went from a Parliamentary Monarchy to an Authoritative Monarchy and finally became a Military Dictatorship in 1940. From that point towards the end of the Second World War, the powers of the Parliament were suspended. What followed soon after was a long period of totalitarian dictatorship with the Parliament existing under the name of The Great National Assembly [Marea Adunare Națională]. During this time, Parliament's powers were limited as the institution was subjugated by the actions of the country's rulers. Following the 1989 revolution, Romania became a democratic system yet again and introduced free elections, political pluralism, separation of state powers, and a legislative bicameral parliamentary system. These changes were ratified by the new Constitution in 1991 and marked the development of the present-day Romanian governing system. After the fall of Communism, the Romanian Parliament was gradually shaped as a democratic system and adopted "an impressive number of laws and regulations, aimed at reforming the whole society on democratic bases" (Ilie 2010b: 197). In 2007, the country joined the European Union marking a new era in the post-communist Romanian democratisation process.

Nowadays, the Parliament is the sole legislative body of the Romanian governing system and functions as a bicameral institution, where power is divided between The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The constitutional framework under which they function, attributes three main roles to the Parliament, i.e., "legislative, control and appointment/revocation of certain state authorities." (Ilie 2010b: 198)

As stipulated by the Romanian Constitution, both chambers are elected for 4 years and conduct their activities primarily as co-legislative bodies in separate and joined meetings. While some meetings can occur behind closed

doors at the request of MPs, most of the Parliament's activity is available to the public as sessions are published and streamed online. Moreover, during the sessions, press representatives or ordinary citizens can attend the sittings.

The Senate (comprised of 137 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (comprised of 329 seats) are elected through direct voting procedures and convene twice a year (February- June, and September- December).<sup>41</sup> During this time, the political activity occurs in plenary and committee sessions. Both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies contribute to the process of passing laws. "The legislative procedure in the plenum of the Chambers involves a general debate on the draft bill or, on the legislative proposal, and a debate by articles." (Illie 2010b: 198). Furthermore, the Chambers have the authority "of appointing and revoking high officials and members of the government, including Romania's president. (ibidem). As mentioned by Ilie, exercising control over other authorities can occur in different forms: "information sessions for deputies and senators, questions and interpellations, parliamentary inquiries, etc." (ibidem). Also, members of both Chambers can propose motions and motions of no-confidence and address questions or make declarations in plenary sessions.

A significant difference between the two Chambers relates to their roles in passing, adopting, or amending laws. Most legislative bills are first discussed in the Chamber of Deputies<sup>42</sup>, which can be passed or rejected following deliberation. After the Chamber of Deputies has reached a consensus regarding the subject of inquiry, the bill moves on to The Senate, where it

---

<sup>41</sup> The Senate can also convene in extraordinary sessions at the request of the President, The Permanent Office, or at the request of 1/3 of its members (Taken from: <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?id=877&prn=1>, accessed 30.04.2021)

<sup>42</sup> This also includes legislative proposals for ratifying treaties and international agreements, and other legislative processes as stipulated by the Romanian Constitution.

goes through a similar deliberation process. Both chambers act as co-legislative bodies and need to cooperate in order to pass legislation.

The Romanian and the European Parliament function chiefly as political institutions that follow specific organisational designs, procedural rules for deliberation and are endowed with specific powers and responsibilities. At a discursive level, all of these aspects influence communication and can be regarded as forms of discursive constraints. To add to this, Săftoiu (2015) mentions the following institutional procedures when speakers take the floor: "The MP puts his/her name on the list and waits for his/her turn; speaks to the point; does not reply to the comments from the audience." (2015: 431) Furthermore, the author mentions the desire of the speakers to "personalise" their speeches: "The MP makes references to previous speeches of other MPs, uses quotations, make digressions, starts verbal exchanges with the audience while at the rostrum." (ibidem) This introduces the idea that, in some cases, parliamentary speakers might break the pre-established rules when taking the floor and disregard certain institutional norms by doing so. The linguistic options of the speaker are limited as, in some cases, the duration of the speech is pre-determined, insults and interruptions are not allowed and deviations from the topic under discussion are seldom permitted.

### **2.3. The multilayered parliamentary discourse**

Parliamentary discourse can be primarily understood as multilayered, culturally, socially, and politically situated, subject to both discursive and non-discursive constraints and regulated by norms and practices. In terms of language use, the parliament is defined as an "institution dedicated to speech" (Vasilescu 2010: 366) characterised by both cooperative and adversarial dynamics. The many-faceted configuration of parliaments



moulds how speakers communicate. Parliamentary discourse can be viewed as “highly ritualized” as it resides in pre-established political settings. Similarly, it can also be defined as “individually tailored” as speakers employ various resources at their disposal, primarily with intent, to achieve specific end results. (Ilie 2010c: 202). At local, national, and transnational levels, MPs can make or question decisions, voice their concerns, advance, promote, defend their views by (1) adapting to the institutional settings and subsequent constraints by (2) individually weaving their discursive performances, carefully threading each speech sequence to achieve desired outcomes.

Next, I will discuss some pre-determined and discursive features of parliament(s) that contribute to the process of identity formation.

### **2.3.1. Multilayered identities**

A general objective for MPs during parliamentary procedures is to “make politics” or, in other words, to fulfil job obligations as provided by their political assignments and by the requirements of the institution in which they serve. The professional duties and legal responsibilities of the MPs are pre-determined as they are shaped by the cultural, social, and political configuration of the parliament itself (see Bayley 2004). Put differently, parliamentarians have a job to do. With this in mind, ideally, their main political roles are to work together and cooperate in order for the legislative body of the country to operate efficiently and without discord. By that very fact, the first role, established before any discursive performance, is that of an MP, which should primarily work towards obtaining a smooth transitioning of all the decision processes bestowed upon the parliament by the constitutional/legal framework(s), which regulate and impact its activity.

While not all MPs are part of a political party, it can be argued that every parliamentarian belongs to political and/or ideological group(s). The second pre-determined political role is, therefore, the one of the „political member“. In this case, agenda-setting and promoting, advancing political ideology, and obtaining a positive group image are fundamental goals of any speaker operating on behalf of his/her group(s).

Lastly, every political figure must be understood as an individual entity that will attempt to meet personal and professional objectives not just as an MP or a political member, but as a goal-oriented individual. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, the core, and social selves of a speaker work in unison and contribute to identity formation<sup>43</sup>.

All of these aspects account for the multi-layered profession of parliamentarians and should not be understood solely as discursive but rather as pre-determined identities shaped by both the personal and professional facets of the speaker’s multitude selves.

These layers of professional identities and subsequent professional objectives are constitutive elements of parliamentary identity formation, mixed and re-mixed discursively. To clarify, speakers can intentionally configure interplays of various identities, which can be used strategically to achieve certain goals. As part of the “individually tailored discourse” (Ilie 2010c: 202), parliamentarians employ a wide array of discursive strategies for negotiating their identities, among which we can mention: (1) rhetorical craftsmanship, (2) adaptability to an intended audience, (3)

---

<sup>43</sup> Personal and professional identities related to the *core self* can expand beyond the politician’s roles as an MP or as a group member. As political discourse is predominantly a form of public discourse, a speaker can often discuss aspects from his personal and professional life, i.e., family, educational background, prior accomplishments, intellectual traits, etc. This, in turn, can account for a speaker’s objectives or can be used strategically by the same speaker to enhance his public image perception. (see Săftoiu and Toader 2018)

argumentative skills, (4) pragmatic, semantic, linguistic choices and strategies, (5) non-verbal behaviour, etc.

Multilayered discursive identities	Discursive strategies of image-building
The self as an MP	(1) rhetorical skills; (2) adaptability to the audience's expectations; (3) pragmatic, semantic, linguistic choices and strategies, (4) argumentative skills, (5) non-verbal communication; (6) other
The self as a party member	
The self as an individual (with subsequent personal and professional identities)	
Mixed discursive identities	Mixed individually-tailored discourse

Figure 4: Discursive identities and strategies of image-building

The mixed identities are moulded by way of different discursive options “ranging from lexis to pragmatics” (Wilson 2008: 410-411) as speakers attempt to fulfil deeply personal or collective goals. Parliamentarians are power-seekers as they actively strive to accede, keep, or advance their positions of political power (van Dijk 1997). At a discursive level, parliamentary communication is oriented towards a designated audience. The linguistic components that constitute discourse, the strategies employed by speakers during their speeches, are purposefully put forward to achieve persuasion.

By all accounts, the receivers of political messages can directly influence political power dynamics (through voting procedures or decision-making) or indirectly (as public opinion can shape the image of MPs both professionally and individually). On the other side of the spectrum,

audiences should not be understood as a homogenous group but rather as a complex, dynamic group, essential in understanding the process of identity formation in parliamentary discourse.

### **2.3.2. The multilayered audience**

In a general sense, the term „audience“ can be defined as the “assembled spectators or listeners at a public event such as a play, film, concert, or meeting.”<sup>44</sup> Because parliamentary discourse is almost always performed in the public sphere (in live performances or through various media channels) and because political speakers are public figures (as their personal and professional selves are subject of general interest for others), the audience is an integral component of parliamentary discourse as “all political communication is intended to achieve an effect on the receivers of the message.” (McNair 1999: 11) A more elaborated definition of the public sphere is provided by Lilleker (2006):

The term audience is used to describe a number of largely unidentifiable people, all of whom will be using a particular media or receiving a particular message. Audiences are often treated as homogenous and so are constructions of the imagination of the message sender only. Thus, we talk of their being multiple, infinite audiences, each belonging to a particular communicator or message. (2006: 36)

Audiences hold immense power as they determine whether to accept, reject or remain indifferent to political messages, thus becoming a main discursive target with which persuasion is attempted and through which power is obtained. With this in mind, the receivers of political messages should not be interpreted as a unitary group where individuals wholeheartedly share the same ideals, beliefs, value systems, and

---

<sup>44</sup> Taken from: <http://tinyurl.com/5n8su4b5>, accessed 30.04.2021

expectations from their political representatives.<sup>45</sup> Put differently, when an MP is invited to the rostrum to make a speech, he will deliver it in front of other MPs (colleagues or members of other parties), all of which have political decisional power. When proposing amendments, voicing concerns, making motions, the speaker must persuade the present *political audience* to follow his/her standpoint by putting forward a convincing discursive performance, intended for this particular reason.

On the other hand, during parliamentary proceedings, non-political participants, i.e., members of the press, ordinary citizens, delegates, etc., can also take part and will assess, interpret and further dissect the speaker's performance on their terms. Aside from the direct participation of both political and non-political audience members, there is also a passive audience with access to political speeches through different media channels. This can be seen, predominantly, as a non-political audience, which also contributes to the process of parliamentary identity:

Political (Active)
Non-Political (Active)
Political (Passive)
Non-Political (Passive)

Figure 5: The multilayered audience

The audience's overall assessment of a politician's public performance contributes to the formation of one's public image<sup>46</sup>. Every individual

---

<sup>45</sup> Lilleker argues that "the postmodern audience member decodes every message according to their own individual identities, which are often hidden beneath the more obvious characteristics that the communicator has used as a homogenizing factor when constructing their audience" (2006: 37).

<sup>46</sup> When proposing the classification of audiences into political and non-political layers, it is important to argue that „political groups“ should be understood as

comprising an audience will assess a politician's action by accounting for her/his individual needs. As much as a politician can use his/her personal and professional selves and forward them when taking the floor, an audience member is also constituted of multiple identities. In other words, a politically involved, ordinary citizen can oversee his interests as a father, a small-business owner, and an ethnic minority, all of which resonate with him/her and not necessarily with those shared by other members.

The multifaceted nature of the audiences influences the process of how speakers negotiate their identities, as parliamentarians striving for persuasion need to discover the potential needs and expectations of a majority and respond accordingly. Furthermore, speakers can also use their discursive competencies to create convincing performances with the intent of shaping public opinion. Rather than adjusting to the audience's needs, they can suggest it by persuading the audience that he/she has their best interests at heart.

When addressing other MPs, the speaker's objectives can be achieved by interacting with MPs belonging to the same political groups and by how he/she can steer members from other political camps towards agreeing with his/her messages. In-house interaction (in Parliament) with other non-political participants can also provide positive image-building for a

---

members with legal/political power, i.e., other MPs. In this case, it refers to the audience, who can actively make decisions on account of how the speakers achieve persuasion when speaking in public. This particularity has to be mentioned as Wilson (1990) postulates that every form of communication on the topic of politics constitutes instances of political discourse. A conversation among friends or family members can be interpreted as an instance of political discourse (see Liebes and Ribak 1991). By accounting for this, I employ the terms "political and non-political audiences" to distinguish between audience members who directly contribute to the legislative decision-making processes (primarily MPs) and other active or passive participants who make other contributions to the process of parliamentary identity formation.

speaker. As a result, he/she should acknowledge passive audience members, media channels, and mediators when taking the floor.

To provide “a convincing image of its dynamic character.”, Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2012: 5) argues that parliaments can be understood as “a community of practice”<sup>47</sup> where speakers are actively engaged in the process of *situated learning* as MPs adapt to the environment and discursive practices committing themselves “to new tasks and goals, learning a specific repertoire of negotiable resources and working on the individual and group images.” (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012: 6). These activities are put into practice by parliamentarians, as communities of practice require acceptance and approval from others in the process of continuous learning. Hence adapting to “the sets and rules of discourse practices that are recognized as appropriate in a certain parliament, at a certain time, is crucial for the new MP”. (Mills, 2009, 1057-1058 qt. in, Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012: 6-7).

Furthermore, the direct and indirect interaction with audience members also presupposes a reactive component specific to the process of adaptability. If parliamentarians negotiate meaning through discursive performances to achieve persuasion, the audience can provide insight into how the politicians can adjust and readjust their discourse. More specifically, audiences might generate active or passive feedback, which parliamentarians can purposefully use to improve their public performances.

To define the MPs' role during parliamentary procedures, Ilie (2010c) proposes the concept of participant discursive frame. In broad strokes, this accounts for the “role and identities of parliamentary debaters, as well as the speaker-addressee and speaker-audience relationships.” (Ilie 2010c:

---

<sup>47</sup> This was previously discussed in sub-section 1.2.7

200). MPs can be seen as both active participants (when they take the floor or address other speakers) and audience members (when they do not intervene when other MPs are taking the floor). Along these lines, it can be argued that MPs adapt to the environment in which they communicate by co-performing two distinctive roles: (1) addressing the issues at hand and, at the same time, (2) engaging audience members who “contribute to explicit forms of *audience-feedback*, e.g., questions, responses, interruptions.” (Ilie 2010c: 201). Put differently, when delivering speeches in public, a politician should adapt his discourse to resonate with the political audience (primarily other MPs) as well as with the other participants as ordinary citizens, members of the press, diplomats, and all those who attend the sittings or have access to the speech via media channels.

This seems to suggest that parliamentarians are multi-taskers as they seek to achieve personal and professional goals through discourse (corresponding to the multiple identity layers and subsequent objectives). If, for example, the main intent of a speaker is to propose amendments to a legislative bill, he will design his speech in order to persuade other MPs (both colleagues and members of opposing parties) and will bring forward arguments used to influence, lure or convince others MPs to support his/her claims.

However, if a speaker intends to build a party's image in a favourable light, he/she would often turn his/her attention towards the potential electorate and design the speech accordingly. With this in mind, adaptability can be regarded as both discursive and non-discursive features of parliamentary discourse. Even before accounting for a speaker's discursive performance, it can be argued that the nature of the speech itself



was pre-determined by the audience with which the politician is attempting persuasion.<sup>48</sup>

Another feature that should be mentioned relates to the *prior ethos* of a speaker's public image. (see subsection 1.3.1). When designing a speech for an intended audience, parliamentarians should acknowledge how their professional identities are pre-built in the receivers' minds.

To provide an example, if the party with which a politician is associated has a negative public perception, the speaker might attempt to favourably build the group's image and will primarily design his discourse as a representative group member (see subsection 1.3). If, however, his/her professional and personal endeavours are subject of public discord, the speaker will attempt to influence public opinion and will primarily focus on building his/her positive self as an individual.

In short, *prior-ethos* can pre-determine how a speaker chooses to act and react to achieve persuasion that would grant him/her political power. Positive image building is negotiated on multiple fronts as speakers can have an unfavourable image perception in conjunction with multiple identity facets (as individuals, MPs, or group members).

The previously mentioned features concern themselves with the relationship between the speaker(s) and the receiver(s). Both adaptability and *prior-ethos* are discursive features that (1) shape the speakers' identity in the mind of the audience and (2) influence how speakers shape their public image through discourse. These account for some features of parliamentary discourse, as a detailed analysis in this direction requires further examination. At a macro-level, both discursive and non-discursive features of parliamentary discourse are culturally, socially, and politically

---

<sup>48</sup> For clarification, see Cooley's (1902) and Mead's (1934) theories on *symbolic interaction* (discussed in sub-section 1.2.2).

determined and are encased in a historical time frame, in which speakers communicate at a given time and place. Hence, aspects such as the audience's levels of education, political involvement, bias against a political party/and or group, experiences with other political parties/governing systems are just some of the features which shape how politicians negotiate their identities and how their identities are pre-shaped within the public sphere.

### **2.3.3. The multilayered parliamentary settings**

In this section, I will mention other discursive constraints of parliamentary discourse. These can be categorised as legislated and normative. By the former I refer to the laws conferred by the constitutions and political rules which establish the legislative branch of parliament. By the latter I mention rules of conduct and deliberative practices that govern the institutional settings in which communication occurs. In other words, "interaction within the Romanian Parliament is conventional and regulated by a set of rules included in various official documents" (Săftoiu 2015: 431). All of these aspects limit and influence how MPs communicate. Drawing from Ilie (2010c) different factors should be accounted for when viewing the institutional design of parliament.

I. Professional and legal requirements: This primarily deals with the power, obligations, and responsibilities of MPs as provided by their professional duties as representatives of the legislative branch. As shown in the previous subsection, in both the European and Romanian parliament, speakers can participate in decision-making processes and actively engage in deliberation procedures, all of which are constricted by the constitutional framework and rules which grant specific obligations to the institution and its subsequent members.

II. Physical discursive frame (Ilie 2010c): This relates to how the physical configuration of parliament(s) influences (s) the MPs' discursive practices. With this in mind, Ilie mentions the semi-circular seating arrangements of the Romanian Parliament in which MPs deliberate and argues that this design can potentially discourage confrontational interactions (as opposed to the UK Parliament where political groups face one another). Moreover, speaking in parliament is subject to conventional rules of conduct as MPs take the floor after being introduced by the President, are allocated a certain amount of time to speak, are not allowed to insult other political colleagues, and cannot be interrupted by other MPs when taking the floor, etc.

III. Temporal discursive frame (Ilie 2010c): Along with the physical dimensions of parliamentary discourse, rules about the temporal aspects of parliamentary practices should also be taken into account. Frequently, a speaker's discursive options are limited by the time available to him/her. Consequently, he/she must adapt to the temporal frame to achieve his/her communicative objectives. In the case of debates, speakers are not allotted a fixed finishing time, and as a result, such procedures are often delayed. In other cases (i.e., question-time), MPs need to respect specific timeframes and allocate time to voice their concerns and express their opinions<sup>49</sup>. While most speeches delivered in Parliament are pre-prepared, other instances (such as interventions or the right of rebuttal) can be spontaneous and encased in a pre-established time limit. By this fact, temporality becomes a discursive frame in which speakers must adapt accordingly.

IV. Topical potential: At national and transnational levels, MPs can make

---

<sup>49</sup> Săftoiu (2015) adds that in the case of temporal discursive frames, some parliamentary procedures follow pre-defined timelines: "Oral questions briefly expressed in a period not exceeding two minutes. Competent minister answers the question that was addressed in no more than three minutes." (qt. from the official website of the Chamber of Deputies, [www.cdep.ro](http://www.cdep.ro) in Săftoiu, 2015: 431)

inquiries, voice concerns, question, make decisions and express them in different parliamentary types of discourse, e.g., debates, follow-ups, question-time, ministerial statements, parliamentary statements, etc. Every type of parliamentary discourse is limited by the nature of the discussion as the President overseeing the sittings can intervene if an MP digresses from the subject. This becomes a topical constraint, limiting the discursive options of speakers as they would, at least in theory, need to stick to the agenda and produce relevant discussions on the topic at hand.

V. The participant discursive frame (Ilie 2010c): The participant frame introduces the roles of MPs as active participants (when taking the floor) or as audience members (when assessing the performances of other MPs). Besides communicative roles, parliamentary discourse also presupposes interactional roles (promoter- opponent) and ideological roles (reflecting the political affiliation of each speaker/listener) (ibidem, 2010).

VI. The interactional frame (Ilie 2010c): When taking the podium, speakers establish relationships with the audience and bring into question the need for MPs to adapt and shape their discourse both through the prism of the previously mentioned institutional constraints (as a highly ritualised type of interaction) and through the subjective and profoundly personal configuration of political discourse (as individually tailored discourses).

At the level on interaction, Parliamentary discourse is both cooperative and confrontational (Ilie 2003, 2010a) as MPs (representing their interests or those shared with political and ideological groups), will advance their subjective worldviews as power seekers.

As Ilie (2003) mentioned, the nature of political discourse is agonistic<sup>50</sup> as confrontations and polemics dominate the political scene. Furthermore,

---

<sup>50</sup> *Agonistic* has its roots in ancient Greece-specifically in the agonistic (to use the oldest sense of the word) athletic contests called *agon* featured at public festivals.

political discourse can also be classified as histrionic<sup>51</sup> as speakers will attempt to put forward convincing performances that should resonate, on the one hand, with other political figures and on the other hand with non-political audiences which can assess the performance of the speaker through their active (present during the sittings) or passive (having access to the speech via media channels) outlooks. In this interactional dynamic (speaker- audience, promoter-opponent), positive and negative image building become discursive aims achievable through the use of lexical, rhetorical, stylistic, pragmatic strategies with the scope of persuasion.

VII. Other discursive constraints: While the aspects mentioned above consider both the legislated and normalised nature of parliamentary settings, a broad range of discursive constraints can expand beyond this classification. Accounting for parliamentary discourse as culturally, socially, and politically situated, an argument can be made that other factors might impact and determine discourse production. To provide an example, social events of high magnitude, i.e., natural disasters, economic crises, pandemic outbreaks, or prior political decision-making policies, i.e., the passing of laws and legislation which led to public discontent, social unrest, bias against a party due to its policies and ideologies are just some events which might influence how speakers address the issues at hand at a specific time. Moreover, these particular situations can also bring about changes in institutional practices as MPs can convene in extraordinary

---

From physical conflict to verbal jousting, "agonistic" came to be used as a synonym for "argumentative" and later to mean "striving for effect" or "strained." (Taken from: <http://tinyurl.com/45jmfu44>, accessed 30.04.2021)

<sup>51</sup> The term *histrionic* developed from "histrion," Latin for *actor*. Something that is "histrionic" tends to remind one of the high drama of stage and screen and is often stagy and over-the-top. It especially calls to mind the theatrical form known as the "melodrama," where plot and physical action, not characterization, are emphasised. (Taken from: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/histrionic>, accessed 30.04.2021)

sessions to discuss emerging issues. This, in turn, limits the topical potential of debates and can also affect a parliamentarian's image if he chooses to disregard them entirely during his public performances.

All of the aspects mentioned above prove that parliamentary discourse should be primarily regarded as a specific institutional setting with subsequent rules, practices, and ways of conduct.

Understanding (1) why MPs communicate (as goal-oriented individuals), (2) the channels through which they speak (as mediated or public performances), (3) the type of discursive setting where the action takes place, (4) the topic of discussion, (5) the context in which speakers communicate, (6) the relationship between political factions, are just some of the aspects which should be accounted for when analysing parliamentary discourse.

#### **2.4. Pragma-rhetorical features of parliamentary discourse (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012; Ilie 2006, 2010b)**

Recent studies in political discourse (Cap and Okulska 2013; Weizman 2008) encase its broad nature into subsequent genres and sub-genres as discursive categories displaying similar styles, operational structures, and features. Cap & Okulska (2013) propose the following classification:

the state political system at national and trans-national level (e.g., government(s), parliament, political parties, elections, debates), the highly diversified sphere of governmental and non-governmental social institutions as well as the "grassroots" initiatives (businesses, NGOs, educational organizations, workplaces, etc. – but also extraparliamentary campaigns and social movements), and the media system. (Cap and Okulska 2013: 7)

As mentioned above, the nature of political genres can be drawn from all the activities exercised by all human beings that are, in one way or another,

connected to politics. This classification includes other politicised social practices and the channels through which political communication is both transmitted and mediated. Moreover, the genres operating across cultures can be further sub-divided into other distinctive political forms of communication. In the case of election campaigns: posters, interviews, debates, media coverage, social network activity (Twitter, Facebook), and many others can be regarded as sub-domains that operate under the same principles and framework with the broad category in which they reside, all operating for the same purpose, i.e., persuading the electorate that a candidate is the right person for the job.

From a pragma-linguistic standpoint, parliamentary discourse should be understood as a political discourse genre as “it displays particular institutionalized discursive features and complies with a number of specific rules and conventions” (Ilie 2010a: 8).

From a rhetorical standpoint, three genres were conceptualised by Aristotle, mainly the *deliberative*, *judicial*, and *epideictic* rhetoric (see subsection 1.3). By accounting for its oratorical nature, parliamentary discourse is primarily deliberative. Prior investigations of the Romanian Parliament support the idea that all rhetorical genres are commonplace in this discursive setting. Analysing political statements, Zafiu (2013) brings into discussion the epideictic nature of this parliamentary sub-genre and constitutive sub-types, i.e., action-oriented, polemic, satiric, and festive speeches, while Ilie (2006) supports the claim that all rhetorical genres are heterogeneous as the *forensic* genre is also performed during parliamentary hearings due to the confrontational nature of discourse.

The rhetorical, deliberative component of parliamentary discourse on the one hand and the pragmatic language use, on the other, provide a better

examination of the process of parliamentary discourse by accounting for both the institutional and the communicative natures of its design.

Parliamentarians can always add a personal touch to their speeches by using non-verbal communication to complement and emphasise what is being said, crafting their speeches from a rhetorical standpoint, assessing the reactions of the active audiences (in the forms of cheers, acclamations, boos, silence, etc.), making discursive choices and using metadiscursive strategies (among which we can mention attitude markers, hedges, emphatics, relational and person markers) as persuasive means of power-seeking.

The subjective and dynamic design of parliamentary discourse also presupposes adversariness as MPs belonging to different political groups will often "call into question the opponents" ethos, i.e., political credibility and moral profile while enhancing their ethos in an attempt to strike a balance between logos, i.e., logical reasoning and pathos emotion-eliciting force." (Ilie 2010a: 8)

To better understand how both the institutional constraints and the active dynamic of this political configuration shape and influence the process of identity formation, current directions in research propose a pragma-rhetorical analysis as it "it involves an analysis of discourse at both its macro-and micro-structural levels." (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012:11). Similar objectives and research approaches can be drawn between the pragmatic and rhetoric fields of research as both investigate language in use, the relationship between speakers-receivers and how some linguistic resources are put into action, e.g., (at a pragmatic level: "speaker-oriented, hearer-oriented, and neutral utterances"; at a rhetorical level: "ethos-self image; pathos- the receivers" emotional reactions and logos- connected with ideas and their logical concatenation". (ibidem)



Aside from the similarities identified in the pragmatic and rhetoric domains of research, other areas of investigation (concerning themselves with both the micro and macro understanding of parliamentary discourse) were exemplified by Ruxăndoiu (2012) and can be further sub-divided along these lines:

A. At a macro level, as a form of institutional discourse, the following aspects are drawn:

- I. How discourse is organised: opening and closing sequences, basic sequences; dialogical sequences; local adjustments;
- II. The degree of observing/violating the institutional norms and constraints;
- III. The general orientation of the discourse towards consensus or confrontation; relative weight and forms of agreement and disagreement; possibilities and forms of mediation;
- IV. The relative weight and forms of expressing rationality and emotion in the discourse structure;
- V. The general structure of argumentation.

(Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012:11)

B. At a micro-level, accounting for parliamentary discourse as dynamic and interactional, some key directions in pragma-rhetorical analysis can be put forward:

- I. speech acts (direct and indirect acts; forms of indirectness);
- II. deixis (mainly, designations for the speaker and the addressees);
- III. the implicit; forms and strategies of implicitation;
- IV. the split of the speaker's voice: polyphony and multivocality;
- V. politeness/ impoliteness strategies (on record/off record strategies);
- VI. meta-communicative forms, as basic actional aspects;
- VII. address forms and other forms of implicating the audience;
- VIII. forms of reaction from the audience;

IX. dialogic strategies, as basic interactional aspects. The micro-level aspects of argumentation include: sources and types of arguments; argumentative strategies; fallacies;

(Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012: 11-12)

In conclusion, the pragma-rhetorical analysis provides a better understanding of both the institutionally-governed system and its dynamic interactional nature of political discourse. The construction of identity has to be interpreted within a multilayered design, constituted of specific micro and macro features (highlighted above).

As the present will mainly focus on the use of pronominal markers and subsequent rhetorical and pragmatic features of image-building, the comparative and contrastive nature between the Romanian and the European Parliament will also be highlighted at a macro-level, more specifically by identifying patterns of discursive interaction which appeal to ethos, pathos, and logos.

The dual nature of parliamentary communication will account for how political speakers put forward their subjective interpretations as discursive and metadiscursive features of parliamentary procedures, which will be further discussed in the practical part of the book.

## CHAPTER 3: PROJECTING IDENTITIES WITHIN THE ROMANIAN PARLIAMENT

### 3.1. Projecting the individual *self*

When approaching different subjects in front of the parliament, speakers often use *self*-referencing to add new dimensions to their public image perception. By putting forward “a variety of identities that are particular to that politician” (Bramley 2001: 258), individuals can, to significant effect, enrich their messages with information about their personal and professional „selves“. This can further contribute to how they are viewed by the multilayered audience with which persuasion is attempted and through which power is obtained. Through self-referencing remarks, MPs project different identities to come across as “good politicians” (Bramley 2001) by showcasing themselves as competent, trustworthy, reliable, knowledgeable, and efficient political figures.

As this subsection shows, the pronoun „I“ and its variants are utilised to underline “one’s good qualities and accomplishments” (Bramley 2001: 259) as MPs address different issues in front of their peers. This is indicative of image-building strategies, as the discursive negotiation of the self within parliament “serves as a normative backdrop against which the individual could potentially articulate their own unique attributes” (Sammur *et al.* 2013: 144). Furthermore, such projected identities might constitute means for positive image building or may be utilised to launch attacks against other political counterparts, underline professional affiliations, or establish bonds with the message's receivers.

Through *self*-referencing, speakers convey what can be seen as a personal approach to the issue at hand and invoke group identities by making “favorable attributions for the behavior of their fellow in-group members and

unfavorable attributions for the behavior of outgroup members” (Sammut *et al.* 2013: 151-152).

### **3.1.1. Underlining personal attributes**

As previously discussed, parliamentary discourse entails a persuasive component as politicians attempt to get their message across the table in a convincing manner. This is primarily oriented towards a general audience (the Romanian citizens) or towards other MPs that are part of the parliament’s decisional body, the targeted audience mainly depending on the context and the set goals of the speakers (see subsection 2.1.3). If, for example, an MP’s objective is to promote, defend, or criticise legislative proposals, the primary receivers of the message will be those who have power in making political decisions and support the MP’s standpoint. In most cases, however, the targeted audience is challenging to identify and can only be contextually inferred as persuasive strategies might be used to fulfil multiple goals in relation to multiple receivers.

Through pronominal references, MPs build their identities as good, efficient, and reliable politicians by invoking identities that account for their personal and professional competences.

In EXAMPLE 1, the speaker appeals to her character as a morally untainted, honest politician when discussing the criminal investigation case formulated against the MP for wrongdoings during her mandate as Ministry of Youth and Sports<sup>52</sup>:

---

<sup>52</sup> In the Romanian Parliament, the head of a government department takes the position of Minister.

EXAMPLE 1: „I” as an honest politician

<p>“Prin această declarație, <i>vreau</i> să pun punct pozițiilor <i>mele</i> publice cu referire la cazul aflat deja în atenția instituțiilor judiciare ale statului. <i>Refuz</i> să aplic practica altor foști miniștri care, prin intermediul mass-media, încearcă influențarea procurorilor. <i>Am încredere</i> în justiție și <i>am convingerea</i> că rezolvarea cazului Ridzi nu se face la televizor. Așa înțeleg <i>eu</i> statul de drept. Altfel, <i>aș considera</i> că trăiesc într-un stat autoritar.</p> <p>Prin urmare, <i>vă cer</i> încă o dată, stimați colegi, tuturor, să votați pentru avizul necesar pentru începerea urmării penale în ceea ce <i>mă</i> privește. <i>Vreau</i> să am posibilitatea <i>să-mi dovedesc</i> nevinovăția, iar acest lucru <i>îl voi</i> putea face doar în fața instanței.”</p>	<p>With this statement, <i>[I]</i> want to put an end to <i>my</i> public stand regarding the case that is already in the attention of the state judicial institutions. <i>[I]</i> refuse to employ the practice of other ex-Ministers who, through the media, are trying to influence prosecutors. <i>[I]</i> have faith in the justice system and <i>[I]</i> firmly believe that the Ridzi case shall not be resolved on television. That is how <i>I</i> understand the rule of law. Otherwise, <i>[I]</i> would think that I am living in an authoritarian state.</p> <p>Therefore, <i>[I]</i> ask <i>you</i> once again, honourable colleagues, to vote in favour of the notice that is required for the commencement of the criminal investigation against <i>me</i>. <i>[I]</i> want to be able to prove my innocence, and <i>[I]</i> will only be able to do this in court.</p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Joint Session  Date: 27 July, 2009  MP: IACOB Ridzi Monica  Liberal Democratic Party<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>Topic: Presenting the request of the Attorney General to the Chamber of Deputies, for waiving the political immunity of Iacob Monica-Ridzi, for the continuation of the investigation against her.</p>

<sup>53</sup> For the transcribing conventions of Romanian political parties, see Appendix 1

The first extract is comprised of 9 instances of *I*-referencing (8 inferred and 1 explicit) and a first-person object pronoun „me”, through which the MP expresses her point of view and showcases her attitudes on the topic under discussion.

Initially, a grammatically inferred „I” is used to convey the MP's opinion regarding the legal accusations pending against her. Through a second *I*-reference, the MP presents herself as a person of principle and makes a distinction between her actions and those of others: “[I] *refuse to employ the practice of other ex-Ministers*, who, through the media, are trying to influence prosecutors. (*Refuz să aplic practica altor miniștri care, prin intermediul mass-media, încearcă influențarea procurorilor.*)”

Positioning herself on the opposite side of the spectrum allows the MP to dissociate from a morally questionable practice, i.e. as the action of using mass media to influence public opinion. Adding to the illocutionary force is the verb “to refuse (a refuza)”, which further underlines the speaker’s categorical decision of not using political influence for personal gain.

The MP moves on to convey her views on the Romanian justice system, marked through the use of attitude markers “[I] have faith (am încredere)”, when expressing trust for the afore-mentioned institution and “[I] firmly believe (am convingerea)”, when discussing how the justice system will not be influenced, in any way, by mass-media. The MP's confidence in the Romanian legal system is further suggested through an impersonal *self*-reference: “[I] firmly believe that *the resolution of the Ridzi case* shall not be resolved on television. (*Am convingerea că rezolvarea cazului Ridzi nu se face la televizor.*)” This form of referencing might indicate a dissociative act by which the MP attempts to distance herself from her alleged actions when dealing with an event that might potentially damage one’s public reputation.

The first-person pronoun is also used to forward a request, in the form of asking other parliamentarians to facilitate the procedural aspects required for the criminal investigation to be conducted: “Therefore, *[I]* ask you once again, honourable colleagues, to vote in favour of the notice that is required for the commencement of the criminal investigation *against me*. (Prin urmare, vă cer încă o dată, stimați colegi, tuturor, să votați pentru avizul necesar pentru începerea urmăririi penale *în ceea ce mă privește*.)” The MP’s willingness to cooperate and waive her political immunity further projects her as an innocent entity reiterated in the speaker’s attempt to exculpate herself: “*[I]* want to be able to prove my innocence (*Vreau să am posibilitatea să-mi dovedesc nevinovăția*)”. In line with this, *I*-references are utilised to potentially clear her name and clarify some aspects concerning her public opinion perception. In addition, the allegedly guilty MP can reconstruct her tarnished identity by invoking the status of a victim, unjustly put under investigation.

As shown in the previous example, MPs employ first-person pronouns to project the identity of an honest politician. Advancing personal attributes might constitute the speaker’s attempt of responding to one’s *prior ethos* (Amossy 2001) as news about her political misdoings was already made public. Using *self*-referencing to bring to light positive character traits and asking other MPs to waive her political immunity can diminish the speaker’s publicly-perceived culpability in the eyes of both audience members and other MPs.

A similar approach is found in EXAMPLE 2. In this extract, the MP announces his resignation from the Chamber of Deputies and the National Liberal Party for the same reason as in the previous example:

EXAMPLE 2: „I” as an honest politician

<p>“Unchiul <i>meu</i> a fost condamnat 25 de ani. După 15 ani, când a venit de la pușcărie, a fost întrebat: „Mache, nu-ți pare rău de toată tinerețea pe care ai pierdut-o?” Și a spus așa: „Dacă făceam 5 zile pentru că am furat o găină, mă spânzuram de demnitate și de onoare. Am făcut 15 ani pentru că am luptat pentru o idee și acum aș pleca pentru aceeași idee încă o dată.” Deci <i>eu</i> vă răspund așa: <i>stau</i> drept în fața țării, în fața Parlamentului și în fața lui Dumnezeu pentru că acea faptă <i>nu am făcut-o</i> și știți dumneavoastră despre ce este vorba în condamnarea mea.”</p>	<p><i>My</i> uncle was sentenced to 25 years in prison. 15 years later, when he got out of jail, he was asked: „Mache, aren’t you sorry for all the youth you’ve wasted?” This is what he said: „If I had spent 5 days in prison for stealing a chicken, I would have hung myself for the sake of dignity and honour. I spent 15 years because I fought for an idea and I would go back for the same idea.” So, <i>I</i> am telling you this: [<i>I</i>] stand tall in front of the country, in front of the Parliament and in front of God because [<i>I</i>] did not commit that deed and you all know what my sentencing is all about.</p>
<p>Intervention (announcement)          Institution: Chamber of Deputies          Date: 18 February 2013          MP: BECALI George          Liberal Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Intervention made by George Becali at the beginning of the meeting announcing his resignation from the Chamber of Deputies and from the National Liberal Party.</p>

Aspects from personal life experience are drawn as the MP talks about the incarceration of his uncle. Through this narrative, the speaker describes his relative as a man of principle who refused to make moral compromises: “If I had spent 5 days in prison for stealing a chicken, I would have hung myself *for the sake of dignity and honour*. I spent 15 years because [*I*] *fought for an idea, and I would go back for the same idea*. (Dacă făceam 5 zile pentru că am furat o găină, mă spânzuram *de demnitate și de onoare*. Am



făcut 15 ani pentru că *am luptat pentru o idee și acum aș pleca pentru aceeași idee încă o dată.*)”

The MP draws attention to the character of a family member. When investigating storytelling as a strategic device, Denton (2010: 161) claims that one of the main narratives identified in political discourse “revolve around characters who can be judged in terms of the morality and behavior.” Furthermore, the positive values attributed to a relative might also indicate the MPs' own moral character as “personal storytelling can usefully precede an appeal to shared values” (Poletta 2006, 87). This also applies in this example, as the MP moves on to describing his predicament and attitudes towards it.

Three instances of *self*-referencing (2 inferred and 1 explicit first-person pronouns) and a first-person, possessive „my” are used by the MP to come across as an honest, virtue-driven, innocent man. At first, the speaker appeals to the collective judgement of other colleagues while claiming to be innocent: “[I] did not commit that deed and *you all know what my sentencing is all about.* (acea faptă nu am făcut-o și *știți dumneavoastră despre ce este vorba în condamnarea mea.*)” Like the previous example, the MP renegotiates his public image-perception or responds to his *prior ethos* when claiming to be innocent. Through a narrative device, the speaker makes use of *self*-referencing to suggest just moral conduct in relation to the citizens of Romania, the parliamentary institution that he represents, as well as his own religious beliefs: “[I], stand tall *in front of the country, in front of the Parliament and in front of God (stau drept în fața țării, în fața Parlamentului și în fața lui Dumnezeu)*”. This is further suggested by the idiomatic expression “to stand tall (a sta înalt)” functioning as a means of self-description when addressing the event in question.

In both EXAMPLE 1 and EXAMPLE 2, assuming the identity of „honest politicians“ might represent an attempt to rebuild one“s professional image, affected by the legal accusations launched against him/her. When invoking some of their character traits and when appealing to their just moral characters, MPs might employ a base of defence to potentially renegotiate their image in front of an audience by directly approaching the issue and denying their complicity. This might also constitute an appeal to pathos, as the speakers project their image as victims, wrongly accused by the authorities. One rhetorical function, achieved to this extent, is that of “*movere* (= to move, to engage the addressee/audience emotionally)” (Ilie 2004: 52) as MPs put forward a line of reasoning from the subjective viewpoint of a victim rather than from someone who is suspected of political wrongdoings. Nevertheless, *I*-referencing can also allow speakers to *go on the offence*, to potentially discredit other political adversaries. This is evident in EXAMPLE 3, where the speaker affirms some of his principles as he launches accusations against the governing party:

EXAMPLE 3: „I“ as a morally-sound politician

<p>“Personal <i>cred</i> în valorile democrației, care presupun ca actul de guvernare să constea în administrarea mai bună a țării și nu în distrugerea opoziției, deși este adevărat că, dacă <i>nu poți oferi</i> pâine, <i>te străduiești</i> să oferi de două ori mai mult circ...?!”</p>	<p>[I] personally believe in the values of democracy, which entail that the act of governing should consist of a better management of the country and not in the destruction of the opposition, although it is true that if <i>one</i> cannot offer bread, <i>one</i> does his/her best to offer them twice the “circus show”<sup>54</sup>.</p>
---	---

<sup>54</sup> In Romanian, *a face circ* refers to a negative form of showmanship achieved through exaggerated, scandalous statements made publicly by an individual. This is similar to expressions such as *to show off*, *to raise a ruckus*, or *to make a lot of noise*.

Oral Statement Institution: Chamber of Deputies Date: 14 June 2005 MP: Pașcu Ioan Mircea Social Democratic Party	Topic: Speaking against the National Democratic Party (their policies and actions)
--	--

Through an implicit *I-reference*, the MP shares his thoughts on what a good politician must stand for. Using an attitude marker, “personally (personal)”, the speaker describes himself as a proponent of “the values of democracy (valorile democrației)” as he mentions how a democratic system should conduct its activity. The MP also projects the image of *others*, defined ambiguously through the use of a generic reference, to argue that the government's actions are not in the best interest of those they represent in parliament. Simultaneously, the self-attributed political values are presented in a contrastive manner with the government's activity as their actions are deemed nothing more, but antics utilised solely for “the destruction of the opposition (în distrugerea opoziției)”.

To further clarify, the MP negotiates his public image by putting forward a contrast between his self-proclaimed principles and the actions of the opposition. Adding to the statement's illocutionary force is the conclusion drawn at the end of the paragraph: “if *one* cannot offer bread, *one* does his/her best to offer them twice the „circus show“...?! (dacă *nu poți* oferi pâine, *te străduiești* să oferi de două ori mai mult circ...?!)” The use of the second-person, plural, „you“, establishes a dichotomous relationship between the speaker and the opposing party.

While *self*-referencing introduces positive attributes, *other*-referencing describes some unruly political practices linked to the opposing party.

By arguing that the government does not even take into consideration the bare necessities of its population, as symbolically suggested by the noun "bread (pâine)", the MP characterises the parliamentary activity as nothing more but a "circus show (circ)" used in conjunction with the actions of the Social Democratic Party. In this case, *self*-referencing helps the speaker come across as a competent politician, preoccupied with the interests of those that he represents. In a contrastive manner, the MP paints a picture of the governing party, arguing that the moral principles brought into question are blatantly disregarded by those whom he criticises.

Through „I“, speakers renegotiate their identities (as is the case in the first two examples) and tarnish the public image of political adversaries (as seen in EXAMPLE 3), MPs also negotiate their identities by invoking personal qualities.

EXAMPLE 4: „I“ as a knowledgeable MP and as a person of principle

<p>“Este o zi importantă! <i>Eu</i> pot să și termin, dar pentru că <i>sunt un luptător</i> și pentru că <i>știu mai multe decât știu alții</i>, și <i>nu țin</i> discursuri de conveniență și cum zicea Tacit, invocat de altcineva "sine ira et studio", "fără mânie și prejudecată", <i>vreau</i> să lămurim niște chestiuni. <i>Dacă îl suspendăm</i>, să știm de <i>ce-l suspendăm</i>, dacă nu, să știm unde am greșit <i>noi</i>, și Domnia Sa va fi forever biruitor.”</p>	<p>This is an important day! <i>I</i> could finish, but since <i>[I] am a fighter</i> and <i>[I] know more than others</i>, and <i>[I]</i> do not give speeches for convenience and, as Tacitus said, invoked by someone else, “sine ira et studio”, “without anger or prejudice” <i>[I]</i> want to clarify some issues. If we are to suspend him, <i>[we]</i> should know why <i>[we] are</i> suspending him and if not, <i>[we]</i> should know where <i>we</i> went wrong, and thus His Lordship shall forever be victorious.</p>
--	---

<p>Intervention</p> <p>Institution: Joint sittings of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate (speaking as a Senator)</p> <p>Date: April 19 2007</p> <p>MP: VADIM Corneliu Tudor</p> <p>Greater Romanian Party</p>	<p>Topic: Talking about the impeachment of the President of Romania, Traian Băsescu</p>
---	---

Here, the MP discusses the impeachment of the Romanian President, Traian Băsescu. After being asked to express his final thoughts on the issue debated in Parliament, the MP resorts to a humorous description of himself to attest to his lengthy intervention: “I could finish, but since *[I] am a fighter* and *[I] know more than others (...)* *[I] want to clarify some issues. (Eu pot să și termin, dar pentru că sunt un luptător și pentru că știu mai multe decât știu alții (...)) vreau să lămurim niște chestiuni.*” The MP capitalises on the given context to highlight some personal qualities such as his persistence, suggested by the noun “fighter (luptător)” and his knowledge on the topic, indicated through the following claim: “[I] know more than others (știu mai multe ca alții)”.

The speaker also brings into question his morals and sense of justice when quoting Tacitus, a Roman historian, to argue that his statement and position taken in Parliament is not, in any way, altered by “anger (mânie)” or “prejudice (prejudecată)” against the accuser. *Self*-referencing remarks are used to justify the MP’s actions (the length of the intervention) and his grasp on the subject. Furthermore, personal attributes are revealed by the speaker’s inference that the intervention is not laden with judgement.

Switching to an inclusive „we” to speak on behalf of all parliamentarians responsible for deciding on this issue, the MP explicitly states that the president’s impeachment should be based on substantial evidence: “If we are

to suspend him, *[we]* should know why *we* are suspending him if not, *[we]* should know where *we* went wrong” (“Dacă îl suspendăm, să știm de *ce-l suspendăm*, dacă nu, să știm unde am greșit *noi*”).

Negative image-building is identified in the last sentence. The MP sarcastically refers to the president as a royal figure and switches to English to add to the humorous effect of the utterance: “His Lordship shall forever be victorious (*Domnia Sa va fi forever biruitor*)”. Strong moral conduct can be derived from the context, as the MP advocates for a well-documented, fair, and unbiased approach regarding the president’s impeachment while expressing his attitude towards the political figure in humorous terms. This statement can also hold a deeper purpose. When done with intent, this personal attack might be indicative of “ironic rudeness” (Kasper 1990), “a subset of strategic rudeness that is deliberate and goal-oriented” (Ilie 2004: 52). From a rhetorical standpoint, this further allows the speaker to positively build his ethos (as a fair MP) while expressing his contempt towards the targeted politician<sup>55</sup>.

The previous examples show that, through *I*-references, MPs come across as honest, intellectually gifted, and knowledgeable individuals. From a rhetorical standpoint, the speakers appeal to ethos as they discursively project the identities of competent and morally-sound politicians. The examples are indicative of different types of identities as MPs:

1. Underline personal attributes to respond to their *prior ethos* when building a base of defence;

---

<sup>55</sup> Throughout his extensive political career, the MP often criticised the policies and actions of his colleague, the former Romanian President, Traian Băsescu. I would argue that the adversarial relation between the two (at the point of speaking) was public information. Hence, advocating for a fair process of impeachment manages to positively contribute to the ethos of a speaker as he does this action despite the conflictual relation with his political peer.

2. De-construct the image of *others* by linking a list of anti-qualities to their name(s);
3. Construct their public image favourably when invoking aspects of their *core* and *social selves*.

### 3.1.2. Underlining professional experience

Apart from personal attributes, MPs also project identities drawn from their professional experience as politicians. When using *self*-referencing remarks, experienced politicians often attest to their competence, influence and knowledge on a topic or mention their prior achievements and extensive political backgrounds. However, younger politicians project their group affiliation within a modern generation of politicians, one that has the responsibility of becoming a new voice for a future constituency:

EXAMPLE 5: „I” as a young politician

<p>“<i>Ca om care face parte dintr-o nouă generație de oameni politici cred cu tărie în politică, ca exercițiu al transparenței și comunicării, ca demers eliberat de jocuri meschine și condus de demnitate.</i></p> <p>Și, nu în ultimul rând, <i>cred</i> că este un exercițiu pe care trebuie <i>să-l facem</i> cu responsabilitate pentru a da încredere celor care <i>ne-au desemnat</i> să-i reprezentăm, dar mai ales acelor generații care vin, care încă nu se pot exprima prin vot, dar al căror viitor îl decidem <i>noi</i>, prin acțiunile <i>noastre</i> de astăzi.”</p>	<p><i>As a person who is part of a new generation of politicians, [I] strongly believe in politics, as an exercise in transparency and communication, as an approach that is free from petty games and led by dignity.</i></p> <p>Last but not least, <i>[I]</i> think it is an exercise that <i>we</i> must do responsibly, to build the trust of those who have appointed <i>us</i> to represent them, but especially to the new generations, that are not yet able to vote, but whose future <i>we</i> decide, through <i>our</i> actions today.</p>
---	---

Intervention Institution: Chamber of Deputies Date: November 1 2005 MP: ANASTASE Roberta Democratic Party	Topic: The integration of Romania in the European Union
---	---

EXAMPLE 6: „I” as a young politician

<p>“<i>Fac această declarație politică nu numai pentru a marca, în mod simbolic, ca și tânăr politician care are onoarea de a face parte din Parlamentul țării sale, acest moment istoric, ci și pentru a sublinia răspunderea imensă pe care o avem până la 1 ianuarie 2007, data la care România ar trebui să devină membru al Uniunii Europene.</i>”</p>	<p>[I] make this political statement not only to mark, this historical moment, in a symbolic manner, <i>as a young politician</i> who has the honour of being part of part of his country’s Parliament, but also to emphasise the immense responsibility that [we] have until January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, the date on which Romania should become a member of the European Union.</p>
Intervention Institution: Chamber of Deputies Date: April 26 2005 MP: BUȘOI Silviu Cristian National Liberal Party	Topic: Romania’s adherence in the European Union.

In both examples, the MPs invoke their identities as young politicians implicitly. At first glance, the inclusive remarks can be seen as a classification based on age. However, the MPs mention some of the core principles, and duties linked with political novelty.

Underlining values associated (but not limited to) the MPs age is found in EXAMPLE 5. Through an inferred *I*-reference, the speaker questions some



fundamental political principles, claiming to draw them from the group with which he asserts his identity: “As a person *who is part of a new generation of politicians* (Ca om care face parte dintr-o nouă generație de oameni politici)”. The MP moves on to define politics as an “exercise in transparency and communication (exercițiu al transparenței și comunicării)” devoid of unruly conduct and dictated by a sense of dignity. By exploiting the topical potential, the speaker attributes some positive values and responsibilities with her *in-group* while inferring that those located on the other side of the spectrum represent an older generation, criticised for their collective actions, politics, and lack of integrity. Given this, the dynamic between the groups expands beyond age difference, as the word “young” is polisemantically used to highlight ethical and professional gaps between generations. The positive attributes used to contextualise the speaker's view on politics are suggested to be representative of the whole, as the MP identifies with young politicians and speaks on their behalf. This is further indicated in the second paragraph. Here, the MP switches to an inclusive ‘we’ to underline a sense of responsibility and duty for both the current and the future electorate: “[I] think it is an exercise that [we] *must do responsibly* to build the trust of those who have appointed *us* to represent them, but especially to the new generations, that are not yet able to vote, but whose future *we* decide, through our actions today. (*Cred că este un exercițiu pe care trebuie să-l facem cu responsabilitate pentru a da încredere celor care ne-au desemnat să-i reprezentăm, dar mai ales acelor generații care vin, care încă nu se pot exprima prin vot, dar al căror viitor îl decidem noi, prin acțiunile noastre de astăzi.*)” Claiming responsibility is done in relation to the electorate, i.e., “those who have appointed us to represent them (celor care ne-au desemnat să-i reprezentăm)” and with the future generation “to the new generations, that are not yet able to vote (acelor generații care vin, care

încă nu se pot exprima prin vot)”. The use of an inclusive ‚we‘ allows the MP to describe the moral responsibilities that a young generation of politicians has in determining the country's future and wellbeing.

A similar strategy is found in EXAMPLE 6. Through *I*-referencing, the MP defines himself as a “young politician (tânăr politician)” and underlines a sense of duty or “immense responsibility (răspunderea imensă)” that comes with the job. Similar to the previous example, group affiliation is invoked through the plural ‚we.‘ In this case, this form of address is ambiguous as it most likely refers to all the politicians involved in decision-making processes: “[I] make this political statement (...) to emphasise the immense responsibility that [we] have until January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007 (*Fac această declarație politică (...) pentru a sublinia răspunderea imensă pe care o avem până la 1 ianuarie 2007*)”. Through *group*-referencing, the speaker elicits a sense of mutual responsibility concerning Romania's accession process within the European Union.

In both examples, MPs draw core values and principles from their group identity as young politicians. The speakers suggest that their actions and motives align with the general interests of the population, that their methods and perspectives are derived from a sense of actuality. By inferring that they bring „something new to the table”, MPs refer to their political novelty to elicit a positive response from the audience. This position, taken within a group, contextually presupposes the existence of an oppositional category. By way of suggestion, the MPs define the „older generation” as an outdated and anachronic representative body that lacks the means of providing a better future for those they represent in parliament.<sup>56</sup>

While young politicians associate themselves with new and modern ways of viewing politics and project their identities accordingly, other MPs showcase

---

<sup>56</sup> This is particularly evident in EXAMPLE 5.

their achievements and positions attained within Romanian politics to delineate their professional experience:

EXAMPLE 7: „I” as an experienced politician

<p>“Pentru că <i>am fost</i> multă vreme primar de opoziție într-un mare oraș din România, într-o vreme când descentralizarea era doar o teorie fără conținut, <i>cunosc poate mai bine decât alți colegi</i> efectele pe care le poate produce un mod nefericit de a înțelege lupta politică. Ceea ce <i>am învățat în parlamentarismul european</i> a fost aceea că, în cazul oricărui subiect important la nivelul Uniunii Europene, mai întâi se negociază compromisul acceptabil, abia după aceea votul majoritar este cel care decide.”</p>	<p>Since <i>[I]</i> was the mayor from the opposing party in a large city in Romania for a long time, during a time when decentralization was just a theory without content, <i>[I]</i> probably know better than other colleagues, the effects that an unfortunate way of understanding political struggle can produce.</p> <p>What <i>[I]</i> learned from European parliamentarism was that, in the case of any important issue at the level of the European Union, the acceptable compromise is negotiated first, and only then the matter is decided by a majority vote.</p>
<p>Oral Statement Institution: Senate Date: March 2 2009 MP: PETRU Filip Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Political statement entitled “Solutions for the ongoing economic crisis”</p>

The MP invokes his political background when mentioning how to deal with a worldwide economic crisis by assuming two identities. These are introduced through implicit *I*-references as a former mayor belonging to an opposition party and as a European member of parliament. Adding new dimensions to his image as a Romanian senator, the MP moves on to express

his discontent towards the governing party's political practices. Speaking as the former “mayor from the opposing party” (primar de opoziție)", he starts by questioning how the government cooperates with other parties. By invoking professional experience, the MP claims knowledge on the topic at hand when reflecting on his former professional activities: “[I] probably know better than other colleagues (cunosc poate mai bine decât alții)". To this extent, the MP describes his past experiences as “an unfortunate way of understanding political struggle (un mod nefericit de a înțelege lupta politică)”, inferring that the governing party fails to work together with other parliamentary groups and their subsequent members.

The second identity projected by the MP brings into discussion his background as a member of the European Parliament through which he highlights the importance of reaching a political consensus based on a majority vote: “the acceptable compromise is negotiated first, and only then the matter is decided by majority vote. (mai întâi se negociază compromisul acceptabil, abia după aceea votul majoritar este cel care decide.)” Declaring himself as a proponent of new political values and directions acquired within the European Parliament can further add to the message's credibility as the speaker invokes his prior experience as a European parliamentarian. Unveiling his past from the field of politics can be regarded as an appeal to logos that allows the MP to approach an issue from personal experience rather than hypothetical speculation. Claiming knowledge on a topic when describing one's political background can also help MPs come across as credible, competent, and well-informed:

EXAMPLE 8: „I” as an experienced politician

<p>“Colegii care <i>mă știu</i> și din mandatul precedent <i>cred</i> că nu au nici un dubiu asupra bătăliei pe care <i>am dus-o</i> și în mandatul precedent și <i>o voi duce</i> toată partea mea de carieră publică pentru descentralizare, pentru autonomie locală reală.”</p>	<p><i>[I]</i> think that the colleagues who know <i>me</i> from the previous term, have no doubt about the battle <i>[I]</i> fought in the previous term, which <i>[I]</i> will continue to fight throughout my public career in support of decentralisation, and true local autonomy.</p>
<p>Intervention Institution: Senate Date: February 10, 2005 MP: PETRE Maria Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Debating on legislative proposals</p>

EXAMPLE 9 „I” as an experienced politician

<p>“<i>Mă adresez</i> dumneavoastră, <i>în dubla calitate de senator și de observator</i> în Parlamentul European, pentru a expune un punct de vedere în legătură cu modul în care a fost receptat în România recentul raport al Comisiei Europene.”</p>	<p><i>[I]</i> am addressing you, <i>both as a Senator and observer</i> in the European Parliament, to present a viewpoint on how the recent report of the European Commission was received in Romania.</p>
<p>Oral Statement Institution: Senate Date: May 22 2006 MP: CREȚU Corina Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Topic: Political statements made by senators</p>

In EXAMPLE 8, the MP refers to her previous mandate in the Senate to underline her professional agenda. The speaker's primary targeted audience is represented in the form of other MPs, "*the colleagues who know me from the previous term (colegii care mă știu din mandatul precedent)*", to which she brings into question her parliamentary activities and central policies against decentralisation and in support of "real, local autonomy (*autonomie locală reală*)". In this case, experience is used to underline an MP's key policies and political ideologies.

Similarly, in EXAMPLE 9, the MP projects her identity as a Romanian senator and a European parliamentarian during her opening statement: "[I am addressing you, *both as a Senator and observer in the European Parliament*" (*Mă adresez dumneavoastră, în dublă calitate de senator și de observator în Parlamentul European*)". This might augment the rhetorical effect of the claims, as the speaker suggests to the multilayered audience that she is more than qualified to approach this topic due to her extensive professional resume.

As seen in the examples above, MPs often proclaim knowledge on topics addressed in parliament. By underlining current or former positions in politics, MPs adopt different rhetorical strategies, i.e., mentioning current and former positions in the field of politics, underlining prior experience, emphasising professional and/or moral principles. From a rhetorical perspective, this might be seen as an appeal to *logos*, as MPs make logical inferences and reveal their prior experience to attest to their knowledge and competence.

Apart from this, a long-lasting political history also allows MPs to come across as influential politicians:

EXAMPLE 10: „I” as an influential politician

<p>“<i>Voi formula o concluzie, stimate domnule președinte, ales și prin votul Partidului România Mare, că dacă nu eram eu, dumneavoastră nu erați acolo!</i>”</p>	<p>[I] will draw a conclusion, honorable mister President, also elected through the vote of the Greater Romanian Party; if it weren’t for <i>me, you</i> would not be there!</p>
<p>Intervention          Institution: Joint sittings of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate (speaking as a Senator)          Date: December 28 2004          MP: VADIM Tudor Corneliu          Greater Romanian Party</p>	<p>Topic: Expressing viewpoints made by parliamentary groups regarding the Government’s program</p>

In an intervention delivered during parliamentary proceedings, the President of the Senate is chastised by the MP as the latter asserts that his political influence as the leader of the Greater Romania Party (*Partidul Romania Mare*) was directly responsible for the position obtained by the other speaker within the Senate.

Using two *self*-referencing remarks (an inferred first-person pronoun and the object pronoun „me”), the MP launches an attack against a political counterpart by stating that his party supported the candidate and that his political influence is the sole reason for the other’s professional success. This is expressed in the following line: “if it were not for *me, you would not be there!* (dacă nu eram *eu, dumneavoastră nu erați acolo!*).

Through pronouns, the speaker directs attention from his projected identity (as an influential politician) towards the effects of his actions. Linguistically, this is achieved by switching from *self* to *other*-referencing. From a rhetorical perspective, an unbalanced power dynamic is established between

the two speakers as one underlines his political influence and claims to have been the deciding factor for the other one's professional success.

As shown in the analysis, MPs can enact different identities to underline their professional experience. Speakers use their limited or broad professional background to elicit positive reactions from the audience and to advance different attack strategies. While young politicians associate themselves with a set of new values and principles, experienced politicians mention their prior activities conducted under different job affiliations during their political career and reveal both their experience and influence gained in the process.

### 3.1.3. Underlining political affiliation

MPs also employ instances of *self*-referencing to speak on behalf of the political groups with which they identify. Speakers make use of *self*-referencing remarks to discuss group affiliation by either presenting the group(s) with which they associate in a positive light or by speaking against political *out-groups*.<sup>57</sup>

EXAMPLE 11: „I” as a member of a party

<p>„Nu fac parte din partidul care, de 5 ani, face tot posibilul ca fostul său prim-ministru să nu ajungă în fața instanței. Eu fac parte dintr-un partid care respectă instituțiile statului și care nu ponegrește justiția în funcție de interesele politice.”</p>	<p>[I] am not part of the party that, for the past 5 years, has been doing everything in its power to prevent its former prime minister from winding up in court. I am part of a party that respects state institutions and does not denigrate justice based on its political interests.</p>
--	--

<sup>57</sup> For more information about *in-groups* and *out-groups*, see subsection 1.2.7.



<p>Oral Statement</p> <p>Institution: Chamber of Deputies (Extraordinary Session)</p> <p>Date: 27 July 2009</p> <p>MP: IACOB Ridzi Monica</p> <p>Liberal Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Presenting the request of the Attorney General, to the Chamber of Deputies, for waiving the political immunity of Iacob Monica-Ridzi, for the continuation of the investigation against her.</p>
---	--

Using one inferred and one explicit *I*-reference, the MP dissociates from any affiliation with the ruling party while, at the same time, expressing her allegiance to an opposing political group. The two factions are presented in a contrastive manner. On the one hand, the *in-group* is defined as rule-abiding, with a sense of moral fortitude that precludes them from employing lobbying for any shared interests. This is suggested by the following line: “I am part of a party *that respects state institutions (eu fac parte dintr-un partid care respectă instituțiile statului)*”. On the other hand, the ruling party is presented as being driven by group interests, as their primary political actions are deemed as a continuous effort to keep a member of their party out of prison: “that, *for the past five years, has been doing everything in its power to prevent its former prime minister from winding up in court (care, de 5 ani, face tot posibilul ca fostul său prim-ministru să nu ajungă în fața instanței)*”.

If political discourse is in itself goal-oriented (Fetzer 2013), then the MP attempts to lift the veil and reveal to the audience the real interests of the governing party, which can be interpreted as anything between political favouritism to systemic corruption. Hence, *self*-referencing remarks establish contrastive dynamics between the speaker’s political affiliation (the party she adheres to) and the entirety of the opposing party. This relationship is further solidified by the MPs critical statements at the expense of her political counterparts.

EXAMPLE 12 „I” as a member of a party

<p>“De aceea, <i>ca reprezentantă a unui partid</i> care nu a văzut în egalitatea de șanse doar o lozincă, <i>vreau să vă reamintesc</i> cât de mult poate conta activitatea noastră, din acest forum; cât de mult <i>putem</i> contribui la normalitate, prin adoptarea unor norme de nivel european, care să conserve drepturile și interesele românelor.”</p>	<p>Therefore, <i>as representative of a party</i> that did not view the equality of opportunities as just a slogan, <i>[I]</i> want to remind <i>you</i> how much our activity in this forum can count; how much <i>we</i> can contribute to normality, by adopting European norms, which preserve the rights and interests of Romanian women.</p>
<p>Intervention  Institution: Chamber of Deputies  Date: March 8 2005  MP: PLUMB Rovana  Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Intervention made by the MP; Commentary entitled “The day that is not enough”; Approaching the topic of gender equality.</p>

In other cases, context and topical potential influence how a speaker chooses to discursively negotiate her identity. When discussing the issue of gender equality in Europe, the MP uses *self*-referencing to put her party in a favourable light. By expressing affiliation within a political group (The Social Democratic Party), she speaks on its behalf, claiming that the party “did not view the equality of changes as just a slogan (nu a văzut în egalitatea de șanse doar o lozincă)”. The MP underlines the group's collective duties in proposing legislation that would safeguard the rights and interests of all female citizens.

The targeted audience, in this case, is limited to a female audience (further suggested through the use of the noun in the feminine form "românelor" (“Romanian women”) as the topic of the parliamentary sitting

tackles issues concerning the equality of chances and opportunities for women.

Speaking in a representative capacity for her political parties (invoked through *I*-references and an inclusive 'we') and targeting a fraction of the audience (those that supposedly are more personally involved with the topic at hand) can elicit positive reactions from the audience. The MP infers that the party will not disregard this social problem and that their actions are driven by the desire to "preserve the rights and interests of Romanian women. (să conserve drepturile și interesele românelor)."

Political affiliation can also be observed in EXAMPLE 13, where the speaker projects his identity as a representative of The Social Democratic Party and moves on to talk about the party's long-lasting history and impact on Romanian society.

EXAMPLE 13: „I” as a representative of a party

<p>“Fără îndoială, <i>îmi face plăcere</i> să vorbesc în numele celui de-al treilea mare partid al României care, așa cum spunea domnul președinte Quintus, nu numai astăzi, ci în toată istoria lui - o istorie de peste 100 de ani - a fost prezent la evenimentele care <i>ne-au marcat</i> destinul.”</p>	<p>Undoubtedly, [<i>I</i>] am pleased to speak on behalf of Romania's third largest party, which, as President Quintus said, not only today, but throughout its history - a history of over 100 years - has been present at the events that marked <i>our</i> destiny.</p>
<p>Intervention Institution: Senate Date: March 15, 2004 MP: Nicolai Norica National Liberal Party</p>	<p>Topic: Sitings of the Senate; Talking about the threats of terrorism in Europe.</p>

Switching from an inferred *I*-reference to the plural possessive „our,” the MP approaches a general audience (the Romanian nation) and mentions the critical political roles that the Social Democratic Party played in shaping the country for more than a century. This can potentially augment the image of the whole political group, as the speaker invokes their extensive past and influence in configuring present-day Romania.

Associating with different political groups can bring into play different political identities that allow the speaker to project shared or core values. In many cases, MPs invoke many identities (by way of pronominal references), which reinforce the speaker’s claims. Presenting himself as a multilayered politician, with vast knowledge, an MP can use his/her political expertise to fortify the credibility of his/her arguments.

This is particularly evident in EXAMPLE 14 where multiple pronominal references underline diverse political identities:

#### EXAMPLE 14 Multilayered political identities

<p>“În luna noiembrie <i>m-am întors</i> de la Parlamentul European pentru a candida la funcția de senator al României.</p> <p><i>Am făcut</i> acest lucru pentru o mai bună reprezentare a alegătorilor ieșeni în Legislativ și pentru ca <i>noi</i>, Partidul Democrat Liberal, să putem pune în aplicare programele și proiectele de care România are nevoie, dar <i>pot</i> să vă mărturisesc că <i>am mai avut</i> un motiv, unul care ține mai mult de natura personală.</p> <p>Obișnuită cu rigorile, funcționalitatea</p>	<p>In November, [<i>I</i>] returned from the European Parliament to run for Romanian Senate.</p> <p>[<i>I</i>] did this for a better representation of the voters from Iași in the Legislature and for <i>us</i>, the Liberal Democratic Party, to be able to implement the programs and projects that Romania needs, but [<i>I</i>] confess that [<i>I</i>] had an additional reason, one which is more personal.</p> <p>Accustomed to the rigours, functionality, and efficiency of the</p>
---	---

<p>și cu eficiența Parlamentului European, <i>am vrut</i> să aduc acest model de lucru și în Parlamentul național. Sunt convinsă că și <i>ceilalți colegi ai mei</i>, foști europarlamentari ai României, simt același lucru. România are nevoie de un model de funcționare european.”</p>	<p>European Parliament, <i>[I]</i> wanted to bring this working model to the national Parliament as well.</p> <p><i>[I]</i> am convinced that <i>my fellow colleagues</i>, former MEPs of Romania, feel the same way. Romania needs a European operating model.</p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Senate  Date: March 23 2009  MP: POPA Mihaela  Democratic Liberal Party</p>	<p>Topic: Political statements made by MPs. Title of debate “Education: Wher</p>

Initially, an inferred *I*-reference is used to introduce the MP’s political background. The speaker mentions her activity in the European Parliament and her decision to run for the Senate. Through another *I*-reference, she claims that her decisions were made to safeguard the interest of her hometown constituency (“the voters from Iasi”) and her choice of contributing to the Social Democratic Party’s legislative process. In the latter case, the MP switches to an inclusive „we“ to express group affiliation.

Moreover, the MP comments upon her willingness to become a senator justifying her actions as being driven by personal reasons. She further reiterates her professional experience gained during her mandate as an MEP by mentioning competences obtained in the European Parliament, i.e., ”rigors (rigorile)”, “functionality (funcționalitatea)”, and “efficiency (eficiența)”. After highlighting professional experience, she moves on to argue that she became a senator to integrate the „functional European model“ into the Romanian Parliament. This is also conveyed by the possessive pronoun „my“, through which the speaker includes herself in the category of

former Romanian Euro-parliamentarians, expressing the idea that all of them resonate with her viewpoint: “[I] am convinced that *my fellow colleagues*, former MEPs of Romania, feel the same way (“*Sunt convinsă că și ceilalți colegi ai mei*, foști europarlamentari ai României, simt același lucru”).

Throughout the extract, the MP:

1. Projects the image of a former EMP and invokes her professional experience gained in the process.
2. Projects her identity as a Romanian Senator by showcasing herself as a representative of a smaller constituency and a National Democratic Party member.
3. Takes on the role of a representative of Parliament by underlining her duties and obligations.

From a rhetorical standpoint, different outcomes can derive from the use of multiple identities. On the one hand, conveying the idea that the MP's actions were done in the interest of the constituency might infer a sense of solidarity to those referenced in discourse. On the other hand, by questioning her desire to integrate new political values within the *in-groups* (both the National Liberal Party and, in more general terms, the Romanian Parliament), the MP might come across as knowledgeable and competent.

Pronominal interplays allow the MP to potentially obtain particular outcomes at the same time. Establishing a bond with the audience and/or other MPs, claiming to be well-informed and capable, underlining prior political roles, all contribute to the process of identity formation.

### **3.1.4. Representing the multilayered audience**

As part of a goal-oriented type of discourse (Fetzer 2013), MPs project their identities to persuade all those on the receiving end to support their views. Hence, speakers actively strive to obtain a favourable image perception either as individuals or as part of broader political groups. As previously discussed in the theoretical layout (see subsection 2.3.2), audiences are diverse as parliamentarians address multiple groups with different end-results in mind. Sauer (2003: 119) mentions the “electorate, national people, international public, official representatives, allies, European Community” as fractions of the whole, accounting for the multilayered components of the audience.

Individuals respond differently to what is being conveyed on stage by identifying themselves within different membership categories (Sacks 1995). Hence, the responsibility of finding common ground to elicit positive reactions from the intended audience presupposes (among other linguistic and extra-linguistic competences) the use of strategic persuasive devices. This is further suggested by McNair, who postulates that, despite the “size and nature of the audience, however, all political communication is intended to achieve an effect on the receivers of the message” (1999: 11).

When accounting for a multilayered audience, politicians project identities to establish rapport with different groups and to speak on their behalf in a representative capacity. In the following two examples, the MPs address their local constituencies and tackle issues that are relevant to them.

The speakers project their identities in conjunction with a specific group of audience members which mainly constitute their regional electorate. MPs invoke their roles as representatives of the local constituency by approaching the topics from personal and professional viewpoints.

EXAMPLE 15: Speaking on behalf of a smaller constituency

<p>“În cadrul activităților desfășurate la sfârșitul săptămânii, în circumscripția electorală pe care o reprezint – județul Teleorman, deplasându-mă în localitatea Buzescu, am constatat că podul de pe râul Vedea, care face legătura între comunele Buzescu și Mavrodin, a suferit o avarie gravă la unul din picioarele de susținere.”</p>	<p>During the activities carried out at the end of the week, <i>in the constituency [I] represent</i> - Teleorman county, travelling to Buzescu, <i>[I]</i> found that the bridge over the river Vedea, which connects the communes of Buzescu and Mavrodin, suffered serious damage to one of the piers.</p>
<p>Interpellation Institution: Senate Date: April 11 2005 MP: CUTAȘ Sabin Ioan Conservative Party</p>	<p>Topic: Interpellation addressed to Vasile Blaga, the Ministry of Administration and Interior.</p>

EXAMPLE 16: Speaking on behalf of a smaller constituency

<p>”În acest context, <i>vreau să vă readuc în atenție faptul că, pentru mine și pentru concitadinii mei din Valea Jiului, muntele are o semnificație mult mai puternică. Pentru noi, cei din Valea Jiului, muntele reprezintă aproape totul. Întreaga viață socială și economică pulsează, în cele 6 localități ale acestei regiuni, în jurul munților care înconjoară frumoasa Vale a Jiului. (...)</i> Mesajul <i>pe care oamenii din Valea</i></p>	<p>In this context, <i>[I]</i> want to bring to your attention the fact that for <i>[me]</i> and for <i>[my] fellow citizens from the Jiu Valley</i>, the mountain has a much stronger meaning. For those of <i>[us]</i>, <i>from Jiu Valley</i>, the mountain represents almost everything. The whole social and economic life pulsates, in the 6 localities of this region, around the mountains that surround the beautiful Jiu Valley. (...) The message <i>that the people of Jiu</i></p>
--	--



<p><i>Jiului m-au rugat să vi-l transmit, dumneavoastră și membrilor Guvernului, este acela că proiectele de dezvoltare a turismului montan din Valea Jiului trebuie să continue și trebuie să fie finalizate cu succes.”</i></p>	<p><i>Valley asked [me] to convey to you, and to the members of the Government, is that the projects for the development of mountain tourism in the Jiu Valley must continue and must be successfully completed.</i></p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Chamber of Deputies  Date: December 9 2014  MP: Iacob Monica-Rdizi  Liberal Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Sittings of the Chamber of Deputies; Political statement entitled “The mountain- the chance for a better life for the people of the Jiu Valley.</p>

In EXAMPLE 15, the MP affirms his position as a parliamentarian when referencing his local constituency (“the Teleorman county” – *județul Teleorman*) and enacts the identity of a citizen, which oversees community interests. The MP approaches the topic by relating to the problems identified in his electoral district as he takes on the role of a community member rather than that of a political representative. This is indicated in the following lines: “traveling to Buzescu, [I] found that the bridge over the river Vedea, which connects the communes of Buzescu and Mavrodin, suffered serious damage (deplasându-mă în localitatea Buzescu, *am constatat* că podul de pe râul Vedea, care face legătura între comunele Buzescu și Mavrodin, a suferit o avarie gravă)”.

In EXAMPLE 16, a first-person reference „me” is used to convey a personal viewpoint and a possessive pronoun to refer to the local constituency as “my fellow citizens (conciadinii mei)”. Soon after, the MP switches to inclusive referencing when speaking on behalf of the electorate. From this position, she shares her view (on the socio socio-economic values of mountain tourism) in superlative terms: “For those of [us], *from Jiu Valley*, the

mountain represents almost everything. (Pentru noi, cei din Valea Jiului, muntele reprezintă aproape totul.”) The position is further reiterated through a parenthetical remark used to clarify group affiliation: “those of us, *from Jiu Valley*”. Assuming the identity of a group representative is explicitly stated in the last paragraph through which the MP suggests an interpersonal relationship with the audience members: “the message that *the people of Jiu Valley asked [me] to convey to you* (mesajul pe care oamenii din Valea Jiului m-au rugat să vi-l transmit)”, further inferring a sense of solidarity and intimacy with the people of the area.

In many cases, MPs explore the topical potential of the subject approached in the parliament and build their identities according to this. The examples show that approaching an issue from personal and interpersonal viewpoints might allow speakers to appeal to the audience’s feelings as he/she discards their professional affiliations and present the issue from a seemingly subjective perspective.

### **3.1.5. Showcasing other professional identities**

The deliberative process of parliamentary sittings presupposes that MPs will discuss diverse aspects of pressing concern and/or oversee personal and group interests. Under this political umbrella, social, cultural, economic, environmental, educational aspects are debated in parliament. In this sense, competence is a critical value that might be expressed discursively. Through *self*-referencing remarks, MPs add value to their claims when putting forward their multifaceted *selves* and highlight their experience gained through other professions.

When tackling the aspect of legislative changes in the field of education, the MP provides a personal opinion on the matter at hand by speaking as a former educator:

EXAMPLE 17: Underlining other professional identities

<p>“Să știți că <i>vin</i> din România reală, <i>am fost director, inspector școlar, profesor la catedră și simțeam</i> în școală toate aceste reglementări care se dădeau peste noapte.”</p>	<p>You should know that <i>[I]</i> come from the real Romania, <i>[I]</i> was a <i>principal, a school inspector, a professor</i> and <i>[I]</i> felt in school all these regulations that occurred overnight.</p>
<p>Intervention Institution: Senate Date: February 9 2005 MP: POPA Mihaela Democratic Liberal Party</p>	<p>Topic: Sittings in Senate- debating a legislative proposal on giving dairy and baking products to children in primary school (Grades I-IV) and pre-school children from state-owned institutions.</p>

In this extract, the MP delivers a speech on providing food to state-owned primary schools and pre-school children. Three instances of *I*-referencing are utilised in the process. The first is used to provide additional information about the subject and introduce her experience on the topic at hand. In this case, she can take an entirely different position when mentioning her past: "I come from the real Romania (*vin din România reală*)". Unlike politicians, whose decisions are often based on data and figures, the MP draws on her professional experience to further validate her viewpoint. Through a second *I*-reference, the speaker mentions her educational background as a principal, school inspector, and teacher. This is further used to validate her statement when discussing the legislative act proposed in the parliament and when arguing that the decisions made in this regard should be pre-planned as they require a period of adjustment. The MP makes an appeal to logos through inductive argumentation. By projecting herself as a former worker in the field of education, she can describe her experience on the topic by way of

a third *I*-reference: “[*I*] felt in school all these regulations that occurred overnight. (*simțeam* în școală toate aceste reglementări care se dădeau peste noapte)”. In this case, the targeted audience is ambiguous as it is expressed through the use of a generic, impersonal form of address, “you should know (să știți)”, which could refer to all those on the receiving end of the message or other MPs involved in the passing of the law.

Similar to this, other professional identities are discursively projected when they might further validate a speaker’s point of view and add credibility to his message.

#### EXAMPLE 18 Underlining other professional identities

<p>“Ca <i>sociolog și istoric</i>, vă pot spune ceea ce, firește, mulți știu mai bine decât <i>mine</i> în această sală, că prezența pe harta Ucrainei a Bucovinei de Nord și a Basarabiei de Sud este ultima consecință a pactului dintre Hitler și Stalin, în speță dintre Ribbentrop și Molotov, din 23 august 1939.”</p>	<p><i>As a sociologist and historian</i>, [<i>I</i>] can tell you something that, of course, many of you, in this room, know better than <i>me</i>, that the presence on the map of Ukraine of Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia is the last consequence of the pact between Hitler and Stalin, in this case between Ribbentrop and Molotov, August 23, 1939.</p>
<p>Intervention Institution: Senate Date: December 27 2004 MP: VADIM Corneliu Tudor The Great Romanian Party</p>	<p>Topic: Parliamentary Sitings- intervention entitled “Presidential choices in Ukraine and the Romanian lands”.</p>

The MP assumes two identities (as a sociologist and historian) before formulating his viewpoint on the annexation of former Romanian regions (Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia) to the territory of Ukraine

following the Ribbentrop and Molotov Agreement after the Second World War. Using his experience in social science and history, the MP brings into question some aspects which, in his opinion, are well-known by his colleagues: “[I] can tell you something that, of course, many from this room know better than me (*vă pot spune ceva ce, firește, mulți știu mai bine decât mine în această sală*)”. Claiming knowledge on his behalf (by invoking other identities) and attributing knowledge to his colleagues might represent his desire to put forward a united front when addressing an issue of national importance and instil a sense of patriotism to other parliamentarians when discussing the former Romanian territory. Yet, the MP’s statement can also be viewed as an ironic remark. Underlining his expertise by highlighting his professions, he is able to project the image of a supreme authority figure on the topic, inferring that he is more qualified than his counterparts to talk about Romania’s political history. The same MP underlines his nationalist views when speaking against an MP who appeared in front of Parliament wearing a Hungarian flag on his cockade instead of the Romanian Senate’s gold badge.

EXAMPLE 19: Other identities

<p>“Și <i>eu</i> sunt ardelean după mamă, mama era din Șcheii Brașovului, bietul tata-mare a fost condamnat de două ori la moarte, pentru că a evadat din Imperiul Austro-Ungar, n-a vrut să lupte împotriva armatei române, a fost prins, iar a evadat, l-a ajutat Dumnezeu să trăiască până aproape de 83 de ani, dar alți oameni din familia <i>mea</i> au murit.”</p>	<p><i>I am also a Transylvanian after my mother, who was from Șcheii Brașovului, my poor grandfather was sentenced to death twice, because he escaped from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he did not want to fight against the Romanian army, he was captured and he escaped again and God helped him to live until he was almost 83, but other people in <i>my family</i> died.</i></p>
---	--

<p>Oral Statement</p> <p>Institution: Senate</p> <p>Date: March 14 2005</p> <p>MP: VADIM Corneliu Tudor</p> <p>Greater Romanian Party</p>	<p>Topic: Parliamentary Sittings - oral statement entitled “The returning of Romanians from the Spanish borders; The Cockade with the insignia of the Hungarian flag worn by Senator Sógor Csaba instead of the gold badge of the Romanian Senate.</p>
---	--

Here, the speaker projects his identity as a family man to underline the hardships that he went through due to the politics and actions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first identity assumed by the speaker is that of a citizen of Transylvania (or Ardeal) taken from “his mother’s side (după mama)” and mentions how his father was sentenced to death due to his refusal to fight against the Romanian army. Through a possessive pronoun, the speaker moves on to claim that some family members have lost their lives due to the long-lasting history of conflicts between Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Investigating the use of *multivocality* (Bakhtin 1981) in Parliamentary discourse, Săftoiu argues that Vadim Tudor often portrays himself as “a vigilant guardian of nationalist values” (Săftoiu 2015: 435). As the president of the Greater Romanian Party, the political figure is publicly known to promote personal and professional agendas which underline nationalistic and patriotic views, while blatantly criticising those with opposing views and political agendas.

By invoking his identity as a family man, the speaker can potentially elicit an emotive response by mentioning his family’s loss and suffering. This might be used as an appeal to pathos as the MP lists some of the hardships that his family went through during the conflict. Through inductive reasoning, the MP discursively reiterates the troubled history between Romanians and the Hungarian minority as a way of criticising his colleague’s decision to wear Hungarian insignia during his parliamentary sittings. Using a storytelling device from personal life experience, he infers that a troubled past between

countries cannot be put aside and might further contribute to his view of a nationalist and patriotic political figure.

### **3.1.6 Discussion**

The present analysis revealed that politicians often use *self*-referencing remarks to project their discursive identities. Speakers choose to put forward some personal attributes that attest to their character and moral conduct, evoke their professional experience, speak on behalf of their constituency, or bring into play other non-political identities. Politicians use pronominal references implicitly, as the MPs switch between identities in conjunction with features of the individual's self, or explicitly, as the speakers' projected selves can often be drawn from context. Given this, the analysis revealed the presence of *hyponyms* such as: underlining personal and professional attributes, invoking professional experience, establishing a bond with the audience, or bringing into play other non-political identities. As seen in Appendix 6, interpreting the context provided by the use of *self*-references also presupposes the existence of *hypernyms* as politicians bring into question their integrity, knowledge, sense of responsibility, political influence, and experience, professional affiliations, or ideological beliefs. The extracts under examination reveal that MPs utilise *self*-referencing remarks to construct and reconstruct their public image perception. Furthermore, speakers can also use a positive image to de-construct an opponent's image by putting forward a list of qualities (for their *self* or *group* image) in relation to a set of anti-qualities (linked to their political counterparts).

In EXAMPLES 1 to 4, the MPs project personal qualities to potentially attain different strategic effects. As seen in the analysis, speakers reconstruct their public image perception in an attempt to clear their name from prior

accusations and/or allegations (EXAMPLES 1 and 2), use a dichotomous dynamic to project the self in relation to other political counterparts (EXAMPLE 3) or claim knowledge on a topic addressed in parliament (EXAMPLE 4). As parliamentary discourse is a type of public discourse, politicians address a broad audience (characterised as all people that have access to the speech) as well as specific receivers (further suggested in the text through forms of address or third-person pronominal usage). Underlining personal qualities are generally representative of the speaker's ethos as he/she comes across as honest, knowledgeable, and competent. There are instances where appeals to pathos are prevalent, as is the case with EXAMPLE 2, where the speaker uses storytelling as a narrative device to further project a sense of empathy about a personal predicament.

In other cases, speakers draw aspects from their professional background in the field of politics and bring into question different political practices (EXAMPLES 5 and 6), professional experience (EXAMPLES 7-9), and political influence (EXAMPLE 10). An interesting finding relates to how young and experienced politicians project their identities. In the former cases (EXAMPLES 5 and 6), the MPs question their strong moral conduct, as they define their professional experience as part of a new functional way of contributing to the Romanian governing system. Through inductive reasoning, a contrastive relation between the „new“ and „old“ generation of politicians is established. This might be indicative of an attack strategy launched against members of the governing party. Furthermore, politicians with broad experience in the field often reference their prior positions occupied in politics to add credibility to their message, to reiterate their position on different policies, or to claim political influence gained in the process.



Coming across as fair and competent politicians is also attained by establishing a favourable sender-receiver dynamic. In other words, politicians use *self*-references to position themselves favourably with those on the receiving end of a message. In EXAMPLES 15 and 16, MPs speak as representatives of their local constituency. This further projects a sense of personal involvement conveyed by the MP when expressing their viewpoints through inclusive „we“ references.

### **3.2. Projecting collective identities**

Identities are also projected through collective referencing or “conceptual structures comprising beliefs and knowledge, norms and values, attitudes and expectations as well as emotions, and as being reinforced and negotiated in discourse.” (Koller 2012: 19) In this case, I will look at how MPs use inclusive referencing to speak on behalf of political factions.

According to Bramley (2001), the use of „we“ as a form of inclusive representation is often used to achieve different effects. Aside from projecting a positive group image, MPs can target other groups through a dichotomous relationship, speak on behalf of an audience, deflect attention from personal actions and invoke a collective response to an issue. (2001: 77-78). In the Romanian Parliament, MPs often use inclusive remarks to speak on behalf of a political party, underline political/group ideology, position favourably with audience members, or invoke their national and transnational identities. These aspects will be further examined in the following subsections.

#### **3.2.1. Inclusive „We“ as members of political parties**

In EXAMPLE 20, the MP takes on the identity of a member of the Social Democratic Party, as she delivers an intervention on three Romanian journalists abducted in Iraq on March 28, 2005. The event in question made

national and international headlines and received significant attention in the media.

The extract contains 6 first person plurals: 3 'we' (2 inferred, 1 explicit), and 3 'our', used to reveal the Social Democratic Party's viewpoint and political actions related to the abduction of the Romanian journalists.

EXAMPLE 20: Speaking on behalf of a political party

<p>“Este a treia intervenție <i>a mea</i> pe această temă, în Senatul României, și <i>îmi pare rău</i> că apelurile repetate la solidaritate și la exprimarea publică a <i>sentimentelor noastre</i> au rămas fără ecou, după cum a rămas fără ecou și apelul pe care <i>l-am făcut</i> cu câteva minute înainte, dar eu consider că <i>noi</i>, grupul parlamentar al PSD, <i>ne-am făcut</i> datoria morală de a contribui, <i>ca oameni politici</i>, așa <i>cum putem</i> și în limita informațiilor pe care <i>le avem</i> la dispoziție, la încercările, măcar, de salvare a vieților celor trei jurnaliști.”</p>	<p>This is <i>my</i> third intervention on this subject, in the Romanian Senate, and <i>[I]</i> am sorry that the repeated calls for solidarity and the public expression of <i>our</i> feelings have remained without echo, as has the call that <i>we made</i> a few minutes ago, but I consider that <i>we</i>, <i>the parliamentary group of the SDP</i>, have fulfilled <i>our</i> moral duty to contribute, <i>as politicians</i>, as much as <i>[we]</i> can and within the limits of information <i>[we]</i> have at <i>our</i> disposal, to the attempts to, at least, save the lives of the three journalists</p>
<p>Intervention Institution: Senate Date: April 25 2005 MP: CREȚU Corina Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: On the three Romanian journalists that were abducted in Iraq</p>

Initially, the MP uses a possessive self-referencing remark to express her attitude towards the general lack of interest in the topic at hand concerning the event discussed by Social Democrats: "[I] am sorry that the repeated calls for solidarity and the public expression of *our* feelings have remained without an echo (*îmi pare rău că apelurile repetate la solidaritate și la exprimarea publică a sentimentelor noastre au rămas fără ecou*)". The MP's affective position is contrastively presented in connection with a broader, yet an ambiguous, group of politicians that are publicly accused of not heeding the call made by the MP and his party colleagues. This, in turn, establishes an adversarial dynamic as the *in-group* is described as emotionally invested in the issue while the *out-group* is characterised as impassive, lacking any interest to provide aid in this matter.

Projecting the identity of the speaker as a member of a political group is achieved by multiple references throughout the speech: "*our* feelings (sentimentelor *noastre*)", "I consider that *we*, the *SDP*, have done *our* moral duty (eu consider că *noi*, *grupul parlamentar al PSD*, *ne-am făcut* datoria morală)", "as much as [*we*] can (*așa cum putem*), "within the limits of information that [*we*] have at *our* disposal (*în limita informațiilor pe care le avem la dispoziție*)". Underlining both the party's attitudes and actions, conducted in the past and the present, further "creates the impression of a political party who has a track record" (Bramley 2001: 79) summarised in discourse as previous attempts to free the Romanian journalists.

Positive image-building is obtained through the use of attitude markers which express a collective viewpoint. Hence, the topic approached in parliament is discussed from a shared perspective marked by the first person, plural possessive 'our.' Furthermore, the Social Democratic Group's actions are viewed in subjective terms. Firstly, their interventions are described through an attitude marker as "a public expression of our feelings

(exprimarea publică a sentimentelor noastre)”. Secondly, the *in-group*’s character is brought into discussion as their actions are contextualised as being driven by a sense of "moral duty (datoria morală)”.

The emotional component of this particular intervention, further highlighted by the speaker, can potentially appeal to both the ethos of the 'we'-group as it is inferred that they are the only political fraction preoccupied with resolving the issue as soon as possible. At the same time, through attitude markers, the MP can appeal to the pathos of the audience by utilizing a subjectively-charged language: "[I] am sorry, (îmi pare rău)", "our feelings (sentimentele noastre)", "I consider (eu consider)", "as much as we can (aşa cum putem)", "at least (măcar)". The attitude markers mentioned above can potentially bring to light the political party's position concerning the event in question. Approaching the topic from a seemingly subjective perspective, allows her to convey the idea that, unlike other political parties, the Social Democratic group is emotionally-invested in the issue and attempted to do everything in their power to help the Romanian journalists in Iraq. Instances of first-person pronouns plurals are utilised to express group affiliation and discursively construct a positive image of the party when dealing with a topic of general interest and subject to public scrutiny.

In EXAMPLE 21, the main topic approached in parliament centres on the issue of Romanian immigration in Europe:

EXAMPLE 21: Speaking on behalf of a political party

<p>“Este vorba - și de aceea <i>Grupul parlamentar al Partidului Social Democrat</i> dorește să facă unele sublinieri în cadrul dezbaterilor generale - despre un drept fundamental.</p>	<p>This is about – and that is why <i>the Parliamentary Group of the Social Democratic Party</i> wishes to make some points during the general debates - a fundamental right. On the one hand, it is about the way in</p>
--	---

<p>Pe de o parte, este vorba de maniera în care românii sunt tratați și respectați în străinătate. Și dacă <i>avem</i> a ne plânge în legătură cu modul în care <i>concetățenii noștri</i> au fost tratați, aceasta poate fi reproșat autorităților străine, dar poate fi reproșat și felului în care România astăzi a reușit să fie respectată în lume. <i>Nu putem</i> să nu ne gândim că anumite declarații de politică externă care sunt sfidătoare la adresa Uniunii Europene au creat ocazia unor asemenea manifestări la adresa cetățenilor români.</p> <p>Pe de altă parte, <i>nu putem</i> decât exprima îngrijorarea față de faptul că Guvernul României nu a luat măsurile elementare pentru protecția <i>celor</i> care s-au găsit din vina sau mai ales fără vina lor într-o situație delicată.”</p>	<p>which Romanians are treated and respected abroad. And if <i>[we]</i> were to complain about the way in which <i>our fellow compatriots</i> have been treated, this can be blamed on foreign authorities, but it can also be blamed on the way Romania has managed to be respected throughout the world. <i>[We]</i> cannot help but think that certain foreign policy statements that defy the European Union have created the opportunity for such reactions against Romanian citizens.</p> <p>On the other hand, <i>[we]</i> can only express concern that the Romanian Government has not even taken basic measures to protect <i>those</i> who found themselves in a delicate situation, by their own fault or through no fault of their own.</p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Chamber of Deputies  Date: March 15 2005  MP: SEVERIN Adrian  Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: The re-examination, at the request of the President of Romania, of the law on the regime of free movement of Romanian citizens abroad.</p>

In this extract, the MP mentions his group affiliation through an impersonal and inclusive reference identified in the first paragraph: “the Parliamentary Group of the Social Democratic Party (Grupul Parlamentar al Partidului Social Democrat)”. Here, no *self*-references are utilised, as the speaker addresses the issue from the political party's collective viewpoint. Three instances of *group*-referencing are used to this extent. Initially, an inferred pronoun, „we”, allows the MP to express criticism on how Romanian immigrants are treated abroad. The MP assigns blame to the foreign authorities as well as to some political statements that have created discord within the European Union and affect how Romanian citizens are seen throughout Europe: “[We] cannot help but think that certain foreign policy statements that defy the European Union have created the opportunity for such reactions against Romanian citizens. (*Nu putem să nu ne gândim că anumite declarații de politică externă care sunt sfidătoare la adresa Uniunii Europene au creat ocazia unor asemenea manifestări la adresa cetățenilor Români.*)”)

Invoking the identity of the self within a political group is done to further emphasise a shared perspective through which the MP attempts to express sympathy for Romanian immigrants. The speaker claims that safeguarding the interest of “*our fellow citizens (concetățenii noștri)*” is ignored by the Romanian Government, which has not “even taken basic measures (*măsurile elementare*)” in protecting the rights and interests of their constituency. Inclusive group referencing can potentially be used by the MP to express solidarity in relationship to discriminated Romanian citizens and establish a dichotomous relationship between their desire for action and the Government’s lack of interest in dealing with this issue. Like EXAMPLE 20, the main rhetorical effect is an appeal to the group’s moral character while, at the same time, criticising the approach taken by the current Government.

When taking the stand, politicians often invoke their collective identities. This has been viewed as a means of expressing an “institutional identity” (Sacks 1992; Bramley 2001), which generally entails that MPs will often take on the role of a representative of that specific institution. In many cases, MPs speak on behalf of their political party. However, political identities expand beyond this inclusive affiliation as they might indicate other groups formulated within the institution.

A good example of this is found in EXAMPLE 22, where the MP discusses Romania’s adherence within to the European Parliament:

EXAMPLE 22: Speaking on behalf of Romanian parliamentarians

<p>“<i>Stimați colegi</i>, interesul național trebuie așezat înaintea intereselor de grup. <i>Suntem</i> într-un moment în care clasa politică românească este chemată să-și alăture energia și viziunea la marea construcție europeană.”</p>	<p><i>Honourable colleagues</i>, the national interest must take precedence over group interests. <i>[We]</i> are at a time when the Romanian political class is called to contribute with its energy and vision to the great European construction.</p>
<p>Oral Statement          Institution: Senate          Date: October 24, 2005          MP: ȚICĂU Adriana Silvia          Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Romania’s integration within the European Union.</p>

Here, the speaker projects her identity within a broad political group, encompassing all members of Parliament. This is achieved through a direct form of address: “honourable colleagues (*stimați colegi*)”, which reveals the targeted audience.

Through this, the MP highlights the importance of cooperation and teamwork by claiming that the entire parliamentary body should contribute to the process of Romania's accession within the European Union. As such, the MP argues that these objectives should "take precedence over group interests (trebuie așezate înaintea intereselor de grup)" as parliamentarians must cooperate to ensure that this goal comes to fruition.

The inclusive „we” reference is, therefore, used to refer to all politicians broadly described as “the Romanian political class (clasa politică românească)”, highlighting their professional obligation, bringing forward their contributions in the forms of actions (signified by the word “energy”) and perspectives (signified by the word “vision”) and integrate them within a transnational institution (introduced through a figure of speech as “the great European construction” (marea construcție europeană)).

In terms of the targeted audience, the MP's intervention can also be interpreted as a plea made towards a specific audience (in this case, the Romanian politicians involved in making political decisions) to set aside their political colours and to put on a united front when representing Romanian citizens in the European Union.

### **3.2.2. Inclusive „We” as larger political coalitions**

While the previous example represents a political group comprised of all Members of the Romanian Parliament, collective identities can also be used to invoke a transnational political ideology. In EXAMPLE 23, the speaker talks about the importance of being represented by Social Democrats in the European Parliament.



EXAMPLE 23: Sharing transnational political ideology

<p>“<i>Aparțin împreună cu colegii mei social-democrați unui grup politic din care face parte și președintele P.E., din care face parte și Pierre Moscovici, raportorul pentru România al P.E., suntem în perioada președinției britanice a Consiliului, funcție deținută de laburistul Tony Blair. Grupul are 201 voturi în plen și, nu rareori, obține câștig de cauză prin poziții comune susținute cu grupul liberal.</i>”</p>	<p><i>Together with my Social Democratic colleagues, [I] belong to a political group that also includes the president of the EP, of which Pierre Moscovici, EP rapporteur for Romania is also part of, [we] are in the British Presidency of the Council, a position held by Labour MP, Tony Blair. The group has 201 votes in plenary and, not infrequently, wins the case through common positions supported by the liberal group.</i></p>
<p>Oral Statement          Institution: Chamber of Deputies          Date: November 1, 2005          MP: CREȚU Gabriela</p>	<p>Topic: Romanian parliamentarism and its integration within the European Union.</p>

Group affiliation is projected on account of shared political ideologies rather than political party adhesion. Through an inclusive *I-referencing*, the speaker claims that both she and her colleagues belong to a larger transnational ideology which includes personalities of significant political influence i.e., Josep Borell (the president of the European Parliament, Pierre Moskovici (Vice-President of the European Parliament) and Tony Blair (former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and leader of the Labour Party). Through an appeal to logos, the MP makes a logical inference, arguing that the policies put forward by Romanians within the EP will be taken under advisement if they come from an influential political group that expands beyond national borders. By exemplifying political figures with similar ideological views, the MP argues that the "common positions supported by the liberal group (poziții

comune susținute cu grupul liberal)” can safeguard Romania's interests by invoking a sense of collegiality between them and other Social Democrats of the institution. In this case, group identity is not achieved through a political party affiliation (as in EXAMPLES 21 and 22) but by putting forward a shared transnational ideology and underlining the Social Democratic Party's influence.

EXAMPLE 24: Sharing transnational political ideology

<p>“PSD a dovedit, prin gestionarea cu succes a procesului de integrare europeană și euro-atlantică, faptul că este un partid responsabil, care a servit și servește fără condiții interesul național. <i>Am încheiat</i> negocierile cu Uniunea Europeană, avem oameni care știu ce se cere la Bruxelles și care ar fi ridicat prestigiul țării în mediile europene, dar puterea a tratat și continuă să trateze cu indiferență experiența de care ar fi putut, acum, beneficia România. (...)</p> <p><i>Eu</i> nu am înțeles de ce cei de la PNL și domnul prim-ministru nu au avut curajul de a apela la cel care l-a format pe domnul Orban, de a apela la domnul Vasile Pușcaș, pentru că președintele Bulgariei, domnul Pârvanov, deși social-democrat, a</p>	<p>The SDP<sup>58</sup> has proven, through the successful management of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration process that it is a responsible party, which has served and continues to serve the national interest unconditionally. <i>[We]</i> have concluded the negotiations with the European Union, <i>[we]</i> have people who know what is required at Brussels and who would have raised the country’s prestige within the European circles, but the governing party has treated and continues to treat with indifference the experience that could now benefit Romania (...)</p> <p><i>I</i> did not understand why the NLP and the Prime Minister did not have the courage to appeal to the one who formed Mr Orban, to appeal to Mr</p>
---	---

<sup>58</sup> For more information about the abbreviations of Romanian political parties, see Appendix 1

<p>recunoscut-o pe liberala Kuneva ca cea mai bună în domeniu, după cum premierul Aznar, la vremea sa de dreapta, a numit un comisar socialist, Solana. Acum, doamna Merkel merge mai departe cu Verheugen, social-democrat. Și știți care e diferența între acești oameni politici? Preocuparea lor a fost de a pune cel mai bun om pentru țara lor, nu de a-și pune oamenii în funcțiile pe care le cred ale lor, personale.</p>	<p>Vasile Pușcaș, because the President of Bulgaria, Mr Pararov, although a social democrat, recognised Kunea as the best in the field, as Prime Minister Aznar, in his right-wing days, appointed a socialist commissioner, Solana. Now, Mrs Merkel is moving on with Verheugen, the social democrat. And do you know the difference between these political figures? Their main concern was to appoint the best person for their country, not to put their people in positions of power, which they believe to be their own.</p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Senate  Date: October 30, 2006  MP: CREȚU Corina  Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: The failure of Romania to appoint a commissioner in Brussels</p>

EXAMPLE 25: Sharing transnational political ideology

<p>“După cum se știe, România a încheiat, la finalului anului 2004, negocierile pentru încheierea Tratatului de aderare și, de atunci încoace, nimeni nu a contestat progresele țării noastre în procesul de îndeplinire a angajamentelor asumate în relațiile cu Uniunea Europeană.  Mai mult, familia politică europeană din</p>	<p>As it is known, Romania finalised, at the end of 2004, the negotiation for the conclusion of the Accession Treaty and, since then, no one has challenged the progress of our country in what concerns the process of fulfilling the commitments made to the European Union.  Moreover, the European political</p>
--	--

<p>care noi, Grupul PSD, facem parte a fost și este cel mai puternic susținător al României.”</p>	<p>family of which <i>we, the SDP group</i>, are part of was and is the strongest supporter of Romania.</p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Senate  Date: May 22 2006  MP: CREȚU Corina  Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Signals drawn from the European Commission’s report on the country.</p>

In both examples, the MP speaks on behalf of the Social Democratic Party explicitly, as she makes various implications of a long-lasting positive trait associated with its actions. To this extent, in the first example, a "narrative identity" (Wodak *et al.* 1999) is projected, which marks the party's former policies and actions in conjunction with Romania's accession within the European Union. This can further constitute a basis for "reinterpreting and harmonizing the past" (de Michelis 2008: 208) that shifts focus on the SDP's actions and political agenda. By making logical inferences, the MP draws positive features for the *in-group*, i.e., their professional conduct (suggested through the adjective "responsible") and their involvement within the issue approached in Parliament, defined as a way of unconditionally serving the national interest.

Referencing the party's prior policies is suggested through a collective, yet impersonal form of address, followed by the enumeration of some successful foreign policies such as managing Romania's integration process within the European and Euro-Atlantic coalitions, participating in the negotiations for Romania's accession into the European Parliament, and having members with broad political experience "who know what is required at Brussels (care știu ce se cere la Bruxelles)”.

In this extract, the appeal to *logos* is prevalent as the MP switches to inclusive referencing and continues to praise the party's actions. This further signals a dichotomous relationship between the two sides as the MP continues to enumerate the reasons which recommend them to appoint a commissioner in Brussels. Contrastively, the opposing party, marked linguistically as "those in power (*puterea*)", is portrayed as disingenuous and unable to oversee the country's best interests. Through contrastive rhetoric, the MP can favourably position the party in relation to the parliamentary sitting's topical potential while at the same time criticising the actions of their counterparts (the National Liberal Party).

Switching to *self*-referencing, the MP expands the positive attribution of the SDP to its ideological orientation. By way of enumeration, various European politicians (liberals and social democrats) are presented from their conationals' viewpoint to underline their competence. By way of association, the speaker further solidifies a transnational ideological group (which includes the SDP) and argues that opposing political ideologies should be disregarded and should not precede the country's best interests. As such, the main purpose of any governing system is to appoint "the best person for their country (*cel mai bun om pentru țara lor*)". By way of inference, the MP suggests that her political party shares similar ideological beliefs with those mentioned before and that the SDP is wrongly kept from contributing to Romania's accession within the European Union. Consequently, mentioning a shared transnational ideology conveys the idea that the party's policies might constitute a factor of success on the stage of international politics.

In EXAMPLE 25, the speaker asserts her identity through an explicit pronominal reference followed by a parenthetical remark, "we, *the SDP group (noi, grupul PSD)*". A similar strategic approach is used here, as the MP mentions the role of the party in Romania's accession with the European

Parliament and describes the Social Democratic Party as part of "the European political family (familia politică europeană)". The relation with the audience is expressed in superlative terms as the professional activity of the group is characterised as "the strongest supporter of Romania (cel mai puternic susținător al României)".

As discussed in EXAMPLES 20 to 25, speakers often approach issues of national importance by including themselves into broader political groups. While projecting "institutional identity" (Sacks 1995; Bramley 2001) is often done to reiterate the MPs position within a political party, there are instances where other political affiliations are brought forth, i.e., the collective identity of Romanian parliamentarians (EXAMPLES 21, 22) or a transnational collective identity based on shared political ideology (EXAMPLES 23, 24, 25). To this extent, a significant component of discourse relates to the situational context as the MP further projects political identities concerning their adherence within the European Union. While EXAMPLE 22 invokes principles such as cooperation and communication between political parties, EXAMPLES 23, 24, and 25 underline a national party's political influence, which might result in better cooperation and communication between Romania (as a future member) and the European Union (and subsequent member states).

### **3.2.3. Representing the multilayered audience**

In parliamentary discourse, politicians often use inclusive remarks to establish bonds with those on the receiving end of a message. In some cases, they can project the image of a political party and speak on behalf of the citizens that they represent in parliament. In other cases, MPs discard their professional identity and speak from a collective viewpoint, sharing the same interest and preoccupations with the audience. This can further contribute to

the positive reception of a message as it conveys solidarity and involvement within the issues discussed during parliamentary sittings.

By way of an inclusive „we” reference, an MP can direct his/her attention towards obtaining a favourable group image by addressing the topic under the guise of overseeing the interests of their citizens.

EXAMPLE 26: Representing the interests of their constituency

<p>“Nicio motivație ideologică nu poate fi astăzi mai importantă decât interesele cetățenilor pe care îi reprezentăm. Sunt conștient că solidaritatea de criză pe care o susțin în beneficiul cetățenilor rămâne o solidaritate conjuncturală. Până la urmă, orice istorie memorabilă se naște profitând de conjuncturi. Este, în acest sens, momentul să ne concentrăm asupra unor chestiuni mai importante decât culoarea doctrinelor și să oferim românilor ceea ce <i>au nevoie</i> în aceste momente.”</p>	<p>No ideological motivation can be more important today than the interest of <i>the citizens that [we] represent</i>. [I] am aware that the crisis solidarity that [I] support for the benefit of the citizens remains a circumstantial solidarity. After all, any memorable history is born by taking advantage of conjunctures. It is, in this sense, the time for us to focus on issues that are more important than the colour of the doctrines and to offer Romanians what <i>[they]</i> need in these moments.</p>
<p>Oral Statement Institution: Senate Date: March 2 2009 MP: FILIP Petru Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Title: Political statement on the topic of solutions for the current economic crisis</p>

Here, the MP includes himself into an ambiguously-defined political class expressed through the use of the first-person pronoun plural „we“, and mentions their roles as representatives of the Romanian citizens as an essential feature of their profession, one that supersedes any other divergence that might come from the agendas of their political parties. This is expressed in the first paragraph as the MP claims that a main political prerogative should be to safeguard the constituency's interest: “No ideological motivation can be more important today than the interest of *the citizens that [we] represent*. (Nicio motivație ideologică nu poate fi astăzi mai importantă decât interesele *cetățenilor pe care îi reprezentăm*.)”

In the second paragraph, the speaker utilises *self*-referencing remarks to express his personal view on the topic, declaring his unconditional support for all those affected by the economic downturn (defined through a figure of speech as "a circumstantial solidarity"). The MP further appeals to the *in-group's* sense of responsibility when defining the status quo of the Romanian economy as a favourable context or "conjuncture (*circumstanță*)", which might allow political representatives to use it to their advantage. To this extent, the speaker references historical precedence, further inferring that the economic crisis is an ideal situation that can lead to outstanding accomplishments if the issue is resolved through political actions. This can be interpreted as an appeal to the group's collective judgment by suggesting that taking advantage of the economic context and providing solutions to it can make all parliamentarians part of its “memorable history (*istorie memorabilă*)”. To achieve this effect, the speaker claims that all political representatives should discard their party interests or "the color of the doctrines (*culoarea doctrinelor*)” and work together to offer support to their citizens.



Invoking a group identity that expands beyond party affiliation (to include all political members of parliament), allows the speaker to project the group's identity as working in the best interest of their citizens while appealing to their sense of solidarity and collective reasoning. The MP's intervention can be seen as an attempt to address the Romanian citizens' potential needs by invoking a common cause, one that is fortified by shared sentiments and perspectives with the constituency.

In other cases, the first-person plural „we“ is utilised to directly project the speaker within the broad category of Romanian citizens. In EXAMPLE 26, the MP brings into question aspects of national and transnational identity when mentioning Romania's adherence to the European Union.

EXAMPLE 27: Speaking on behalf of the constituency

<p>“A fi european nu se rezumă la a <i>ne integra</i> în Uniunea Europeană, ci mai ales în a <i>ne simți</i> europeni, în a avea certitudinea că Europa nu doar <i>ne vrea</i>, ci ne simte la rândul ei <i>ca fiind</i> cetățeni europeni. Până la urmă, a adera la Uniunea Europeană nu a semnat o aderare doar la Uniunea Europeană, ci a însemnat mai presus de toate o aderare la valorile pe care aceasta le urmează. Și a <i>ne integra</i> în U.E. înseamnă a <i>ne integra</i> idealului european care <i>ne face</i> mândri că aparținem aceluiași continent, aceleași culturi și aceleași valori.”</p>	<p>Being European is not just about <i>our</i> integration within the European Union, but especially about feeling European, about having the certainty that Europe not only wants <i>us</i>, but also feels that [<i>we</i>], in turn, are European citizens. After all, joining the European Union did not represent only the process of accession to the European Union, but above all, it meant joining the values that it entails. To integrate into the U.E. means to integrate into the European ideal that makes <i>us</i> proud to belong to the same continent, the same culture, and the same values.</p>
---	--

<p>Oral Statement</p> <p>Institution: Chamber of Deputies</p> <p>Date: May 9, 2006</p> <p>MP: ANASTASE Roberta</p> <p>Democratic Party</p>	<p>Title: Europe and Romania</p>
--	----------------------------------

When discussing the European Union's integration process, the MP builds her identity as a concerned citizen through an inclusive „we” with no reference to his parliamentary role. The oral statement can be regarded as an appeal made to all Romanian citizens to adhere to European principles. By presenting the complexity of the inclusion process within a broader political institution, the MP establishes a relation between two categories: Romanians and members of the European Union. The MP's standpoint can be seen as a means of exemplifying how values and mentalities between the two groups must align in order for Romania to become a welcomed addition to the European Union. At the same time, this also defines the MP's viewpoint on the topic (as an individual or as a member of other political groups). Using an inclusive „we”, the speaker infers that the issues put forward by them are of common concern for all Romanian citizens.

The projected identity of Romanian citizens can be identified through three instances of inclusive referencing: "*our integration* within the European Union (a *ne integra* în Uniunea Europeană)", "Europe not only wants *us* but also feels that *we* are European citizens (Europa nu doar *ne vrea*, ci ne simte la rândul ei *ca fiind* cetățeni europeni)".

The main topic approached in this excerpt is the process of Europeanization<sup>59</sup>, one that presupposes that both the new member state and

---

<sup>59</sup> Filigstein (2000: 5) defines the process of Europeanisation as "the creation of new social arenas where groups (be they states, nonprofit organizations, sets of individuals, or firms) from more than two countries meet to interact regularly."

the broad European community must make strides in assimilating each other's set of values. With this in mind, the speaker's discourse can be interpreted as an appeal made to a broader audience underlining the necessity of adhering to European citizenship by acknowledging European principles and adapting to these values. A similar group-identity is projected in EXAMPLE 26, where the MP speaks on the European Union's 50th anniversary of the signing of the first European treaty and establishment of the European Economic Community.

EXAMPLE 28: Collective „We“ as Romanians

<p>“Cu încredere în viitorul României, ca stat-membru, <i>urez</i> „La mulți ani!“ Uniunii Europene și cetățenilor săi, mulți ani de pace și prosperitate, pentru care, începând din 2007, și <i>noi, românii</i>, suntem responsabili.”</p>	<p>With confidence in Romania's future, as a member state, <i>[I]</i> wish „Happy Birthday!“ to the European Union and its citizens, many years of peace and prosperity, for which, as of 2007, <i>we, Romanians</i>, are also responsible.</p>
<p>Oral Statement Institution: Senate Date: March 19, 2007 MP: ȚICĂU Silvia Adriana Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Title: Oral statement about the 50-year anniversary of the first European treaty and the establishment of the European Economic Community.</p>

Initially, the speaker uses an inferred *I*-referencing remark to extend greetings to the European Union during its 50th anniversary. The first part of the speech is representative of a festive type of discourse as the speaker expresses congratulatory remarks to all European members on behalf of the Romanian nation: “as a member state, *[I]* wish „Happy Birthday!“ to the

---

Furthermore, the relationship between members is established through principles of cooperation and adaptability as they "share a sense of boundaries, purposes, and meanings about other groups' position, intentions and actions." (2000: 6)

European Union and its citizens (ca stat-membru, *urez* „La mulți ani!“ Uniunii Europene și cetățenilor săi)”.

The MP assumes a national identity as he speaks on behalf of all Romanians when expressing his wishes in conjunction with the anniversary. A „we“ reference accompanied by a parenthetical remark further reiterates the speaker’s projected identity: “we, Romanians, are also responsible (și noi, românii suntem responsabili)”. The MP appeals to a sense of solidarity and duty by arguing that all Romanians, as future members of the EU, will play a significant role in safekeeping “peace (pace)” and achieving “prosperity (prosperitate)” as a newly admitted country. In this case, *group*-referencing is representative of shared responsibility, one that goes beyond any political affiliation as it involves a process of adaptability for all Romanian citizens affected by the process of European integration.

In the following example, the speaker underlines a national feeling, conveyed through shared socio-cultural experience when discussing Iraq’s democratisation process (following the country’s parliamentary elections held on 30 January 2005).

EXAMPLE 29: Collective „We“ as Romanians

<p>“<i>Noi, românii</i>, am fost și suntem alături de poporul irakian, în efortul său de refacere a societății, după decenii de dictatură. <i>Suntem alături</i>, nu numai dintr-un firesc sentiment de solidaritate, ci și pentru că <i>am trăit</i> într-un regim totalitar și <i>înțelegem</i> mai bine, <i>prețuim</i> mai mult valoarea libertății. <i>Înțelegem</i> mai bine, de asemenea,</p>	<p><i>We, Romanians</i>, have been and are supporting the Iraqi people, in their effort to restore their society, after decades of dictatorship. [<i>We</i>] support them, not only out of a natural sense of solidarity, but also because [<i>we</i>] have lived in a totalitarian regime and [<i>we</i>] understand better, [<i>we</i>] cherish more the value of freedom. [<i>We</i>] also understand better, both the</p>
--	---

<p>atât rigorile, cât și suferințele pe care le implică trecerea de la dictatură la democrație, și, tocmai de aceea, România a contribuit, fără ezitare, spre deosebire de alte țări, atât cu trupe, la procesul de menținere a păcii, cât și cu expertiză, la structurarea noilor instituții democratice ale statului irakian.”</p>	<p>rigors and the suffering that the transition from dictatorship to democracy entails, and that is why Romania has contributed, without hesitation, unlike other countries, both with troops to the process of peacekeeping, as well as with its expertise, to the structuring of the new democratic institutions of the Iraqi state.</p>
<p>Oral Statement  Institution: Senate  Date: February 1, 2005  MP: CREȚU Corina  Social Democratic Party</p>	<p>Topic: Political statements made by senators- the success of the elections in Iraq; Romania’s moral duty to consolidate normalcy in Iraq.</p>

In this example, national identity is projected explicitly in the first „we” reference as the speaker addresses the issue from a collective viewpoint as “We, Romanians (Noi, românii)”. Five implicit first-person plurals further reiterate the group identity throughout his discourse. When discussing the current political climate in the war-torn Iraqi society and its democratisation process, the MP draws a comparison between Romania’s prior communist regime and Iraq’s former totalitarian dictatorship to justify its foreign policy concerning this topic. By invoking a shared experience, i.e., how Romania fared under communism, the MP attempts to find common ground between the two countries’ political histories. The speaker further creates a line of reasoning to compare them, which is presented from the perspective of a collective voice: “[We] support them, not only out of a natural sense of solidarity, but also because [we] have lived in a totalitarian regime and [we] understand better, [we] cherish more the value of freedom. [We] also

understand better, both the rigors and the sufferings that the transition from dictatorship to democracy entails (*Suntem alături*, nu numai dintr-un firesc sentiment de solidaritate, ci și pentru că *am trăit* într-un regim totalitar și *înțelegem* mai bine, *prețuim* mai mult valoarea libertății. *Înțelegem* mai bine, de asemenea, atât rigorile, cât și suferințele pe care le implică trecerea de la dictatură la democrație)”.

Speaking as part of a nation that lived under a totalitarian regime can achieve different strategic effects. On the one hand, it can be seen as a justification for Romania’s foreign policies and suggested course of action following Iraq’s predicament. On the other, by addressing the issue from a shared national identity, both the speaker and his political group might come across as personally invested in the matter. This idea is further suggested by the enumeration of the hardships that Romanians had to go through before becoming a democracy and mentioning the experience gained in the process.

EXAMPLE 30: Advocating for a common cause with the Romanian electorate

<p>“<i>Cred că suntem</i> direct interesați, atât clasa politică, cât și societatea civilă românească, de modul în care atuurile economice, sociale și culturale ale României pot fi folosite la justa lor valoare în viitor pentru a întări construcția europeană și pentru a consolida poziția țării <i>noastre</i> în acest concert de valori.”</p>	<p><i>I think that [we] are</i> directly interested, both the political class and the Romanian civil society, in the way in which Romania’s economic, social and cultural assets can be used at their fair value in the future, in order to strengthen the European structure and to strengthen <i>our</i> country’s position in this assortment of values.</p>
<p>Oral Statement Institution: Chamber of Deputies Date: June 21 2005</p>	<p>Topic: The role and political contribution of Romania in configuring future policies in the European Union.</p>

MP: VĂLEAN Adina Ioana	
National Liberal Party	

The previous examples of the present subsection indicate that inclusive remarks are commonly oriented towards the potential needs and expectations of a general audience, contextualised implicitly or explicitly as the Romanian citizens. The MP confirms the political party's vision and mentions a shared interest between "the political class (clasa politică)" and "the Romanian civil society (societatea civilă Românească)". Here, the speaker projects his identity through a generic „we“-reference.

From a rhetorical point of view, the MP's take on the topic can be regarded as appeals to ethos and pathos. On the one hand, the MP uses collective referencing to advocate for shared national interests such as capitalising on Romania's "economic, social and cultural assets (atuurile economice, sociale și culturale)" and to contribute to the legislative process of the EU. On the other, the MP's statement can also be seen as a type of affective synchrony, oriented towards the Romanian people, as it might sensitise the audience and instil a sense of patriotism and hope for a better future after Romania's accession in the European Parliament.

#### **3.2.4. Discussion**

As previously shown, MPs project group identities to mention their political affiliation, ideological beliefs or to positively resonate with audience members. Pronominal interplays allow the speaker to achieve multiple discursive effects which can enhance their public image perception of their self or subsequent *in-groups*. At the same time, politicians can *go on the offense* and switch between pronouns to target individuals and/or groups. Oftentimes, this approach falls under the category of unparliamentary language (Ilie 2004) as personal attacks, unsubstantiated claims and

aggressive rhetoric were identified as main strategic approaches to contextualising *otherness*. These aspects are further summarised in Appendix 7.

In EXAMPLES 20 and 21, the MPs invoke explicit, implicit, and impersonal references to speak on behalf of a political party. The primary receivers of the message can be contextually deduced as a broad audience (all those having access to the speech). Speakers employ various discursive strategies to underline political group attributes and shared moral attributes or invoke collective responses to a pressing issue (EXAMPLE 22). The attribution of positive traits to the speaker's political group is often presented in conjunction with a list of anti-qualities used to describe the targeted faction through a dichotomous relationship. In EXAMPLE 23, the MP appeals to logos by urging other parliamentarians to cooperate in parliament. This can be seen as a plea for collective reasoning in the form of fighting for a common cause, Romania's accession to the European Union.

In other cases, MPs move beyond their role as party members and enhance the group's credibility by mentioning shared political ideology with influential European parties and politicians. In EXAMPLES 23 to 25, the speakers make logical inferences to solidify the credibility and influence of their political parties. Mentioning joint political values and group accomplishments can be primarily viewed as an appeal to logos directed towards the multilayered audience. In these examples, the MPs solidify the party's position by also mentioning transnational achievements of well-established political figures with similar political ideologies.

Lastly, EXAMPLES 26 to 30 indicate the MPs' use of inclusive references (implicitly and/or explicitly), directed towards the Romanian constituency. Establishing bonds with the audience is achieved through the collective voice of the party, allowing the MP to speak on behalf of the citizens



(EXAMPLES 26 and 27), to convey a feeling of cooperation (EXAMPLE 27), to invoke a shared identity trait (We- as Romanians- EXAMPLE 28), or to advocate for a common cause (as seen in EXAMPLE 30). In terms of rhetorical functions, this particular approach might indicate appeals to pathos and ethos.

By discussing issues with a powerful emotional charge (such as the hardships under communist rule or the hope for a better future after the accession to the EP), the MPs can potentially sensitise the audience members by approaching an emotionally-laden topic. At the same time, establishing bonds with the audience can also constitute a means for enhancing the group's public image perception.

In what follows, I will exemplify various uses of pronominal interplays advanced by speakers when negotiating the identities of other politicians and/or political factions.

### **3.3. Projecting the identities of *others***

As mentioned in the previous subsection, MPs often project their identities under the guise of collective affiliation. This presupposes the existence of *in-groups* and *out-groups* in which every MP can take different positions in relation to the collective identities brought into question. By using exclusive pronominal references, a politician can shift the attention towards defining the *other* group.

From a rhetorical perspective, *otherness* is often introduced by way of aggressive rhetoric. Discrediting political counterparts is achieved by way of various strategies, and linguistic competences. Through *self* and *group* referencing, MPs question the other(s)' decisions, credibility, moral values, and integrity. The attribution of negative traits often reveals a type of "unparliamentary language" (Ilie 2004). Investigating the use of insults in

British and Swedish Parliaments, Ilie puts forward three rhetorical functions: *movere* - to engage the addressee/audience emotionally, *delectare* - to please and entertain the addressee/audience, and *docere* - to instruct and educate, but also to lecture the addressee/audience. Various forms of rhetoric can be used by speakers to elicit positive reactions from those on the receiving end of a message.

As the analysis will show, MPs do not refrain from insults and use different means to obtain a negative predication of the *out-group* and subsequent members. In order to fulfil their objectives, the speakers view *others* through negative personality statements, implications of an enduring negative character or trait, aspersions/disparaging insinuations, patronising, condescending remarks, mockery, and badgering (Waddle, Bull, and Böhnke 2019: 68).

In the next part, I will analyse how MPs explore the topical potential and launch attacks in parliamentary discourse to discredit the opposition and obtain favourable attributions for their own invoked identities.

### **3.3.1. Personal attacks through *self*-referencing remarks („I“vs. „You“)**

When MPs take the floor to address different Parliament issues, they also advance, promote, and defend their public image perception, either as individual entities or as part of broader political factions. Frequently, this might lead to differences of opinion, which, in turn, generate verbal clashes between MPs. While the institution's functional structure presupposes cooperation between political parties, groups, and governing institutions, parliamentary discourse can also be viewed as "fundamentally adversarial" (Bayley 2004: 21). Driven by personal and/or shared goals, an MP can employ different means and strategies to discredit his political counterparts or, in a more general view, an oppositional political/ideological group. One

such approach relates to discursive means of *attack*, oriented towards an individual. In what follows, I will present some instances where the adversarial nature of discourse has a personal rather than a group focus (Waddle, Bull and Böhnke 2019) and look at how MPs use *self*-referencing remarks to express their viewpoint on some of their political colleagues.

In the following fragment, the subject of inquiry is generated by the Prime Minister's decision of changing the legal status of a historic building, given into possession to a state-owned establishment. The action was criticised by public opinion, which questioned the decision and the reasons behind it.

EXAMPLE 31: Personal attacks through *self*-referencing

<p>“Pasiunea <i>dumneavoastră</i> pentru vânătoare este notorie, dar îmi e greu să accept că <i>v-ați</i> transformat într-un vânător de clădiri de patrimoniu și <i>vă solicit</i>, domnule prim-ministru, public, ca, din respect pentru milioanele de români și în memoria celor care au ctitorit acest monument, să-l redați României.”</p>	<p>Your passion for hunting is notorious, but <i>[I]</i> find it hard to accept that <i>[you]</i> have become a hunter of heritage buildings and <i>[I]</i> publicly ask you, Mr Prime Minister, out of respect for the millions of Romanians and in the memory of those who founded this monument, to give it back to Romania.”</p>
<p>Oral Statement          Institution: Senate          Date: September 22, 2004          MP: Norica Nicolai          National Liberal Party</p>	<p>Title: Political Statements made by Senator Norica Nicolai</p>

Here, the speaker explores the topical potential available and makes reproaches against the Prime Minister's course of action. Through *self*-referencing remarks, the MP expresses her perspective on the issue in the

form of a public plea directed towards the Prime Minister, urging him to reinclude the property into Romania's cultural heritage.

Two inclusive *self*-references remarks are used to present the speaker's views against the addressee, whose presence is marked, discursively, through an implicit *you*-reference. Emphasis is placed on projecting the identity of the latter as the speaker criticises his actions and questions his decisions. Through *I*-referencing, the MP brings forward aspects from the Prime Minister's personal life, such as his passion for hunting, and uses this public information as a figure of speech by linking the action of hunting game with his newly-found activity of appropriating buildings from Romania's cultural heritage: "[I] find it hard to accept that [*you*] have become a hunter of heritage building (Îmi este greu să accept că *v-ați* transformat într-un vânător de clădiri de patrimoniu)". Humour is generated by way of correlating the political actions of the speaker with his hobbies. In this case, the verb "hunt" is used with multiple meanings. By way of inference, the verb attains a negative connotation, further suggesting that the Prime Minister abuses his political standing for personal gain.

Through a second *I*-reference, the MP publicly asks his political counterpart to change his decision by addressing the subject under the apparent guise of a spokesperson for the Romanian people. The MP underlines a sense of unjust conduct which should be remediated "out of respect for the millions of Romanians (din respect pentru milioanele de români)" and "in the memory of those who founded the monument (în memoria celor care au ctitorit acest monument)". The use of the verb "redați (give it back)" further suggests the speaker's position in conjunction with the prime minister's actions deemed as a form of unjust appropriation done in the disinterest of all Romanians.

As seen in the excerpt above, the use of *self*-referencing is primarily adversarial, as the speaker targets a political figure, criticises his actions, and questions his motifs. This, in turn, can be regarded as the viewer's position on the topic as he addresses the issue through first-person pronouns. In other cases, MPs advance personal attacks as a response to statements made by colleagues (often from opposing parties) that have the potential of damaging the public image perception of the speaker. In parliamentary sittings, MPs use their right of reply to rebuild their image in the eyes of those on the receiving end of the message. In many cases, however, defence and attack strategies are interdependent as one can be implemented by way of the other:

EXAMPLE 32: Multiple attacks through *self*-referencing remarks

<p>“Domnule Nicolăescu, nu <i>vă voi face</i> nesimțit, pentru că <i>ați avut</i> tupeul să vorbiți astăzi, deși <i>dumneavoastră</i>, în calitatea de ministru al sănătății, ați fost campion al plângerilor penale.</p> <p>Iar, în ceea ce privește pe domnul Robert Negoită, <i>mă surprinde</i> că dânsul <i>spune</i> că <i>a citit</i> cu foarte mare atenție actele, spunând că s-au făcut plățile sub semnătura <i>mea</i>. Nu <i>am semnat</i> ordonanțările de plată. Nu s-au făcut sub semnătura <i>mea</i>.</p> <p><i>Eu vă rog</i> să reluați, eventual, acea comisie parlamentară de anchetă, că văd că <i>vă place</i> să faceți circ în Parlament. Continuați-l, dacă asta</p>	<p>Mr Nicolăescu, <i>[I]</i> will not call you a jerk, because <i>[you]</i> had the audacity to speak today, although <i>you sir</i>, as Minister of Health, have been a champion of criminal complaints.</p> <p>As for Mr Robert Negoită, <i>[I]</i> am surprised that <i>he</i> says that <i>he</i> read the documents very carefully and that the payments were made under <i>my</i> signature. <i>[I]</i> did not sign the payment orders. They were not made under <i>my</i> signature. I ask <i>[you]</i> to possibly resume that parliamentary committee or inquiry, because <i>[I]</i> see that <i>[you]</i> like to blow things out of proportion in Parliament.</p> <p>Continue with this, if <i>[you]</i> wish, and perhaps then, <i>[you]</i> will be convinced of</p>
--	--

<p><i>doriți, și poate că atunci vă veți convinge de nevinovăția mea, dacă veți citi, într-adevăr, documentele din raportul Comisiei parlamentare de anchetă și documentele din raport care, practic, ar fi trebuit să vă convingă și pe dumneavoastră de nevinovăția mea..”</i></p>	<p>my innocence, if [you] will read the documents in the report of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry and the documents in the report which, in fact, should have also convinced you of my innocence...”</p>
<p>Intervention (Right of Reply)  Institution: Senate  Date: October 5, 2009  MP: Iacob Monica Ridzi  Liberal Democratic Party</p>	<p>Title: Speaking against criminal charges.</p>

Using her right of reply, the speaker responds to the allegations put forward by two MPs belonging to the Social Democratic Party. Both opposing party members question the MP's integrity by accusing her of criminal misconduct and abuse of office. In this excerpt, *self*-referencing remarks introduce attack strategies aimed at challenging the validity of the statements put forward by the political counterparts. Initially, the MP does not choose to respond to the allegations directly. Instead, she questions the integrity of the accuser by describing him as “a champion of criminal complaints (campionul plângerilor penale)”. Here, aggressive rhetoric is used to portray the image of the other MP. In line with this, his actions are defined as audacious because they belong to someone with a blemished political history. Furthermore, the MP suggests that such an action might be done by someone lacking moral fortitude but, at the same time, refrains from explicitly insulting her colleague: “[I] will not call you a jerk, because [you] had the audacity to speak today (*nu vă voi face nesimțit*, pentru că ați avut tupeul să vorbiți

astăzi)”. Casting doubt on the MPs moral character and professional conduct can potentially diminish the speaker's credibility as audience members might feel reluctant to put their trust in a politician with a questionable track record who faced similar predicaments throughout his career. In this case, the MP opts to invalidate the other's viewpoint by challenging his integrity rather than providing arguments to build a „base of defence”.

The speaker moves on to deny the accusations raised by the other spokesperson by suggesting that his thorough investigation into her case relies on false evidence. Responding to her *prior ethos*, the MP attempts to rebuild her public image perception by asking the addressee to reopen her case in the parliamentary committee. The MP further suggests that her colleague's actions are done solely for political gain and describes them as nothing more than the action of *blowing things out of proportion (a face circ<sup>60</sup>)*” done by an ill-informed and biased political figure. The MP makes an appeal to logos when addressing her colleagues and claims that the reopening of the criminal investigation case against her and the conclusion drawn by the Parliamentary Committee will attest to her innocence: "*Continue with this, if [you] wish, and perhaps then, [you] will be convinced of my innocence, if you read the documents in the report of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry and the documents in the report*" (*Continuați-l, dacă asta doriți și poate că atunci vă veți convinge de nevinovăția mea, dacă veți citi, într-adevăr, documentele din raportul Comisiei parlamentare de anchetă și documentele din raport*)”.

Questioning the validity of the claims made against the MP is mainly achieved by way of adversarial and aggressive rhetoric, which might tarnish the public image of the addressees. Simultaneously, by questioning the

---

<sup>60</sup> See Footnote 54.

speakers' ethos, the MP can also potentially diminish the harmful effects of the utterances. In line with this, attack strategies can function as a defence tactic, allowing the MP to shift the attention from her predicament and actively challenge the truth value of the matter.

In other cases, MPs use their right of reply to criticise the conduct and practices of other parliamentarians:

EXAMPLE 33: Multiple attacks through self-referencing remarks

<p>“Vă rog să citiți regulamentul și să vedeți că dreptul la replică să dă imediat. E adevărat, are un termen de 2 minute. Țsta este dreptul <i>meu</i>, atâta timp cât ministrul care a vorbit până acum la microfon mi-a pronunțat numele. Și e firesc, are o logică.</p> <p>Da. Vă mulțumesc, domnule președinte de ședință. Domnule ministru, <i>ați avut</i> o prestație lamentabilă. Ați mințit încontinuu și nu ați vorbit deloc despre soluții. <i>Eu</i> poate nu știu să număr, dar nici <i>nu pretind</i> să știu, <i>dumneavoastră</i>, în schimb, pretindeți că sunteți... (Vociferări.)</p> <p><i>Dumneavoastră, domnule ministru</i>, în schimb, pretindeți că <i>sunteți</i> ministru al acestei țări și <i>nu observați</i> un lucru elementar, faptul că economia <i>sub dumneavoastră</i> se prăbușește. Oamenii își pierd locurile</p>	<p>Please read the rules and see that the right of reply is given immediately. That's right, it has a 2-minute deadline. This is <i>my</i> right, as long as the Minister who has spoken into the microphone so far, has uttered my name. And it's natural, it makes sense.</p> <p>Yes. Thank you, Mr Chairman. Minister, [<i>you</i>] have had a lamentable performance. [<i>You</i>] kept lying and didn't talk about solutions at all. <i>I</i> may not know how to count, but, at least, [<i>I</i>] don't pretend to know; <i>you sir</i>, on the other hand, pretend to be... (Vociferations.)</p> <p><i>You, Minister</i>, on the other hand, claim that [<i>you</i>] are the minister of this country and [<i>you</i>] do not notice a basic thing, such as the fact that the economy under <i>you sir</i> is collapsing. People are losing their jobs, and that's a reality [<i>you</i>] can't hide behind the bad jokes</p>
--	--



de muncă și asta e o realitate pe care <i>n-o puteți</i> ascunde prin glumele proaste pe care <i>le faceți</i> .”	that [ <i>you</i> ] make.
Intervention Institution: Chamber of Deputies Date: March 4, 2013 MP: ANASTASE Roberta Democratic Party	Title: Presentation and debate of the simple motion initiated by 54 deputies, with the title: “Ponta Government-unemployment factory”.

Here, the MP responds to a mocking remark directed towards her during a parliamentary debate. At first, the speaker addresses the Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies and questions his lack of procedural knowledge regarding the right of reply. The MP underlines her right to respond to prior allegations made against her, as a fundamental political right: “*This is my right*, as long as the minister who has spoken into the microphone so far, has uttered my name. (*Ăsta este dreptul meu, atâta timp cât ministrul care a vorbit până acum la microfon mi-a pronunțat numele.*)”

As a response to his contemptuous remarks, the MP describes a long list of failures that occurred during the Minister’s mandate and shifts her attack towards the Minister of Education. At a linguistic level, this is marked through *other*-referencing, with the second-person pronoun, *you* being used 7 times. The MP makes various implications to underline “an enduring negative character trait” (Waddle, Bull, and Böhnke 2019: 67), e.g., the addressee’s incompetence as Minister of Education. Through attitude markers, the speaker defines his political activity as “a lamentable performance (o prestație lamentabilă)” and accuses him of dishonesty and inefficiency: “you kept lying and did not talk about solutions at all. (ați mințit încontinuu și nu ați vorbit deloc despre soluții.)”

The MP continues her attack by insinuating that her political counterpart does not have the competences needed to fulfill his political responsibilities, suggested through the verb *„claim“*: “You, Minister, on the other hand, *claim* that you are the Minister of the country (Dumneavoastră, domnule ministru, în schimb, *pretindeți* că sunteți ministru al acestei țări)”. The MP moves on to provide evidence for her statement and lists several effects generated by the alleged inefficiency of the her political peer: “the economy under *you sir* is collapsing (economia, *sub dumneavoastră*, se prăbușeste)”; “people are losing their jobs (oamenii își pierd locurile de muncă)”.

Personal attacks allow MP to *go on the offense* and make derogatory statements against other political figures. As seen in the examples above, these are targeted against members of opposing parties. MPs can initiate attacks (as seen in EXAMPLES 31 and 32) or respond to prior allegations made against them (as seen in EXAMPLE 33). From a rhetorical standpoint, personal attacks are mainly aimed at challenging the ethos of the speakers. This can be further interpreted as a dissociative act, allowing the MP to distance himself/herself from the accusations by shifting the attention towards the actions of the addressees. Consequently, questioning the validity of the statements and attempting to put a political opponent in disrepute can also be regarded as a means of defending one’s public image within the public sphere.

### **3.3.2. Group attacks through inclusive references („We“ vs „They“)**

As a political institution, the Parliament presupposes the existence of different political parties. The power dynamic between them often shifts as public perception and election processes play an important role in determining their influence. Because of this, both in the Senate and Chamber

of Deputies, MPs often invoke inclusive identities (as members of various political factions) to criticise the activity of other political groups.

EXAMPLE 34: Attacking others through inclusive remarks

<p>“Dragi colegi, <i>noi</i> chiar ne-am luptat să aducem bani în școala românească. Pentru a respecta adevărul e bine să mai punctăm două aspecte legate de Partidul Social Democrat. Haideți, <i>să ne amintim</i> cu toții că în campania electorală din 2004 <i>ați promis</i> profesorilor creșteri salariale. Din nefericire <i>ați omis</i> să le bugetați.</p> <p>În ceea ce privește actualul Guvern, <i>noi</i> am găsit, prin niște furturi substanțiale, resursele pentru a finanța creșterile promise, sau, haideți să le spunem, cinstit păcălelile <i>dumnevoastră</i> electorale. Nu a fost ușor, numai dacă <i>ținem cont</i> că sumele alocate depășesc nivelul cercetării, nivelul alocațiilor cercetării la nivel național. Iar un al doilea aspect care trebuie menționat este că, timp de 4 ani, guvernarea PSD a calculat greșit salariile profesorilor, iar acum efortul actualei guvernări se îndreaptă spre a da înapoi banii profesorilor, bani pe care <i>i-ați luat</i>.”</p>	<p>Dear colleagues, <i>we</i> really fought to bring money to the Romanian school. In order to respect the truth, it is good to point out two more aspects related to the Social Democratic Party. <i>Let us all remember</i> that in the 2004 election campaign <i>[you]</i> promised salary increases to teachers. Unfortunately, <i>[you]</i> failed to budget them.</p> <p>As for the current government, <i>we</i> have found, through some substantial thefts, the resources to finance the promised increases, or, let’s say it as it is, <i>your</i> electoral hoaxes. It was not easy, only if <i>[we]</i> take into account that the amounts allocated exceeded the level of research, the level of research subsidies at a national level. And a second aspect that must be mentioned is that, for 4 years, the SDP government miscalculated the teachers’ salaries, and now the current government’s effort is focused on returning the teachers’ money, money that <i>you</i> took.</p>
--	--

Intervention	Title: The presentation and debate of the simple motion entitled "Education - victim in the fight between NLP and DP." (Submission to vote; rejection of motion)
Institution: Chamber of Deputies	
Date: June 26, 2006	
MP: ANASTASE Roberta	
Democratic Party	

The MP assumes a group identity and speaks on behalf of the Democratic Party to question the Governing party's actions when dealing with salary increases in education. By establishing a dichotomous relationship, the party's accomplishments are contrastively discussed in conjunction with the opposing party's shortcomings.

Through an inclusive remark, the MP argues that the Democratic Party attempted to find sources of financing salary increases. This is mentioned explicitly throughout the excerpt in two instances: "*we* really fought to bring money to the Romanian school (*noi* chiar ne-am luptat să aducem bani în școala românească)"; "*we* have found (...) the resources to finance the promised increases (*Noi* am găsit (...) resursele pentru a finanța creșterile promise)".

Simultaneously, the criticised party is presented as culpable for the current state of affairs, as the MP discusses their inability to fund the educational system. A second inclusive reference is used to discredit the governing party. The MP infers that their actions fall short of their electoral promises and reveal ongoing criminal activities: "As for the current government, *we* have found, through some substantial thefts, the resources to finance the promised increases, or, let's say it as it is, your electoral hoaxes. (În ceea ce privește actualul Guvern, *noi* am găsit, prin niște furturi substanțiale, resursele pentru a finanța creșterile promise, sau, haideți să le spunem, cinstit *păcălelile dumneavoastră electorale*)".

At the end of her intervention, the MP makes a presupposition by arguing that the current problem with salary increases in education was generated by the government's inability to calculate the teacher's salaries. These actions are also presented as a form of theft: "the current government's effort is focused on returning the teachers' money, money that you took. (efortul actualei guvernări se îndreaptă spre a da înapoi banii profesorilor, bani pe care i-ați luat.)”

By invoking an inclusive affiliation, the speaker takes on the role of a party representative, safeguarding its interests and public image perception. Addressing the past actions of an opposing party, allows her to establish a „we” vs. „you,” dichotomy, where the parliamentary activity of her party, the governing party, is described as profoundly involved in the issue at hand. Moreover, through implicit *you*-references, the speaker questions the integrity, policies, and involvement of the Social Democratic Party when overseeing the teachers' interests.

In other cases, MPs assume collective identities that are less specific and can only be contextually inferred. As seen in the example below, the speaker expresses her position on constructing a road to revitalise the economic activity in Hunedoara County by speaking on behalf of her constituency.

EXAMPLE 35: Launching attacks through inclusive identities

<p>“Domnilor PNL-iști! <i>Știm cu toții</i> că faceți parte din "lotul 322" care a votat suspendarea Președintelui, a omului politic în care poporul român are cea mai mare încredere. <i>Vă rog, în numele populației județului Hunedoara</i>, lăsați acest proiect să se deruleze conform graficelor. Nu</p>	<p>Gentlemen of the NLP! <i>We all know</i> that you are part of the “lot 322” that voted to suspend the President, the politician in whom the Romanian people place their greatest trust. <i>Please, on behalf of the population of Hunedoara County</i>, let this project run according to the schedule. Do not stop this investment, even if the SDP,</p>
--	--

opriți această investiție, chiar dacă PSD-ul, aliatul dumneavoastră conjunctural, vă cere acest lucru cu insistență?”	your circumstantial ally, urges you to do so?”
Intervention Institution: Chamber of Deputies Date: May 8, 2007 MP: IACOB Monica Ridzi Democratic Party	Title: The NLP-SDP government wants to suspend “Bănescu’s road”

The first inclusive remark introduces two sides with different views on the project. The MP addresses an opposing group, contextualised as "lot 322 (lotul 322)". The classification refers to the number of votes cast in favor of impeaching the President of Romania. At the same time, the inclusive identity of the speaker is revealed through an ambiguous *you* reference "we all know (știm cu toții)", which might be interpreted as the whole political class who supported the President or, it can be seen as a general statement which includes all the recipients of the intervention.

Through this contrastive classification, the MP underlines differences of opinion to suggest that the exclusive group might be biased against supporting legislation proposed by the President.

The MP moves on to explicitly speak on behalf of her constituency, "the population of Hunedoara County (populației județului Hunedoara)" and makes a plea to the Social Democratic Party, asking its members not to succumb to the pressure put on them by their conjunctural ally, the National Liberal Party to stop financing the project.

Through an ambiguous, inclusive reference, the speaker sheds light on the position of the governing parties while speaking as a representative of the community. Consequently, she can potentially appeal to the audience,

suggesting that her actions come from a sense of righteousness and are driven by the sole desire to improve the livelihood of the people who would benefit from the building of the road. Simultaneously, the vested interest of the oppositional groups is depicted as biased and influenced by political pressure. Through a contrastive dynamic, the MP infers that the governing political party does not follow the citizens' best interests, being driven by their political agendas and group interests.

### 3.3.3. Pronominal interplays: Mixed attacks through self and group references („I”/“You” vs. „You”/“They”)

MPs can often invoke different identities to come across as knowledgeable and well-informed when addressing a particular topic in Parliament. The interplay between pronominal references introduces “an individual’s multiple social, discursive and interactional roles” (Bull and Fetzer 2006: 2) as “a personal pronoun can refer to more than one identity, and therefore can express multiple meanings” (ibidem).

EXAMPLE 36: Launching attacks through mixed pronominal interplays

<p>“Nu știu ce profesie are dumnealui, însă <i>eu</i> sunt doctor în istorie și am studiat chiar la Viena. Ce spuneți <i>dumneavoastră</i>, stimate coleg, nu există în istorie. Sunt fabulații! Nu știu cine <i>v-a îndoctrinat</i> să spuneți că o parte dintre fruntașii români</p>	<p>[I] don’t know <i>his profession</i>, but I’m a Doctor of History and I studied in Vienna. What <i>you</i> are saying, honourable colleague, does not exist in history. This is hearsay! I don’t know who indoctrinated [<i>you</i>] to say that some of the Romanian Pașoptist leaders<sup>61</sup></p>
--	---

<sup>61</sup> Pașoptism was the ideology of the participants in the Romanian Revolution of 1848, exposed in the magazine *Dacia Literară*. Important elements were the national and militant character of the ideology. The purpose of the revolutionaries was to acquire their freedom and affirm the Romanian nationality (taken from <https://tinyurl.com/yvdzrt84>).

<p>pașoptiști au cerut unirea Transilvaniei cu Ungaria. Am auzit <i>eu</i> bine?! Este posibil să spuneți așa ceva în Senatul României, <i>domnule</i>?!</p> <p><i>Nu pricepeți</i> că atâta timp cât e <i>generația mea</i> în putere nu se va clinti niciun fir de iarbă din pământul Ardealului? Nu <i>ne</i> mai provocați, domnilor, că <i>veți avea</i> riposte pe măsură! Nu <i>vă place</i> aici? Mergeți în Ungaria! E ultima oară când <i>vă spunem</i> cu frumosul.”</p>	<p>demanded the union of Transylvania with Hungary. Did <i>I</i> hear that right? Is it possible to say such a thing in the Romanian Senate, <i>sir</i>?</p> <p>Don’t <i>[you]</i> understand that as long as <i>my generation</i> is in power, not a blade of grass will move from the land of Transylvania? Stop challenging <i>us</i>, gentlemen, or <i>[you]</i> will get an appropriate response! Don’t <i>you</i> like it here? Then go to Hungary! This is the last time <i>[we]</i> tell you nicely.</p>
<p>Intervention</p> <p>Institution: Senate</p> <p>Date: September 22, 2008</p> <p>MP: Corneliu Vadim Tudor</p> <p>Greater Romanian Party</p>	<p>Title: Reply to Senator Nemeth Csaba’s political statement.</p>

Here, the MP responds to a statement made in the Senate by a member belonging to a minority party that talked about the annexation of the Transylvanian region to Hungary. At first, the speaker uses *I*-references to invoke his experience, holding a PhD in History, with studies abroad. The MP moves on to describe the historical context his colleague presented. By affirming himself as a knowledgeable, well-versed historian, the MP moves from *self* to *other*-referencing and directly addresses his colleague. Deeming his view as nothing more but “hearsay (fabulații)”, he questions the validity of his arguments and claims that historically, no Romanian leaders supported the union between Transylvania and Romania. The MP’s stance is further reiterated through a rhetorical question ”Did *I* hear right? (Am auzit *eu*



bine?)”, used to underline what he regards as an inappropriate and ill-informed point of view presented in front of the Romanian Senate.

Next, the MP switches towards *group*-referencing, portraying, ambiguously defined, opposing categories. The speaker’s rhetoric becomes aggressive as he claims that not even “not a blade of grass will move from the land of Transylvania (nu se va clinti niciun fir de iarba din pământul Ardealului)” and ends with a threat: “Stop challenging us gentlemen or you will have will get an appropriate response! (Nu ne mai provocați domnilor, că veți avea riposte pe măsură!)”

As part of the Greater Romanian Party, the MP appeals to ethos, underlining his patriotism. By shifting from the second-person pronoun ‘you’ to the plural form, the speaker addresses all political figures with similar ideologies and beliefs. As he comes across as someone deeply preoccupied with the wellbeing of the country, he also raises accusations and makes threats suggesting that future actions of the sort, made publicly in the Romanian Senate will generate hostile reactions from other MPs. The speaker reasserts his point of view, suggesting that all those who challenge his viewpoint on this issue should leave the country. He concludes his intervention by threatening those who oppose his viewpoint: “Don’t you like it here? Then go to Hungary! This is the last time we tell you nicely. (Nu vă place aici? Mergeți în Ungaria! Este ultima oară când vă spunem cu frumosul.)”

EXAMPLE 37: Launching attacks through mixed pronominal interplays

<p>“Intervențiile de astăzi ale unor reprezentanți ai Alianței, începând, din păcate, cu primul-ministru, au coborât mai jos ca niciodată ștacheta discursului politic parlamentar. Superficialitate, populism, demagogie,</p>	<p>The interventions made today by representatives of the Alliance, which unfortunately started with the Prime Minister, as never before, have lowered the bar of parliamentary political discourse. Superficiality,</p>
--	--

<p>lipsa consensului pe teme de interes general, atacuri politice suburbane. Mai mult, <i>am auzit</i> azi, din nou, similar mitingului electoral de duminică al Alianței, cuvintele epurare politică, cu referire explicită la PSD. <i>Vă atrag</i> atenția, domnilor guvernanți, că sintagme de acest gen au făcut referire, în alte timpuri pe care <i>le doream</i> uitate, la soluția finală și atrag atenția, domnilor guvernanți, că terminologia de tip neofascist nu <i>vă face</i> cinste și nu onorează democrația românească în prag de aderare la Uniunea Europeană. (...) <i>Vreau să spunem</i> foarte clar. PSD-ul este pentru garantarea drepturilor individuale ale tuturor cetățenilor României, indiferent de originea etnică. PSD-ul este pentru oportunități egale, garantate la standarde europene, ceea ce înseamnă standarde europene general acceptate. PSD-ul însă nu acceptă și respinge orice formă de autonomie pe criterii etnice, chiar ambalate în etichetă de tipul autonomie culturală.”</p>	<p>populism, demagoguery, lack of consensus on issues of general interest, suburban political attacks. Moreover, <i>[I]</i> heard today, yet again, similar to the Sunday election rally of the Alliance, the words political purge, explicitly referring to the SDP. <i>[I]</i> draw your attention, gentlemen in governance, to the fact that such phrases have referred, in other times that <i>[I]</i> wished were forgotten, to the Final Solution, and <i>[I]</i> draw your attention, governing gentlemen, to the fact that neo-fascist terminology does not honour <i>you</i> and does not honour Romanian democracy when <i>we</i> are on the threshold of accession to the European Union. (...) <i>[We]</i> want to make this clear. The SDP is all for guaranteeing the individual rights of all Romanian citizens, regardless of ethnic origin. The SDP is for equal opportunities, guaranteed at European standards which means the generally accepted European standards. However, the SDP does not accept and rejects any form of autonomy based on ethnic criteria, even if it is labelled as cultural autonomy.</p>
---	---

Intervention	Title: Joint meeting between the Chamber of Deputies and Senate. Debates on the presented report.
Institution: Senate	
Date: December 20, 2005	
MP: Corlăţean Titus	
Social Democratic Party	

First, the MP draws a conclusion related to the activity in the plenum. Targeting the representatives of the Alliance (as a group) and the Prime Minister (as an individual entity), the speaker defines his colleague's interventions as having lowered "the bar of parliamentary political discourse (ştacheta discursului political parlamentar)".

The *out-group* is projected through a series of negative traits, discursively introduced by means of enumeration. The MP puts forward his attribution of the targeted fraction and uses aggressive rhetoric to criticise the lack of professional etiquette, professional attributes, ideological beliefs, and their inability to cooperate with other parliamentary groups: "Superficiality, populism, demagoguery, lack of consensus on issues of general interest, suburban political attacks (Superficialitate, populism, demagogie, lipsa consensului pe teme de interes general, atacuri politice suburbane)". The speaker continues his attacks by using grammatically-inferred *I*-references and deems the governing party's desire to politically purge the SDP as a form of radicalism. To add to this, the speaker makes implications with an enduring negative trait and argues that the "neo-fascist terminology (terminologia de tip neofascist)" employed by his political colleagues can diminish Romania's chances of acceding in the European Union.

While *self*-referencing is actively used to protect the *in-group*'s image and to launch allegations and criticise others, switching to a collective voice is used by the MP to clarify some of the party's main political ideals. Comparatively, the SDP is defined as an overseer of fundamental individual

rights that doesn't discriminate, one that advocates for equal opportunities and rejects the alleged policies put forward by the governing party: "the SDP does not accept and rejects any form of autonomy based on ethnic criteria, even if it is labelled as cultural autonomy. (PSD-ul însă nu acceptă și respinge orice formă de autonomie pe criterii etnice, chiar ambalate în etichetă de tipul autonomie culturală.)"

#### 3.3.4. Discussion

In the previous subsection, I have looked at some examples where pronominal references are primarily employed to launch different attacks against individuals and/or political factions.

MPs employ a wide plethora of discursive means to actively challenge the credibility of the target(s), to respond to their *prior ethos*, to establish bonds with the audience, or to simply put forward convincing performances that might resonate positively with the audience. As the analysis revealed, the main strategy utilised by speakers when contextualising the image of *others* is achieved through personal or group attacks. It is also important to note that the negative predication of the addressee(s) can also have positive rhetorical effects for the speaker and subsequent political *in-group(s)*. Switching between pronominal identities allows the MP to account for the topical potential of the speech and position himself/herself favourably.

From a discursive standpoint, this is often achieved through contrastive rhetoric as MPs list qualities for their selves and *in-groups* to powerfully resonate with the anti-qualities used to describe *others* (as seen in Appendix 8).

In EXAMPLES 31 to 33, personal attacks are launched through *self*-referencing remarks. Speaking from their personal viewpoint, MPs use aggressive rhetoric to achieve a negative image perception of the addressee.

While the main strategy is to target the opposition (EXAMPLES 31 and 33), tarnishing the image of others can also be used as a way of protecting one's prior ethos (as seen in EXAMPLE 32). In EXAMPLES 34 and 35, the attention is shifted towards political factions (often in the form of the opposing political party or the governing party) as MPs use a collective voice to question moral attributes (EXAMPLE 34) or invoke common cause when speaking on behalf of the Romanian citizens (EXAMPLE 35).

Lastly, in EXAMPLES 36 and 37, politicians switch between pronominal references to launch multiple attacks in relation to multiple targets. In EXAMPLE 36, the MP invokes his identity as a historian, criticises and questions his colleague's statement through the use of *self*-referencing remarks, but assumes a collective voice when making threats against all those who desire autonomy for the Székely land<sup>62</sup>. By projecting a strong, authoritative figure and underlining his patriotic and nationalistic views, the MP might convey similar emotions to the audience. In EXAMPLE 37, *self*-referencing is used to question the morals, principles, and competence of the *out*-group, while inclusive referencing is employed to underline the *in*-group's central political values, one that might resonate positively with the future electorate.

---

<sup>62</sup> This refers to a geographical area in Romania that is mainly inhabited by Hungarian minorities.



## CHAPTER 4: PROJECTING IDENTITIES WITHIN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

### 4.1. Projecting the individual *self*

When coming into contact with modern-day Europe, one would discover countless institutions branded as *European*. Nowadays, these organisations have gradually become a shared reality for most European citizens, expanding beyond national governance and geographical delimitations. It is hard to imagine a modern society where international cooperation and communication are not perpetuated by diverse transnational coalitions that oversee shared interests for their subsequent members. Unquestionably, the European Parliament falls under this category. From the early 1950s until today, the EP's constitutive origins can be associated with a process of continuous political evolution. What started as a group that aimed to obtain economic regulations within the European territory inherently developed into a cohesive structure, establishing new coordinates for international politics. In time, the EP's attributions gradually shifted towards pressing issues that attained broader dimensions. As a result, "economic, legal and political ties have expanded and deepened" (Wodak 2009: 57).

The process of communication within the European Parliament was also subject to change. In its history, the topics extended, as members of the European Parliament nowadays approach diverse aspects of genuine interest for all member states. Romania became an EP member on January 1, 2007, with 35 representatives elected through popular vote and started to add its contributions to the parliamentary institution. The country's inclusion with the EU meant that, for the first time, Romanian representatives needed to adapt to a novel political environment and learn how to communicate efficiently when approaching matters that go beyond national interests.

This multicultural political arena also introduces new analytical frames in the study of identity formation. By all accounts, the institution's functional design involves cooperation and deliberation processes where MEPs should find common ground to fulfil shared interests, which chiefly aim at improving the European Community. In the parliament, legislative proposals and budget-setting mainly constitute a collective agenda, one that would serve the best interests of all member countries. This can lead to divergences of opinions as MEPs might assess a situation by accounting for their country's best interests, their ideological beliefs, or their respective political affiliations. As previously discussed (see subsection 1.4.2), parliamentary discourse is influenced by power relations between member states, transnational political alliances, national or European interests (van Dijk, 1995). Putting forward persuasive performances allows MEPs to highlight political agendas, take various positions in the plenum, express their personal and collective views on a topic, praise or criticise colleagues and/or different political factions.

Subsection 4.1 will divert attention towards the projection of multiple identities in statements (written and oral) and interventions that belong to Romanian delegates of the European Parliament. Following the previous chapter's outline, I will look at how political representatives project their public image perception by way of personal pronouns.

The corpus under examination is constituted of the same politicians presented in the previous chapter (during their 2007-2009 and 2009-2014 mandates) as Romanian delegates within the EP. The chapter provides examples of pronominal interplays as a discursive resource that allows MEP to invoke a plethora of identities with the intent of appraising themselves and others in the process.



As suggested by the title, subsection I ('Projecting the individual self') will account for the presence of *self*-referencing remarks employed by MEPs to come across as good politicians. A novel dimension added to the analysis is the presence of *national* and *European* identities. As newly admitted representatives, Romanian politicians often associate with a European identity, shared by all constitutive member states<sup>63</sup>. Concurrently, Romanian appointees invoke their national heritage and choose to promote the country's best interests to those of the European Union. Drawing on this, the subsection will also look at how delegates switch between identities to target specific audience members when approaching a topic from a national or a transnational perspective.

The next subsection ('Projecting collective identities') will examine how Romanian MEPs negotiate their *in-group* affiliations. These forms of inclusive referencing further expand as the politician's functional roles broaden. It can be argued that Romanian delegates will promote interests of national importance and speak on behalf of their country's constituency far more often than presenting inter-group conflicts between national parties (a common discursive aim approached in subsection 3.2). The primary purpose of the MEP is to put forward convincing arguments that will ultimately result in a positive outcome for the *in-group(s)*, or a favourable attribution for his/her core identity. To this extent, persuasion is attempted with multiple types of recipients. MEPs also address a larger audience, given that political messages should resonate with other European representatives and citizens of all countries belonging to the EP. As members of diverse European alliances, MEPs are most likely to build their identities on ideological beliefs to achieve a more substantial persuasive effect that would heed the call of

---

<sup>63</sup> For more information about the European Parliament's duties, obligations and policies, see subsection 2.2.2.

other MEPs in the process. Consequently, I will also comment on the dynamic between national and transnational identities, or more explicitly, on how speakers position themselves in relation to the European institution, the European Community, and shared European policies.

The last subsection will provide examples of *other* political members or factions projected through pronoun usage. Examining the relation between *in-groups* and *out-groups* will also account for some persuasive aims forwarded by speakers in the interest of obtaining a positive or negative depiction of the addressee. Among these, I mention advocating for common causes, questioning political practices or decision-making processes, underlining ideological beliefs, criticising, or praising the *out-group's* actions and integrity.

#### **4.1.1. Underlining political affiliation**

The analysis conducted in the previous chapter supports the claim that addressing different topics in Parliament is frequently performed through group affiliation. Unlike the Romanian Parliament, where MPs speak on behalf of their political party, the European Parliament includes diverse transnational alliances that are chiefly structured based on the members' political ideologies. Groups are also constituted on "the basis of a common goal or a shared attitude" without a "broader ideological basis" (van Dijk 2007: 33) as members are delegated to serve in various European Committees. At a macro-level, representatives in the European Parliament affiliate themselves with extensive European Alliances, mainly built upon a shared political ideology (socialists, democrats, liberals, etc.). At a micro-level, most political delegates hold personal attributions during their mandate (rapporteurs, members of Committees, foreign-relations diplomats, etc.). Furthermore, MEPs can also refer to their national identity in generic (e.g.,

Romanian politicians) or distinct ways (e.g., party affiliation, political functions, etc.) It should be noted that speaking for a national party might not achieve the same persuasive effects when MEPs intend to obtain support for other European colleagues. To this extent, group membership is often referenced through implications of an ideological nature, as the MEPs expand their political horizon to address a stronger coalition, far more influential in transnational politics. This allows the speaker to forward shared policies and gain support in the process, which further grants credibility to his/her statements (as an individual or as members of political/ideological groups). Along these lines, I will provide some examples where MEPs approach the topic of discussion from an official position and/or ideological perspective.

EXAMPLE 38: „I” as a European Social-Democrat

<p>“În calitatea mea de deputat social-democrat, consider că trebuie să depunem eforturi susținute pentru protecția mediului, a sănătății umane și animale, fără însă a compromite producția agricolă.”</p>	<p><i>As a social-democrat MEP, [I] believe that we need to make sustained efforts to protect the environment, human health, and animal welfare, without compromising agricultural production.</i></p>
<p>Written Statement (Romanian) MEP: Plumb Rovana Date: January 12, 2009 European Affiliation: PES<sup>64</sup> Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Framework for Community action to achieve a sustainable use of pesticide- Placing of plant protection products on the market (debate)</p>

Referencing political ideologies can accomplish different rhetorical functions. Diverse views may be expressed “to influence social policy and

<sup>64</sup> The European Parliament of the Party of European Socialists (PES) changed its official name to the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D) on 23 June, 2009. For more information on European Alliances, see Appendix 2

promote a cause” (van Dijk, 2006: 123). In EXAMPLE 38, talking on behalf of European Social Democrats is done to mark the group’s opinion on the sustainable use of pesticides. To emphasise a common viewpoint on the subject, the speaker makes use of attitude markers (i.e., “believe” - *consider*) and suggests a united course of action to deal with the matter, one that is drawn from the *in-group*’s political prerogatives. With limited contextual information, the targeted group can be viewed as other MEPs who align with these political views. The MEP’s call for cooperation and unity might be directed towards colleagues with comparable ideological agendas (i.e., socialists, democrats) or MEPs who share similar views on “environmental protection (*protecția mediului*)”, “human health and welfare (*sănătatea animală și umană*)”, and “agricultural production (*producția agricolă*)”. This, in turn, can potentially mobilise and convince others to strive towards achieving a mutual goal, further strengthening the speaker’s cause.

EXAMPLE 39: „I” as a European Liberal

<p>“<i>Ca liberală, trebuie să subliniez că Grupul ALDE este un grup care a susținut întotdeauna procesul de extindere, pentru că noi credem într-o Europă a tuturor membrilor ei, o Europă puternică și unită.</i>”</p>	<p><i>As a liberal, [I] must stress that the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party is a group which has always supported the enlargement process because we believe in an inclusive Europe for all its members, and a strong and united Europe.</i></p>
<p>Oral statement (Romanian) Date: January 18, 2011 MEP: NICOLAI Norica European Affiliation: ALDE Romanian Affiliation: NLP</p>	<p>Topic: Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the EC and Serbia (continuation of debate)</p>

Speakers also convey authority and competence by highlighting their ideological background. As suggested by van Dijk (2006), this serves as one

of the main strategies for positive *in-group* attribution: "When group members explain, motivate, or legitimate their (group-based) actions, they typically do so in terms of ideological beliefs" (van Dijk, 2006: 121).

As seen here, the MEP draws her view from the group with which she affirms her identity as she underlines a shared political goal (the extension and inclusion of new members within the European Union). When addressing Serbia's accession process, she advocates for a joint course of action shared by all European liberals. The speaker's position, extrapolated from her ideological affiliation, could generate a positive assessment of the *in-group*. Audience members might positively assess the ethos of the speaker through their firm advocacy towards "a strong and united Europe (*o Europă puternică și unită*)", a position drawn from her group's political priorities. In other cases, MEPs will invoke other professional roles assigned to them in the European Parliament as groups may also be constituted "of individuals or subgroups which fulfil specific positions or have special roles" (van Dijk 2007: 33).

EXAMPLE 40: „I” as a European rapporteur

<p>“<i>Ca raportor, doresc să se reducă gradul de complexitate al sistemului european al standardelor de bază și numeroasele prevederi la care trebuie să se conformeze agricultorii europeni. Sunt în favoarea unei simplificări și pentru adoptarea unor reguli care să garanteze în mod suficient siguranța alimentară europeană.</i>”</p>	<p><i>As rapporteur, [I] would like to see a reduction in the level of complexity of the European system of basic standards and the numerous provisions which European farmers must comply with. [I] am in favour of simplifying and adopting rules that will sufficiently guarantee food safety in the EU.</i></p>
---	---

Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: March 9, 2009 MEP: PETRE Maria European Affiliation: EPP-ED Romanian Affiliation: DLP	Topic: Ensuring food quality: harmonisation or mutual recognition of standards (short presentation)
---	---

In parliamentary discourse, an MEP can take an official position conferred by his/her duties as a *rapporteur*<sup>65</sup>. This adds legitimacy to the speaker's statement when addressing subjects undertaken in an official capacity. In EXAMPLE 40, the MEP speaks from this angle to present some conclusions drawn from her report. From a rhetorical standpoint, the MEP can purposely go *on the record* to conceivably claim knowledge about the subject in question and potentially augment his/her positive image perception. Depending on the report's quality, this can also evoke positive reactions from other MEPs and add credibility to his/her statement. It is not easy to assume that all identities are projected with intentionality as the speaker's group affiliation might be performed, to some extent, involuntarily<sup>66</sup>. On the other hand, by specifying a political past and claiming expertise on a topic, the

---

<sup>65</sup> “*Rapporteurs* are elected by fellow MEPs when one of Parliament's committees is assigned to draft a report on a legislative proposal, another document from the European Commission, or a particular subject. The *rapporteur*'s critical task is to analyse the project, consult with specialists in the particular field and with those who could be affected, discuss with other members within the committee and recommend the political "line" to be followed. (taken from the EP website: <https://tinyurl.com/luofhqxe>).

<sup>66</sup> If we regard parliamentary discourse as a "community of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991), it can be argued that, when faced with a new political environment, Romanian delegates will first have to „learn“ how to communicate efficiently within the institution. Along these lines, adapting to the rules and practices of the European Union and using rhetorical devices might represent an ongoing process of adaptability. Arguably, some of these projected identities do not serve extra-linguistic aims and function chiefly in a referential capacity. For more information, see subsection 1.2.7.

MEP can persuade both colleagues and various audience members of her sound judgment and political prowess.

EXAMPLE 41: „I” as a delegate of a European Committee

<p>“În calitate de membru al Comisiei pentru cultură și educație a Parlamentului European trag un semnal de alarmă pentru a se curma această teribilă nedreptate care poate avea consecințe sociale considerabile.”</p>	<p><i>As a Member of the European Parliament’s Committee on Culture and Education, [I] am sounding the alarm to put an end to this terrible injustice which can have considerable social consequences.</i></p>
<p>Intervention (Romanian) Date: June 6, 2011 MEP: TUDOR Corneliu Vadim European Affiliation: NI Romanian Affiliation: GRP</p>	<p>Topic: One-minute interventions on important political issues</p>

Speakers can also make requests from other professional attributions as parliamentarians. In this intervention, the MEP talks about the status of a Romanian football club, Politehnica Timișoara, and declares that the team has been unjustly relegated due to systemic corruption in Romanian football. The MEP presents a regional problem to the EP's plenum by highlighting his professional role as a Culture and Education Committee member. One of the main prerogatives of this respective committee is to discuss "cultural aspects of the Union such as dissemination of culture, cultural heritage, cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as education, audiovisual policy, information, and media policy" (taken from the EP website<sup>67</sup>). From this perspective, the speaker urges other European colleagues to examine this decision, drawing

<sup>67</sup> Taken from: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/cult/about>, accessed on 07.05.2021

them closer to his cause. Positioning himself favourably with a small constituency (arguably the fans of the team and the citizens of Timișoara) is accomplished through an appeal to pathos as this action is further described in affective terms as a "terrible injustice" (*teribilă nedreptate*)" of "considerable social consequences (*consecințe sociale considerabile*)".

#### 4.1.2. Overseeing national interests

The Romanian MEPs faced a vital challenge when speaking for the first time in a new political setting. Along with the current issues on the institution's agenda, the country's representatives also need to examine pressing and fundamental matters of national and transnational significance. Inherently, this situation leads to a more diverse use of pronominal identities as speakers might approach subjects that oversee both the country and the European community's best interests.

The examples selected for this subsection are some of the first speeches delivered by Romanian delegates in the European Parliament as part of the institution's 6th legislature (2007-2009). The speakers approach the topic by projecting national and European identities to affirm or strengthen national political views, scrutinise European policies, or request support from other member states. They do so by invoking shared ideological grounds.

EXAMPLE 42: „I” as a spokesperson for a national ideological group.

“As *Head of the Romanian Socialist Delegation*, I would like to explain the Delegation's negative vote on the Resolution on Tibet. In fact, the resolution is not defending human rights and *we* cannot accept that human rights fall hostage to geopolitical agendas and interests. It is lenient with respect to human rights and hypocritical because it is forceful in proposing political solutions that do not take into account the realities in China.

Through this resolution, the EU is losing its credibility, promoting in reality,



behind its statements of support for human rights, a dangerous agenda of "political autonomy" and independence for Tibet, in clear contradiction to the "One-China policy" principle. At the same time, the EU is losing its encouraging influence on China in the process of opening.”

<p>Written Statement (English)  Date: April 10, 2008  MEP: SEVERIN Adrian  European Affiliation: PES  Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Motions for resolutions: the situation in Tibet</p>
---	---

In a written statement, the speaker indicates his professional capacity as the head of the Romanian Socialist Delegation. Through this function, he defines the group's opinion on a resolution that addressed Tibet's sovereignty claim. By shifting to an inclusive 'we', the MEP speaks on behalf of the *in-group* and takes a position against the European Union's proposed course of action. Through a collective view, moral qualities are correlated with the national political group, such as prioritising the interest of defending human rights instead of overseeing "political agendas and interests". Furthermore, the values attributed to the *in-group* are contrastively associated with the EU's decision to defend Tibet's claim for independence.

*Self-referencing* enables the speaker to forward an assessment of the group on dealing with an important matter, reiterated through an inclusive remark ("*we cannot accept*"), which marks the addresser's point of view. Supervising the interests of Socialist delegates might bolster both the speaker and the group's ethos as the MEP advances different arguments on how these actions might have negative repercussions on the EU's foreign policies. These are projected as a negative outcome for the European Union marked linguistically throughout the intervention in affective terms. Consequently, the EU is criticised for "losing its credibility", "promoting political

autonomy", and "losing its encouraging influence on China". While a negative classification of the *out-group* is often done to dismantle and weaken a discursive target's policies, the MEP's statement can also be viewed as a warning directed towards other members of the institution. The speaker cautions them to reconsider their outlook on Tibet's status, inferring that their current policies will have inopportune consequences on all member states. From a rhetorical standpoint, the MEP underlines his political influence and authority and chooses to defend the European community's future by making a case against an alleged harmful direction facilitated by the institution's political views.

EXAMPLE 43: „I” as a Romanian MEP

<p>“<i>Ca deputat român, împreună cu colegii mei, susținem propunerile pe care raportorul nostru le-a făcut și vom vota în favoarea lor.</i></p> <p><i>Famiiliile din orașele mici și din zonele rurale sunt cele mai afectate de sărăcie. În contextul crizei, extinderea programului alimentar și finanțarea sa din bugetul comunitar sunt pe deplin justificate.”</i></p>	<p><i>As a Romanian MEP, my colleagues and [I] support the proposals made by our rapporteur and we are going to vote in favour of them.</i></p> <p><i>Families from small towns and rural areas are the hardest hit by poverty. Within the context of the current crisis, extending the food programme and financing it from the Community budget are fully justified.</i></p>
<p>Oral Statement (Romanian)</p> <p>Date: 26 martie 2009</p> <p>MEP: PETRE Maria</p> <p>European Affiliation: EPP-ED</p> <p>Romanian Affiliation: DLP</p>	<p>Topic: Food distribution to the most deprived persons in the Community (debate)</p>

A similar national affiliation is found in the example above. The MEP speaks on behalf of all Romanian representatives in the EP to imply a unified front

for a shared political goal. The subject of the statement deals with a food program proposal, designed to aid impoverished communities. While the MEP's take on the subject is made through a collective reference („I” + „my colleagues” = „we”), it can be argued that the assumed identity does not offer an explicit specification of the *in-group*. To this extent, the noun "colleagues (*colegi*)” might be seen as a generic form of referencing. This can refer to national deputies in the EP or, by extension, to all parliament members. In both cases, switching to group membership is done in support of a pressing national interest. Speaking "as a Romanian MEP (*ca deputat român*)” is used strategically and is apparently directed to local families who suffer from poverty and could benefit from the budgeting on the initiated proposal. By extrapolation, the targeted audience can expand to other countries (and subsequent members) with related socio-economic problems.

EXAMPLE 44: „I” as a Romanian representative

<p>“<i>Ca reprezentantă a unei țări cu o calitate slabă a sistemului medical, reflectată într-o stare îngrijorătoare de sănătate a populației, țin să subliniez importanța transpunerii în practică a Cartei, dar și necesitatea manifestării unei mai mari solidarități la nivelul Uniunii Europene, pentru a oferi tuturor cetățenilor săi o asistență medicală decentă.</i>”</p>	<p><i>As a representative of a country with a poor quality medical system, reflected in a concerning state of health of the population, [I] would like to emphasise the importance of implementing the Charter, but also the need to show greater solidarity within the European Union in order to provide decent medical care to all its citizens.</i></p>
<p>Written Statement (Romanian) Date: October 9, 2008 MEP: CREȚU Corina</p>	<p>Topic: Together for Health: A Strategic Approach for the EU 2008-2013 (Debate)</p>

European Affiliation: PES	
Romanian Affiliation: SDP	

Projecting collective identities is not always done explicitly. Context plays a critical role in understanding how and why MEPs choose to affiliate with various groups. Here, national interests are conveyed through a form of referencing meant to draw awareness to a significant social problem: “As a representative of a country *with a poor quality medical system*” (“Ca reprezentantă a unei țări *cu o calitate slabă a sistemului medical*”). The written statement was submitted during a debate on the reform of healthcare for all European Union citizens. In this context, the MEP approaches the faults of the Romanian medical system from the angle of someone who understands its shortcomings and defects. Taking this position allows her to convey a feeling of responsibility, targeting other MEPs in defending the essential freedoms of EU citizens (as a prerogative included in the European Charter).

Appropriating a national identity through a seemingly subjective approach can further evoke emphatic reactions from a national constituency. The MEP might come across as someone who oversees the interest of the country’s citizens for having a better, more efficient medical system as a newly admitted country in the European Union.

EXAMPLE 45: „I” as a European representative in parliament

“ <i>As a European, I would not allow one of the Member States – say, Romania – to become a ghetto for the Roma or a European Union Siberia where undesirable European citizens are deported. I can understand that the extreme right is xenophobic, but I cannot understand when the democrats resort to xenophobic and racist speech.</i> ”
---

Oral Statement (English) Date: November 12, 2007 MEP: SEVERIN Adrian European Affiliation: PES Romanian Affiliation: SDP	Topic: On the right to move and reside freely within the territory of Member States for citizens of the Union and their family members (debate)
--	---

In EXAMPLE 45, three *self*-referencing remarks are employed to underline the delegate's opinion on European immigration policies discussed in the plenum. Speaking as a European representative can achieve several discursive aims. First, the MEP criticises the deportation proposal debated in Parliament and lists Romania as an example of countries affected by this policy. To further restate his position, he suggests that Romania is a potential victim of the EP's actions. To this extent, the speaker advances a negative foresight for the country's future, should the act be passed. Appealing to the receivers' emotion can be deduced from the description of Romania's future status, figuratively described in affective terms as "a ghetto for the Roma" or a "European Union Siberia". To convey that his nationalist view does not influence his position, the speaker appropriates the identity of a European spokesperson and lists his country as an example that could also refer to countries facing a similar predicament.

The MP uses two explicit *I*-references to launch an attack against the European Democratic Alliance, arguing that their proposal is an example of "xenophobic" and "racist speech". While separating from his national affiliation (through the identity conferred by the first pronoun, singular), the speaker's discursive target shifts to his European colleagues when presenting a troublesome outcome. This can be perceived as an appeal to ethos as the MEP presents two conflicting views, i.e., implying that the *in-group's* position is the proper course of action while the *other's* view on the topic is

deemed discriminative against some European member states with less political sway in Parliament.

Aside from ideological and professional identities, MEPs also direct their discursive aims towards members of the multilayered audience. In the next subsection, I will look at how politicians tackle the topic of minority groups within the European Parliament.

#### **4.1.3. Representing ethnic, religious, and regional out-groups**

Since its establishment, one of the main duties of the European Parliament was to preserve the social, political, and economic prosperity of its members, to offer support for adhering countries and to establish an institution that would defend the freedoms of both EU and non-EU citizens.

Human rights are among the main priorities of the European Parliament. Parliament is a key actor in the fight for democracy, freedom of speech, fair elections, and the rights of the oppressed.<sup>68</sup>

The existence of a group of nations that can meet regularly and tackle ongoing issues of general interest is frequently put under public scrutiny when topics of a sensitive nature are approached differently by MEPs.

An important subject treated in parliamentary sittings relates to how member states address matters that oversee the rights of minority groups. In this plethora of political backgrounds, ideologies, and nationalities, finding common ground or reaching a consensus on how to tackle the inclusion and social integration of ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities represents a sensitive matter that often leads to political clashes. Research in the field of CDA (Tekin 2010, Wodak 2014, Dervin 2015), supports the claim that minorities are often portrayed as an *out-group* and compared to a power group (in this case, the European Parliament). Whether this class

---

<sup>68</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/232cjhdd>, accessed on 07.05.2021

differentiation is achieved intentionally or unintentionally by speakers, the two groups are frequently described unequally in terms of power balance.

As a newly admitted state, Romania was subject to sustained public backlash from the European community. In many instances, the country's image suffered from being associated with criminal enterprises operating in Europe. When discussing the problems of social integration of the Roma community, Romania was often mentioned in conjunction with the ethnic group. By extension, it can be argued that these associations generated a public sentiment that saw Romania (and other member states such as Bulgaria and Poland) as an unwelcome addition to the European Union.

In this broad context, Romanian MEPs also choose to represent ethnic, religious, and regional minorities and discuss pressing political topics as concerned representatives of discriminated communities.

EXAMPLE 46: Speaking on behalf of ethnic minorities

<p>“At the same time, [I] would like to point out that, while the EU speaks out against discrimination and human rights violations in cases like Tibet, it is clear to <i>all of us</i> that even within the European Union, there are ethnic and linguistic minorities which are very often targets of cultural and linguistic assimilation. The practice of some nation states in the EU is an aspect that should be seriously reviewed and reconsidered.</p> <p><i>The Hungarians in Romania</i>, the people [I] represent, are such a case.”</p>	
<p>Oral Statement (English)          MEP: Csaba Sógor          Date: March 25, 2009          European Affiliation: EPP-ED          Romanian Affiliation: DAOH</p>	<p>Topic: European conscience and totalitarianism (debate)</p>

Protecting the interests of a minority group can help speakers achieve different persuasive effects. *Self*-referencing remarks allow them to come

across as multilayered individuals whose duties and responsibilities extend beyond their immediate professional obligations. From this angle, he/she can depict the addressee in multiple ways and instil different sentiments in the receivers' minds.

As seen here, most MEPs employ diverse identities to potentially obtain the support of those sympathetic to their cause. The speaker questions the EP's duty of upholding human rights and mentions its shortcomings in providing equal treatment for all minority groups. *Self*-referencing allows the MEP to claim that the process of fighting for social equality, done by the institution, is impartial and does not take into account the needs of all ethnic minorities. The MEP's position is reiterated by the generic use of the possessive 'us' (deemed as common knowledge: "*it is clear to all of us*"), further indicating that some EU member states do not apply the same principles of socio-cultural inclusion for different "ethnic and linguistic minorities". Along these lines, the MEP speaks on behalf of Romania's Hungarian minorities, mentioned explicitly in the last paragraph.

Through *self*-referencing remarks, the Romanian delegate displays his viewpoint on how ethnic minorities are being discriminated against and abused in constitutive countries of the EU. Speaking about the systemic abuses of the *out-group* is made from a seemingly subjective perspective.

EXAMPLE 47: Speaking on behalf of ethnic minorities

<p>„<i>Eu</i> constat că în lumea întreagă se lucrează în continuare cu prejudecăți rasiale, dar și cu imagini și cuvinte false despre țigani. Există unii care le spun romi și îi urăsc, iar <i>eu</i> le spun țigani și îi iubesc.</p>	<p><i>I</i> have found that where gypsies are concerned, racial prejudice, as well as false stereotypes and untrue accounts, still abound all over the world. There are people who call them Roma and hate them, while <i>I</i> call them gypsies and <i>I</i> love them.</p>
--	---



<p>Oral Statement (Romanian)</p> <p>Date: September 7, 2010</p> <p>MEP: TUDOR Corneliu Vadim</p> <p>European Affiliation: NI</p> <p>Romanian Affiliation: GRP</p>	<p>Topic: The status of the Roma population in Europe (Debate)</p>
---	--

A comparable view is presented in the next example during a one-minute intervention. Here, the invoked ethnic minority is represented by the Romanian Roma population and their social inclusion within neighbouring countries of the EU. The MEP's use of attitude markers registers his view on the matter. As such, he comments on the terminology adopted to define the ethnic minority and argues that the appropriation of the term 'Roma' does not, in any way, diminish the discriminative view of this ethnic group. He further adds that the acknowledgement of this minority (implicitly done by other member states) is laden with "racial prejudice (*prejudecăți rasiale*)". According to him, this is partly facilitated by general misconceptions about the Roma culture, described suggestively as false "stereotypes and untrue accounts (*imagini și cuvinte false*)".

Through an explicit *self*-referencing remark, the MEP presents his relationship with the minority group in superlative terms while criticising those who use the politically-correct terminology despite having a biased view of the group: "There are people who call them Roma and hate them, while *I* call them gypsies *and love them*." (Există unii care le spun romi și îi urăsc, iar *eu* le spun țigani și îi iubesc.)" This statement further reiterates the MEP's personal take on the subject.

As seen in EXAMPLES 9 and 10, implicit and explicit *I*-references are used to mark the speakers' relation with ethnic groups through emotionally charged discursive instances. From a rhetorical perspective, talking on behalf of a discriminated collectivity can be seen as an appeal to pathos, marked

linguistically through attitude markers. Conveying personal involvement when describing the *out-group* can successfully put hearers "into a certain frame of mind" (Aristotle, 1928: xxxii) and constitute persuasive means which add to the perlocutionary effect of the message. Similarly, the position taken against an *out-group* can also contribute to the MEPs' ethos, allowing them to obtain a positive-image perception by speaking against discrimination, a sensitive topic in modern politics. This is particularly evident in EXAMPLE 10, as the Roma community's public image is defended by the leader of the Greater Romanian Party, a political figure well-known for his patriotic and nationalist discourse (see Săftoiu, 2015). Despite this, the MEP chooses to speak in a representative capacity for a minority group and describes this relation in affective terms. Shifting his national political agenda to comment on the inclusion process of ethnic minorities can be regarded as the MEP's desire of going beyond the policies and ideology promoted by his political party to represent communities which fall victim to biased attitudes within the European community.

EXAMPLE 48: Speaking on behalf of ethnic and religious minorities

<p>“A hagyományos nemzeti kisebbségek érdekében többször is felszólaltam. Voltak kollegáim, akik nacionalizmussal vádoltak. Fura, hogy a többség sokszor azzal próbálja palástolni félelmét, kisebbségellenességét, hogy a kisebbségeket illeti a nacionalizmus, a gyűlöletbeszéd vádjával. Remélem nem fogja zavarni kollegáimat, hogy most egy vallási kisebbség érdekében</p>	<p>[I] have intervened, on several occasions, on behalf of traditional national minorities. Some of my colleagues have accused me of nationalism. It is strange how most often they try to mask their anti-minority fears and feeling through the accusations of nationalism or insulting expressions against minorities. <i>I</i> hope my colleagues are not upset if [I] will speak now behalf of a religious minority.</p>
--	---

szólalok meg.”	
Intervention (Hungarian) MEP: Csaba Sógor Date: March 9, 2009 European Affiliation: EPP-ED Romanian Affiliation: DAOH	Topic: One-minute interventions on important political issues

In other cases, the focus can shift towards other minority groups. Initially, the MEP reiterates his political agenda as a spokesperson that supervises the interests of traditional national minorities: “[I] have intervened, on several occasions, on behalf of traditional national minorities (A hagyományos nemzeti kisebbségek érdekében többször is felszóltam)”.

Although speaking in a representative capacity for Romania, the MEP’s intervention is delivered in Hungarian. This might indicate the delegate’s targeted audience or be perceived as a response directed towards other MEPs who accused the speaker of adopting a nationalist discourse. Inferring that Romanian policies are against minority groups, the language choice reinforces his position as a spokesperson for the ethnic group. It can be argued that the MEP takes a stand against alleged abuses of the Romanian government towards ethnic and religious minorities and targets only a specific community from his country.

The MEP addresses a subject of national interest in front of the Parliamentary plenum and discusses a piece of legislation (advanced in the Romanian Parliament) that would reclaim the land and properties of the Greek Catholic Church in Romania. Criticism is directed towards an ambiguously-defined group (“*other colleagues*”) and their allegedly abusive actions against minorities. Here, the *out-group* most likely represents the Romanian government and policies taken against the speaker’s *in-group(s)*. The message can also target other Parliament members as the intervention is

done to show the Romanian government's unruly and discriminative actions that do not align with the European Parliament's policies.

EXAMPLE 49: Speaking on behalf of a regional group

<p>“<i>Personal, am o sensibilitate sporită atunci când discutăm subiectul Balcanii de Vest și în special problemele Albaniei și progresele care îi permit acesteia să elimine vizele pentru cetățenii care călătoresc în spațiul UE. O parte a familiei mele își are rădăcinile în Albania.</i>”</p>	<p>Personally, [I] am very sensitive when we discuss the subject of the Western Balkans and in particular, the problem of Albania and the progress that allows it to eliminate visas for citizens traveling in the EU. A part of <i>my family</i> has its roots in Albania.</p>
<p>Written Statement (Romanian) Date: October 6, 2010 MEP: BECALI George European Affiliation: NI Romanian Affiliation: GRP</p>	<p>Topic: On countries whose nationals must be in possession of a visa for crossing the outside borders of the Member States.</p>

The MEP chooses to represent regional minorities and oversee their freedoms in the European Parliament when discussing the right of Albanian citizens to enter the territory of member states without a visa. Personal involvement on the topic is suggested by way of attitude markers: “Personally, [I] am very sensitive when we discuss the topic of the Western Balkans (Personal, am o sensibilitate sporită când discutăm despre Balcanii de Vest)”. The statement can be perceived as a personal view on the subject. Establishing kinship with the regional minority group is done through an explicit reference to the speaker's ancestral Albanian roots: “a part of my family has its roots in Albania (o parte a familiei mele își are rădăcinile în Albania)”. Adding new dimensions to his image, the Romanian delegate

might come across as personally invested in this topic. Taking an empathic position with the regional minority can be regarded as a strategic means of obtaining a positive ethos with the community members by expressing solidarity for their cause while invoking his Albanian heritage.

#### 4.1.4. Showcasing other professional/social identities

As previously discussed, pronouns represent an exponential discursive resource that allows political actors to switch between roles and adapt to the topical potential of parliamentary sittings. Undoubtedly, projecting identities that expand beyond the roles and obligations of the political representative (his duties, attributions, political affiliation, etc.) can add new dimensions to the speaker's public image perception. Here, I will look at other identities put forward by MEPs and their potential rhetorical effects.

EXAMPLE 50: „I” as a lawyer

<p>“<i>Sunt, de asemenea, convins de importanța deosebită a rezoluției privind actul autentic. În calitate de jurist provenit din România nu pot să nu subliniez faptul că beneficiile aduse de actul autentic și de justiția grațioasă, necontencioasă sunt foarte mari. Iar cea mai importantă formă în care se manifestă justiția preventivă este, în România, ca și în țările europene de drept civil, actul autentic notarial.</i>”</p>	<p>[I] am also convinced of the particular importance of the resolution on the authentic instrument. <i>As a lawyer from Romania, [I] cannot help but emphasise the fact that the benefits brought by the authentic instrument and by the graceful, non-contentious justice system are great. And the most important form in which preventive justice is manifested, both in Romania, and in other European civil law countries, is the notarial authentic instrument.</i></p>
<p>Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: 18 decembrie 2008 MEP: BUȘOI Cristian Silviu</p>	<p>Topic: Authentic European Act- Justice- Legal protection of adults: cross-border implications.</p>

European Affiliation: ALDE	
Romanian Affiliation: NLP	

From a pragmatic point of view, pronouns can be classified as deictic and referential linguistic units (Bramley 2001), which provide a general understanding of who is communicating and to whom the message is addressed. As discussed in the analysis, pronouns can also attain extra-linguistic dimensions as they can introduce different identities used by the MEP to forward their viewpoint. In this sense, membership categories can be regarded as “social indexicals” (Sacks 1995).

The rhetorical effects of these invoked identities are often contextually-dependent. Social indexicals can add legitimacy to one’s claims and offer additional information about the subject and his group affiliations. From this angle, the MEP can mention other professional roles that add to his degree of knowledge and further solidify his/her position on a particular topic.

In the example above, the debate focuses on passing a legislative proposal that aims to present a uniform European accountancy framework to simplify and harmonise accounting rules within the internal market of European member states.<sup>69</sup> The legitimisation of the speaker’s arguments is given by his invoked identity as a lawyer. As such, the MEP claims knowledge on a particular topic and advances his expertise to further solidify his arguments.

EXAMPLE 51: „I” as a businessman

“ <i>Ca om de afaceri știu și recunosc importanța auditului, susțin ideea că între auditori și instituțiile de supraveghere financiară e nevoie de</i>	<i>As a businessman, [I] am aware of and acknowledge the importance of the audit process. [I] support the idea that better communication is required between</i>
--	--

<sup>69</sup> Taken from: <https://tinyurl.com/r7fjhnx8>, accessed on 07.05.2021.

o mai bună comunicare și că e nevoie de o piață europeană a entităților de credit.”	auditors and the financial supervisory institutions and that a European market for credit entities is needed.
Written Statement (Romanian) Date: September 13, 2011 MEP: BECALI George European Affiliation: NI Romanian Affiliation: GRP	Topic: Explanations of vote

Providing explanations to justify his vote, the MEP uses his identity as a businessman to reiterate his view on the subject. The Romanian delegate speaks in favour of better cooperation between auditors and the institutions that oversee financial supervision from the position of someone who personally had to deal with these aspects. Consequently, the legitimacy of his claims is achieved by way of emphasising aspects of his professional background, made relevant by the topic discussed in Parliament.

EXAMPLE 52: „I” as a person of culture

“În virtutea acestui excelent raport al Comisiei pentru cultură și educație, <i>ca istoric și scriitor român, eu propun ca marcă a patrimoniului european un loc excepțional, unic în lume – Peștera Sf. Andrei, situată aproape de vărsarea Dunării în Marea Neagră.</i> “	Given this excellent report from the Committee on Culture and Education, <i>as a Romanian historian and writer, I would like to propose for a European Heritage Label an exceptional site which is unique in the world – St Andrew’s Cave, located close to the place where the Danube flows into the Black Sea.</i>
Intervention (Romanian) Date: December 16, 2010 MEP: TUDOR Corneliu Vadim European Affiliation: NI Romanian Affiliation: GRP	Topic: European Heritage Label (de

Drawing from Sack's (1995) classification of membership categories, it can be argued that our social understanding of the world is often done through the acknowledgement and affiliation with various groups. The same can be said about parliamentary discourse as different membership categories "can be used and heard commonsensically as „going together“" (Hester and Eglin 1997: 4).

Here, *self*-referencing remarks allow the MEP to augment his reliability as a spokesperson when proposing a Romanian landmark for a European Heritage Label. By mentioning his professional qualifications as a historian and writer, he projects the image of an individual connected to Romanian cultural values and past, further adding to the intervention's perlocutionary effect.

If human beings make sense of the world through inclusive and exclusive classifications of collectivities, it is essential to mention that a speaker's discursive identities can introduce general categories as much as they can bring into question less generic affiliations. In many cases, the two are interdependent. At a macro-level, invoked identities fall under the category of *hypernyms*, a "superordinate label that applies to many members of the set".<sup>70</sup> Take, for example, the word '*politicians*'. In this case, a local councilperson, a country's President, or a foreign diplomat are part of the same broad category. These subordinate sub-sets are defined as *hyponyms*. From a rhetorical standpoint, MEPs can use hyponyms to evoke emotive reactions from the broader group. If assuming other professional qualifications is predominantly done as a form of legitimacy, *hypernyms* can also be invoked for pathetic effect.

---

<sup>70</sup> Taken from: <https://tinyurl.com/bww8248w> accessed on 07.05.2021.



EXAMPLE 53: Pronominal Interplays: „I” as an MEP/“I” as a mother

<p>“<i>Cred</i> că prezența ambilor părinți este crucială pentru nou-născut în primele săptămâni de viață ale acestuia și <i>cred</i> în egală măsură că maternitatea și paternitatea sunt un fapt de viață, de aceea <i>sunt</i> de acord cu tratarea acestui lucru așa cum el merită și nu ca pe o problemă sau, eventual, un inconvenient. <i>Ca deputat român și ca mamă a doi copii născuți în regimul comunist</i>, din păcate, prin care a trecut țara mea, vă mărturisesc că <i>am</i> motive suplimentare să <i>susțin</i> măsurile propuse.”</p>	<p>[I] believe that having both parents at home is vital for newborns during their first weeks of life. [I] also think that motherhood and fatherhood are a fact of life, which is why [I] agree with treating this matter in the way it deserves and not like a problem or possibly an inconvenience. <i>As a Romanian MEP and mother of two</i> children born under the Communist regime which my country lived through, <i>I</i> can assure you that <i>I</i> have additional reasons for supporting the measures proposed.</p>
<p>Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: 4 mai 2009 MEP: PETRE Maria European Affiliation: EPP-ED Romanian Affiliation: DLP</p>	<p>Topic: Equal treatment between men and women engaged in a self-employed capacity- Pregnant Workers (debate)</p>

Through subjectivity, the MEP can advance her perspective on what constitutes an ideal environment for raising babies. The speaker's viewpoint is introduced by way of self-referencing remarks in conjunction with attitude verbs: "I believe (eu cred)", "I think (eu cred)", "I agree (sunt de acord)". Using explicit references, the MEP takes an official position by projecting her group identity as a Romanian delegate and potentially evoking emotional reactions from the message's receivers by speaking as a mother. Introducing the identity of a maternal figure can be regarded, in this sense, as a hyponym

that is connected to the broad category of, "family". Speaking from this perspective can appeal to other colleagues or members of the audience who are part of the same membership category (Sacks, 1995).

To add to the pathetic effect of her statement, the MEP adds information from her personal life, arguing that she is the mother of two children, raised under communist rule. When approaching a topic such as equal pay for men and women, mentioning life under the socio-economic and cultural constraints of Communism can put audience members (who experienced this regime) in a reflective frame of mind. In other words, this approach can function as an emotional trigger and can induce a feeling of sympathy and understanding for the speaker's personal investment in the subject.

#### **4.1.5. Establishing rapport with the European Community**

There are cases when Romanian delegates use *self*-referencing remarks to directly address their peers in the plenum. In many cases, this might constitute a formal way of interacting in parliament. Often, speakers will thank the president of the sitting after being introduced. In oral statements, during debates, MEPs can also comment on the speeches delivered beforehand and express their opinion about the message conveyed by other delegates. They could reinforce it, advance a neutral stance, or reject it. Regardless of the MEP's viewpoint, context and topic allow the speakers to align or misalign with their colleagues' take on a particular subject.

On the one hand, establishing bonds with others might be achieved by presenting a united front, which grants the speaker a more persuasive outlook. On the other hand, misalignment is often indicative of attack strategies, which will later be discussed in the chapter's last subsection. By all accounts, establishing rapport with the European community can be

facilitated in a variety of ways. One such instance refers to how MEPs use attitude markers to project a positive image of the *in-group*.

EXAMPLE 54: Praising the European Community

<p>“Doamnă Președinte, domnilor președinți, <i>sunt onorat</i> să fiu primul parlamentar român care vorbește în plenul Parlamentului European, și <i>profît</i> de această ocazie să mulțumesc instituțiilor europene pentru sprijinul acordat țării mele în drumul către Uniunea Europeană.”</p>	<p>Madam President, esteemed chairpersons, <i>[I]</i> am honoured to be the first Romanian parliamentarian to speak in the plenary of the European Parliament, and <i>[I]</i> take this opportunity to thank the European institutions for their support of my country on the road to the European Union.</p>
<p>Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: January 17, 2007 MEP: MARINESCU Marian-Jean European Affiliation: EPP-ED Romanian Affiliation: DP</p>	<p>Topic: The programme of the German Presidency (debate)</p>

The MEP is the first Romanian delegate to speak in Parliament, following the country’s accession. Here, the targeted audience is most likely the presidents of the European Union, mentioned explicitly at the beginning of the statement. The MEP’s perspective is conveyed through an attitude marker (“*[I]* am honoured” – “*sunt onorat*”), which further elicits a feeling of gratitude directed towards members of high official ranking within European institutions. *Self*-referencing remarks, introduced by a grammatically inferred *I*-reference, evoke a sentiment of appreciation for the efforts made to facilitate Romania’s inclusion within the European Union. Acknowledging and praising the actions of the EU’s leaders represents the first attitude put forward by a Romanian MEP about the political institution in question. The speaker’s statement can *set the scene* for future relations between the groups

mentioned above, as it evokes a general feeling of cooperation towards the European coalition.

EXAMPLE 55: Appealing to the collective judgment of other MEPs

<p>“De aceea <i>fac</i> apel public la d-voastră, domnilor președinți, ca în tot ceea ce veți întreprinde pentru soluționarea directă, imediată și eficientă a actualei crize economice și financiare, să acționați la vedere față de opinia publică europeană în așa fel încât cetățenii să se poată simți protejați de această Uniune Europeană creată tocmai în sensul construcției unui cadru de protecție în cazuri de extremă urgență.</p> <p>Dacă nu <i>vom</i> reuși să consolidăm acum încrederea și solidaritatea europeană, există pericolul ca tot ceea ce s-a consolidat greu timp de 50 de ani, va dispărea într-o singură zi.”</p>	<p>That is why <i>[I]</i> call on you, esteemed chairpersons, to act transparently in what concerns the European public opinion in all that you undertake for the direct, immediate, and effective resolution of the economic and financial crisis, so that citizens can feel protected by this European Union created precisely for the purpose of building a protection framework in cases of extreme emergency.</p> <p>If <i>[we]</i> fail to strengthen European trust and solidarity now, there is a risk that everything that has been difficult to consolidate for 50 years, will disappear in one day.</p>
<p>Written Statement (Romanian)  Date: October 8, 2008  MEP: FILIP Petru  European Affiliation: EPP-ED  Romanian Affiliation: DLP</p>	<p>Topic: Preparation of the European Council, including the state of the global financial system (continuation of debate)</p>

In the late 2000s, Europe was facing an economic downturn that affected most of its member states. Consequently, this became a pressing political issue discussed in both national and European parliaments. The following

written statement addresses the topic of the global economic crisis. Like in the previous example, the MEP approaches a matter of great interest for all its member states.

The delegate argues that the European Union needs to deal with this problem in a public and transparent way and that this, in turn, will positively resonate with European citizens. The statement is written from an apparently personal viewpoint, conveyed by the first-person pronoun, „I”. The MEP’s discursive targets are the presidents of the European Union, who are asked to find solutions and means to the recession. A collective appeal to ethos can be derived from the MEP’s statement, as he underlines the necessity of conducting political affairs in the interest of the European community.

The MEP argues that all actions undertaken by the transnational institution should be done publicly and should instil a sentiment of protection and trust all European citizens in the process: "so that citizens can feel protected by this European Union (astfel încât cetățenii să se poată simți protejați de această Uniune Europeană)". He also suggests that if this course of action is not met, then the EU citizens will gradually lose faith in the institution's actions. He suggests that the prerequisite of a good functioning EP is based on a trust system ingrained within the constituency, which can be lost if adequate measures are not taken. In this regard, the speaker is able to negotiate his public image as a political figure preoccupied with the interests of those that he represents. His message can be viewed, from a rhetorical perspective, as the „voice of reason”, as the MEPs comes across as a problem-solver, one that has the solution for putting an end to a worldwide economic crisis.

The MEP also advances a warning directed towards his colleagues and argues that the European institution was built through mutual trust and solidarity. From his perspective, this represents the only way that the

community will continue to exist: "If [*we*] fail to strengthen European trust and solidarity now, there is a risk that everything that has been difficult to consolidate for 50 years, will disappear in one day. (Dacă *nu vom reuși* să consolidăm acum încrederea și solidaritatea europeană, există pericolul ca tot ceea ce s-a consolidat greu timp de 50 de ani, va dispărea într-o singură zi.)"

Establishing rapport with the European community is done by putting forward a logical process of reasoning. Although he does not bring factual evidence to support his claim (that would further constitute an appeal to logos), the Romanian delegate invokes a feeling of responsibility by appealing to the collective judgment of his peers. The argument put forward can be seen as fallacious as it encompasses a hasty generalisation unsubstantiated by facts. Lastly, MEPs can appeal to their colleagues' pathos and evoke a sentiment of fear by bringing into question a pressing issue in parliament.

EXAMPLE 56: „I” as an MEP from a former communist country

<p>“I am afraid that the Irish „no” will encourage rather than discourage existing tendencies to renationalise some common policies by prolonging the juridical vacuum the EU finds itself in since the rejection of the constitutional treaty. I would conclude by saying that, <i>as an MEP from a former Communist country</i> which made great efforts to be admitted to the Union, I would hate to see communism living longer than the European Union.”</p>	
<p>Intervention (English)  Date: June 18, 2008  MEP: PASCU Ioan Mircea  European Affiliation: PES  Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Preparation of the European Council, including the state of the global financial system (continuation of debate)</p>

To provide context, the speaker's intervention questions Ireland's decision of not ratifying a proposal for an EU constitution. On 29 October 2004,

delegates from 25 countries had signed the treaty. Following France's and the Netherland's decisions of rejecting the document, the treaty did not become a European piece of legislature. In 2008, Ireland took a similar position against the legislative act.

Here, the MEP underlines the importance of having a transnational European act that would safeguard the values of democracy. By accounting for the context, it can be argued that the primary targeted audience of the speech is represented by other European Colleagues. Initially, the MEP introduces the *out-group* (Ireland) and argues that their position will have dire political consequences. He further states that, by prolonging the process of ratifying a European Constitution, other member state's national policies might change and drift away from European values. In his view, the treaty discourages "the tendencies to renationalise some common policies". Through a second *self*-referencing remark, the MEP appeals to the pathos of his colleagues by projecting the identity of a political figure who lived under communist rule. By way of inference, he suggests that Ireland's action will provide a context where nationalistic and totalitarian political ideologies can flourish. Similar to EXAMPLE 16, referencing communism can invoke a sentiment of worry for a future predicament and instil fear in the audience's minds.

#### **4.1.6 Discussion**

The analysis of *self*-referencing remarks in the European Parliament revealed diverse pronominal identities, discursively contextualised by Romanian representatives during their first two mandates as MEPs. Confronted with the rigours and settings of this institution, speakers put forward their views on the matter (in spoken and written discourse) to address a multilayered audience.

Pronominal identities help MEP approach topics from diverse angles, directed towards general or distinct recipients. As previously discussed, MEPs choose to stress transnational political ideologies, discuss political responsibilities within the EP, speak in support of *out-groups*, add new dimensions to their perception as politicians, articulate different professional and personal group affiliations, or use attitude markers to establish rapport with the European Community. These aspects are further compiled in Appendix 9.

In EXAMPLES 1 to 4, *self*-referencing remarks are used in conjunction with explicit identities that attest to the MEP's political ideology and professional attributions. As seen in the first two examples, introducing shared values and doctrines originated from political ideology expands past national party associations. This can further help MEPs promote a common cause and gain support from other colleagues. Indicating shared political values might constitute an appeal to ethos, as parliamentarians frequently draw positive features from a transnational political ideology and appropriate them as their own. By projecting such identities, MEPs might come across as prominent figures in international politics, which can add to his/her positive image perception if the message is aimed towards a general audience. Introducing other professional obligations (EXAMPLE 3 and 4) allows MEP to take an official view on a topic and claim knowledge and competence about what is being addressed in the plenum.

In EXAMPLES 5 to 8, several discursive means and strategies promote the MEP's national interests and agendas. This is primarily accomplished by showcasing their qualifications and official positions as Romanian MEPs. From this angle, speakers advance pressing national interests within an emotionally laden discourse (particularly evident in EXAMPLE 7) when asking other parliamentarians for assistance. In some cases, the speaker can



separate from his national affiliation and evoke group membership as a European spokesperson. From this outlook, the delegate can present a local problem by generalising it. Conveying the idea that he speaks for a greater good (beyond national interests) might contribute to obtaining positive assessments from *others*.

When talking on behalf of an audience, MEP can choose to represent vast groups of people. In EXAMPLES 9 to 12, the MEPs discuss a sensitive topic in Parliament, mainly the discriminative attitudes and policies towards ethnic, religious, and regional minorities. From this position, they can establish rapport with the referenced groups, appeal to other MEPs' logical thinking processes, or tarnish the public image of those considered responsible for perpetuating a discriminative view against the group(s). These are introduced by attack strategies directed against Romanian politicians (EXAMPLE 9, 11) or European community members and MEPs (EXAMPLE 10). Furthermore, speakers can also take on the cause of a regional minority through a subjective examination of the issues they are facing (EXAMPLE 12). In this case, positive image perception is facilitated by way of a hyponym (people of Albanian heritage), which can further add pathetic effect to the statement.

In EXAMPLES 13 to 16, references to other professional qualifications are made to augment the message's credibility. Adapting to the subject of the parliamentary sitting allows speakers to add new dimensions to their identity. By exploring the topical potential, MEPs can reiterate their point of view by highlighting professional expertise. In support of the passing of a European legislative act, the MEP adds credibility to his arguments from a legal viewpoint and mentions his qualifications as a lawyer (EXAMPLE 13). When debating how to optimise the European community's audit process, the MEP projects his identity as a businessman and speaks from a personal angle

(EXAMPLE 14). Proposing that a Romanian landmark should become part of the European Heritage Label is done through the speaker's evoked identities as a writer and historian, which further outlines his image as a cultured person who can attest to the landmark's status. In EXAMPLE 15, speaking from a mother's perspective allows the speaker to add an individual opinion on the matter, which might resonate with other members under the hyponym of 'family'.

Lastly, EXAMPLES 17 to 19 showcase how speakers express their opinions through *self*-referencing remarks to establish rapport with the European Community. Praising their actions (as seen in EXAMPLE 17), advocating for a common position (EXAMPLE 18), or advancing a forewarning in conjunction with the actions of some member states (EXAMPLE 19) can be regarded as one's personal investment in the wellbeing and preservation of the European Union's core values.

#### **4.2. Projecting collective identities**

Extensive research has been conducted on the use of the collective „we“ in political discourse (Wilson 1990; Bramley 2001; Chilton 2004; Bull and Fetzer 2006; Allen 2007; Håkansson 2012). A common denominator drawn from previous studies on pronominal usage is represented by their extra-linguistic qualities of performing as „social indexicals“ (Sacks 1995). Plural referencing enables speakers to delineate group affiliations as pronouns render a better understanding of “who exactly is being referred to amongst their multiple identities” (Tekin 2010: 157).

As previously stated, pronominal identities are ubiquitous. When employed with intentionality, speakers can purposefully shift between *self* and *group*-referencing to put forward persuasive messages by mainly accounting for the context (where the action takes place), topic (what is discussed in

parliamentary sittings), and audience (who are the intended recipients of the message). According to Allen (2007), politicians frequently use instances of „we“ to speak “on behalf of the party, deflect individual responsibility, include or exclude hearers from group membership or invoke a general collective response or attitude to a matter” (Allen 2007: 9).

Here, I will look at some collective references put forward by Romanian delegates. As the analysis will show, MEPs employ group membership to discuss issues from joint ideological viewpoints, underline national and institutional identities, strive to obtain a positive attribution of the *in-group*, or endeavour to protect the interests of other groups (which constitute their multilayered addressees).

#### 4.2.1. Underlining political ideologies

In parliament, MEPs advance ideological views by approaching a subject from within a group. As part of a „team“ (Bramley 2001), a speaker can stress the professional responsibility of a political faction, and highlight its political obligations towards the citizens that they represent in the European institution.

In line with this, speakers choose to identify with specific group ideologies through *self*-referencing (as discussed in subsection 4.1.1) or by way of diverse collective affiliations. In the latter case, Romanian delegates explicitly assume a collective voice, one that potentially resonates with other MEPs.

EXAMPLE 57: „We“ as European Socialists

<p>“<i>Noi, ca socialiști europeni, dorim să asigurăm șanse egale tuturor cetățenilor pentru un trai decent, pentru întărirea coeziunii sociale.</i>”</p>	<p><i>We, as European socialists, want to ensure equal opportunities for all citizens for a decent living, for strengthening social cohesion.</i></p>
---	---

Oral Statement (Romanian) MEP: PLUMB Rovana Date: May 20, 2008 European Affiliation: PES Romanian Affiliation: SDE	Topic: Guidelines for the employment policies of the Member States (debate)
--	---

An ideological perspective is advanced by way of the pronoun 'we'. Here, the delegate addresses the need for a cohesive strategy on employment policies within the European community. As a representative of European Socialists (explicitly marked in the excerpt), the MEP promotes a shared political plan and highlights some general political principles of the group. At a linguistic level, this is shown by the advocacy for "equal opportunities (șanse egale)" and for "a decent quality of life (un trai decent)". An indefinite plural defines the targeted audience as "all citizens (tuturor cetățenilor)", comprising the receivers of the message. 'We' is adopted to convey a sentiment of joint responsibilities (arguably directed towards other European Socialists) for granting a better, safer future for the members of their country and the European community. By placing the interests of their constituency as a supreme political prerogative, the speaker can achieve positive attributions for the *in-group*. Consequently, 'We' references can be strategically employed to highlight the ideological faction's positive character traits.

EXAMPLE 58: „We“ as Socialists

<i>„Ca socialiști, considerăm că îndepărtarea oricăror bariere în libera circulație a persoanelor și forței de muncă este drept fundamental înscris în tratate. Încurajarea mobilității din rațiuni exclusiv economice provoacă</i>	<i>As socialists, [we] believe that the removal of any barriers that stand in the way of the free movement of persons and labour is a fundamental right enshrined in the treaties. Encouraging mobility for purely economic reasons is already</i>
---	--

<p>deja, însă, consecințe sociale grave în țările de origine ale lucrătorilor, pe lângă intrările de venituri reale, pierderea specialiștilor și a forței de muncă calificate, depopulare și scăderea populației active, mii de copii care trăiesc fără părinți și necesită servicii educative și sociale speciale.”</p>	<p>causing serious social consequences in the countries of origin of the workers, in addition to the actual revenue, the loss of specialists and qualified workforce, the depopulation and the declining working-age population, thousands of children living without parents, and this requires special educational and social services.</p>
<p>Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: 4 septembrie 2007 MEP: CREȚU Gabriela European Affiliation: PES Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Single market review (debate)</p>

A similar approach can be found in the example above, as the speaker lists the benefits and shortcomings of immigration within the European community. Drawing from the group's values, she forwards a collective response introduced by the verb "consider (consider)", in association with the first-person plural 'we'. Outlining ideological policies enables the MEP to achieve different rhetorical effects. On the one hand, the group can take an official position on a topic and support free movement within the EU territory. At a linguistic level, this is supported by the classification of the legal proposal as a "fundamental right (drept fundamental)" for all EU citizens. On the other hand, through a collective voice, the MEP presents some adverse effects of immigration and argues that this might lead to harmful socio-economic consequences for some affiliated countries. Among these, she lists the loss of skilled labour, depopulation, and the psychological toll experienced by children with parents working abroad. Based on the

contextual information found in the extract, it is not easy to evaluate whether the speaker's projected collective affiliation references a national or a broad transnational doctrine. The problems that she presents in parliament can be associated with new member states (e.g., Romania, Bulgaria) where many citizens left the country to seek employment elsewhere within the EU.

Invoking a shared ideology might constitute the means of striving to gain help from other member states with similar political agendas. Revealing some positive and negative effects of immigration can also reinforce the idea that the group is indecisive on the subject and does not lean in one direction or another. Through logical inferences, the MEP highlights the group's interests on the topic without taking an explicit position in relation to it.

EXAMPLE 59: „We“ as *leftists*

<p>“Criza economică trebuie utilizată, în nici un caz, drept scuză pentru a nu implementa programele de incluziune sociala; dimpotrivă, este motiv de acțiune concertată.</p> <p>Romii, ca orice alt grup defavorizat, pot plăti scump efectele crizei. Reacțiile aberante pe care le-am văzut în Italia sunt un avertisment. La probleme se pot gândi soluții sau căuta vinovați. <i>Dreapta</i> a preferat întotdeauna să dea vina pe alții; cei vulnerabili, în primul rând. <i>Ca reprezentantă a Stângii, prefer să găsim soluții.</i>”</p>	<p>The economic crisis must not be used in any way at all as an excuse for not implementing the social inclusion programmes. If anything, it is a reason for concerted action.</p> <p>Roma, like any other disadvantaged group, might pay dearly as a result of the crisis’s impact. The absurd reactions which we have seen in Italy are a warning. We can think about solutions to problems or find the culprits. <i>The Right</i> has always preferred to put the blame on others, mainly the vulnerable. <i>As a representative of the Left, [I] would rather [we] find solutions.</i></p>
--	--

Written Statement (Romanian) Date: March 9, 2009 MEP: CREȚU Corina European Affiliation: PES Romanian Affiliation: SDP	Topic: The social situation of the Roma and their improved access to the labour market in the EU (short presentation)
--	---

When addressing the status of the Roma community within European member states, the speaker makes a connection to the ongoing global economic crisis. She argues that the economic downturn was purposefully used as an excuse to forgo the implementation of social inclusion programs. The MEP directs her attention towards minority groups who would benefit from these programs. Taking an official position, she speaks about the Roma community (explicitly mentioned in her interventions) and “any other disadvantaged group (orice alt grup defavorizat)” affected by the EU's policies. Attitude markers highlight the speaker’s opinion, as she argues that the minority groups “might pay dearly (*pot plati scump*)” for the EP’s decision of not centring their policies on social inclusion programs. The *in-group's* perspective is reiterated as the MEP mentions extremist anti-Roma reactions made by the Italian government. To provide context, in 2008, Italy attempted to “collect the fingerprints of all Roma immigrants and carry out mass deportation of foreign Roma” (Marinaro 2009: 265).

Overseeing the interests of the minority group is done through a collective ideological perspective “as a representative of the Left (ca reprezentată a Stângii)”. This is contrastively associated with the actions of another broad ideological group, defined as “the Right (Dreapta)”. Introducing two contradicting views is suggestive of an attack strategy. The MEP assigns positive qualities to the *in-group* while criticising the actions of their opposition. To suggest political involvement, the speaker underlines the Left’s priority of finding solutions against systemic discrimination of

the Roma community. Contrastively, the *out-group* is scrutinised for how they addressed this subject as their main priority is defined as shifting the blame towards other political groups rather than finding solutions on their own.

The examples discussed in this subsection highlight some rhetorical effects achieved through ideological referencing. It is not easy to assess the extent to which MEPs reference their international affiliations to attain positive outcomes for their positive image perception as individuals. By all accounts, speaking in support of the group allows the MEP to draw shared values and attributes and appropriate them. Transferring values from the *in-group* to the speaker's self can be logically deduced. If A is part of B and if A underlines the qualities of B, then these values also attribute to A as a subsequent member of B. It is also important to mention that the use of „we“ “makes the self smaller, by making it part of the collective.” (Bramley 2001: 76). Otherwise stated, MEPs can work together and co-construct the *in-group's* public image perception. MEPs can reveal some vital political values as much as they can underline group priorities. They can position their cause in relation to the actions of *others* or choose to speak on behalf of broad or specific groups by accounting for the topical potential of the sitting. This, in turn, can fortify the *in-group's* ethos (as viewed by other MEPs and „outsiders“) and can help MEPs extend the reach of their messages when addressing a transnational political ideology.

#### **4.2.2. Establishing bonds with the audience**

At this point, I will divert my attention towards the use of collective pronouns, which chiefly aim to elicit positive attributions of the *in-group* from a general audience. The excerpts selected here showcase various situations where politicians chose to speak as national delegates to oversee



the interests of the Romanian citizens. Furthermore, depending on the subjects discussed in the plenum, MEPs can also broaden the reach of the message. Through implicit and explicit identities, they can speak on behalf of all people residing within the European Community.

By presenting a topic in an affective manner, politicians evoke emotional responses from the addresses and come across as profoundly invested in the matter at hand.

EXAMPLE 60: „We“ as representatives of the European/Romanian citizens

<p>“Consiliul trebuie să înțeleagă că Parlamentul este unica instituție europeană care are o legitimitate democratică sporită. <i>Noi</i> suntem aleși aici de votul popular și <i>reprezentăm</i> interesele cetățenilor europeni. Interesul cetățenilor europeni este mai multă coeziune, mai multă coeziune înseamnă mai mult spațiu și mai multă libertate de mișcare.”</p>	<p>The council must realise that the Parliament is the only European institution which has increased democratic legitimacy. <i>We</i> are elected here by popular vote and <i>[we]</i> represent the interests of European citizens. Greater cohesion is in the interest of Europe’s citizens, and greater cohesion means more space and greater freedom of movement.</p>
<p>Oral statement (Romanian) Date: July 4, 2012 MEP: NICOLAI Norica European Affiliation: ALDE Romanian Affiliation: NLP</p>	<p>Topic: Breaches of Schengen rules (debate)</p>

In parliamentary discourse, politicians continuously adapt to the „wants“ and „needs“ of the intended discursive target. Speaking in a professional capacity often introduces group values and policies, referenced in conjunction with the requirements and expectations of those that they represent in the plenum.

In EXAMPLE 23, identity is projected through a generic „we“-reference. The MEP argues that Parliament should direct their actions towards representing “the interests of European citizens (interesele cetățenilor europeni)”. Through the use of anaphora “greater (mai multă)”, she mentions shared objectives of the represented community for better social cohesion and more freedom of movement within member states of the EU.

By accounting for the topic of discussion, it can be argued that this issue is particularly relevant for newly admitted countries (such as Bulgaria and Romania) where the Schengen Act restricts the movement of citizens to other EU countries. The context might indicate that the MEP projects a generic „we” to oversee a problem of national interest. If that is the case, using a collective identity might convey a feeling of responsibility evoked in other parliamentarians. Naming some of their main prerogatives as delegates, allows the delegate to emphasise the importance of equal rights and opportunities for all European citizens. This example showcases that generic group references can often lead to ambiguity. Hence, context is of paramount importance when understanding the addresser-addressee dynamics.

EXAMPLE 61: „We” as representatives of European citizens

<p>“<i>Este datoria instituțiilor europene să informeze cetățenii în legătură cu acest tratat. Este datoria noastră, a fiecărui europarlamentar, să mergem în țările noastre și să explicăm cetățenilor pe care îi reprezentăm aici avantajele Tratatului de la Lisabona pentru viitorul construcției europene.</i>”</p>	<p><i>It is the duty of the European institutions to inform citizens about this treaty. It is the duty of every MEP to go to their countries and explain to the citizens whom [we] represent, the benefits of the Lisbon Treaty for the future of European construction.</i></p>
--	--

Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: February 20, 2008 MEP: BUȘOI Cristian Silviu European Affiliation: ALDE Romanian Affiliation: NLP	Topic: The Lisbon Treaty (debate)
---	-----------------------------------

When debating the importance of the Lisbon Treaty in the plenum, a collective view is used to highlight the obligations and responsibilities of the European institutions and subsequent members. The MEP argues that the European Union should provide a transparent and informative campaign about the advantages of the Treaty, directed towards European citizens. Furthermore, the speaker highlights the duties of “every MEP (a fiecărui europarlamentar)” to present this information in their home countries in order to make citizens understand how the EP contributes to the “future of the European construction (viitorul construcției europene)”. Through an institutional position (as Europarliamentarians) the speaker might establish rapport with a broad audience, as he advocates for a process that oversees the interests of the entire European community.

#### EXAMPLE 62: Multilayered identities

“Votul din România ne-a arătat că <i>avem</i> o mare responsabilitate față de cetățenii români, va trebui <i>să le vorbim</i> mai mult despre Uniunea Europeană și să explicăm beneficiile și rigorile familiei din care <i>facem</i> parte. Pentru că, deși România este pe locul doi în ceea ce privește favorabilitatea față de Uniunea Europeană, prezența la aceste alegeri a fost relativ redusă, de	The election in Romania has shown us that <i>we</i> have a great responsibility to the Romanian citizens, to whom [ <i>we</i> ] have to speak more about the European Union and explain the benefits and rigours of the family [ <i>we</i> ] belong to. Although Romania is the second country in terms of favourability towards the European Union, the turn-out of this election was
--	--

<p>29,4%. Votul a fost însă un succes răsunător pentru curentul popular european. Reprezentanții partidului democrat din România sunt acum de aproape de trei ori mai mulți în acest for, iar prin victoria <i>noastră</i> ponderea PPE-DE în Parlamentul European a crescut cu aproape 4 puncte procentuale.</p> <p><i>Le mulțumesc</i> românilor pentru încredere și <i>dumneavoastră</i> pentru mesajele pozitive pe care le-ați transmis alegătorilor români.”</p>	<p>relatively low, at 29.4%. Nevertheless, the election was a resounding success for the European people’s trend. The representatives of the Democratic Party in Romania are now three times more numerous in this forum, and, following <i>our</i> victory, the EPP-ED numbers in the European Parliament have increased by almost 4%.</p> <p><i>[I]</i> thank Romanians for their trust and <i>[I]</i> thank <i>you</i> for the positive messages you have conveyed to the Romanian voters.</p>
<p>Intervention (Romanian)</p> <p>Date: November 28, 2007</p> <p>MEP: IACOB Monica Ridzi</p> <p>European Affiliation: EPP-ED</p> <p>Romanian Affiliation: DP</p>	<p>Topic: One-minute interventions on important political issues</p>

There are cases where politicians try to get their point across by invoking multiple identities for various rhetorical effects. At a linguistic level, this is often indicated by a perpetual interplay between pronominal referencing, allowing speakers to establish rapport with the multilayered audience.

Initially, the MEP employs an inferred 'we', to talk about a shared feeling of duty directed towards other Romanian delegates. Attitude markers reinforce the MEP’s perspective, as she associates parliamentary activity with a feeling of "great responsibility (*responsabilitate mare*)” towards their citizens. Here, the projected identity can be done in connection with national affiliation ('We' as Romanian MPs) or transnational identity ('We' as MEPs). In the case of the latter, the speaker defines the group in affective terms

when proclaiming affiliation, as he refers to the EP as "the family [we] belong to ("familia din care facem parte)".

She moves on to mention the achievement of the Romanian Democratic Party during the 2007 elections for the European Parliament. Group affiliation is conveyed by way of the possessive 'our', which reiterates the political party's victory after the Romanian voting process. The speaker correlates this victory with the EPP-ED alliance and argues that the positive results obtained in the elections also had positive outcomes for the transnational group: "the EPP-ED numbers in the European Parliament have increased by almost 4%. (ponderea PPE-DE în Parlamentul European a crescut cu aproape 4 puncte procentuale.)"

From a collective viewpoint, the MEP switches to *self*-referencing to thank Romanian voters for choosing them and manifests gratitude for the European members who sent "positive messages (mesaje pozitive)" to Romanian voters during this process.

Throughout the extract, the MEP:

1. Projects the image of an institutional identity (either the Romanian or the European Parliament) and evokes an attitude of moral duty directed towards the *in-group* members.
2. Projects her national party affiliation (through a possessive pronoun) to underline their success in the Romanian elections, which also consolidated the power of a European Alliance.
3. Discards her group affiliation and uses *self*-referencing to express appreciation towards Romanian citizens and other MEPs.

From a rhetorical viewpoint, various persuasive strategies might be advanced through pronominal interplays. Assuming the mantle of a European delegate and highlighting the group's engagement towards European citizens might indicate a sense of solidarity and political engagement to the targeted

addressees. On the other hand, mentioning the national party's triumph during the elections is associated with the political power that the *in-group* brings to the European alliance. This might constitute a persuasive means of outlining their influence and relevance, directed towards members with similar ideological backgrounds. Shifting to a *self*-referencing remark, the speaker's statement can also be viewed as an appeal to pathos as she displays gratitude towards the actions of both Romanian citizens and European members in connection with the European Parliamentary elections of 2007.

#### **4.2.3. Invoking national affiliation: „We“ as Romanians**

There are cases where different political issues are forwarded under the guise of a collective national affiliation. Following the UK's withdrawal from the European Union, there are currently 28 member states comprised of 751 delegates. Most of them are affiliated with diverse national parties (with their own set of ideals, beliefs and value system). It stands to reason that each of these has an ideological political basis. Furthermore, every group will have a political agenda and will try to effect general or specific goals at the time being. Each subsequent member can follow his/her personal objectives, which might take precedence over those of the group. Undoubtedly, the many layers of institutional identity can help speakers approach an issue from his/her respective political affiliation. In what follows, I will provide two examples of how MEPs mention their national identity when faced with an opposing view in parliament.

#### **EXAMPLE 63: Invoking national affiliation**

<p>”When <i>we Romanians</i> were a candidate country, <i>we were</i> lectured amongst others by people like former Commissioner Frattini about the absolute need to respect the rights of minorities, including the Roma. Now <i>we</i> are members and many of the Roma population, as European citizens,</p>
---

have established themselves in other countries, like Italy, joining other Roma people living there, some in camps which are already 40 years old.

*I agree that some have committed crimes and have to be punished properly. But to generalise and incite aggressive, negative feelings against all of them, including through false media reports, is not acceptable.”*

Intervention (English)

Date: May 20, 2008

MEP: PASCU Ioan Mircea

European Affiliation: PES

Romanian Affiliation: SDP

Topic: The situation of the Roma in Italy (debate)

The speaker starts his intervention from a defensive position. An explicit "we" is used to convey a national identity. He argues that, before the country's accession, various European members scrutinised Romania on how to "respect the rights" of the Roma community. Through a second "we", the MEP moves *on the offense* by inferring that the problem of social inclusion for minority groups is also prevalent in other member states, which decided to "lecture" Romania on how to deal with this issue prior to its ascension in the EU. In line with this, the MEP references Italy, listing Franco Frattini<sup>71</sup> (as one of the 'lecturers') and mentioning that some of the minority camps in Italy "are over 40 years old". Speaking as a Romanian, the MEP attacks the position of European countries who advocate for the Roma community's rights while being unable to find solutions for the group's social integration. In the last paragraph, the MEP switches to *self*-referencing to speak against racism and argues that a broad discriminative view based on ethnic criteria does not align with the values and principles promoted by the European Union.

---

<sup>71</sup> Franco Frattini is an Italian politician. In 2004-2008 he held the function of European Commissioner. During this period, Romania became a member of the European Union.

Group and *self*-references can achieve different rhetorical ends concomitantly. Projecting a national identity could instil a sentiment of patriotism in the minds of the Romanian people. Launching attacks against member states might align the speaker's view with the European principles upon which the European Parliament was founded. This can also appeal to other MEPs as a united course of action is suggested. Expressing a personal viewpoint can also invoke emotional reactions from the recipients of the message as the MEP detaches from group affiliation to express his personal view on the matter.

EXAMPLE 64: Invoking national affiliation

<p>“Domnule Președinte, doamnelor și domnilor colegi, Guvernul României a decis fixarea datei alegerilor pentru Parlamentul European în ziua de 25 noiembrie 2007. <i>Vom asista</i> în acea zi la un moment pe care <i>l-aș</i> putea numi istoric: alegerea prin vot direct de către cetățenii României a parlamentarilor europeni. Va fi testul <i>seriozității noastre</i> și al asumării condiției <i>de stat membru</i> al Uniunii Europene.”</p>	<p>Mr Chairman, fellow colleagues, the Government of Romania has decided to set the date of the elections for the European Parliament on November 25, 2007. On that day, <i>[we]</i> will witness a moment that <i>[I]</i> could call historical: the election by direct vote by Romanian citizens of the MEPs. It will be a test of <i>our seriousness</i> and of assuming the status of <i>a member state</i> of the European Union.</p>
<p>Intervention Date: September 3, 2007 MEP: BUȘOI Cristian Silviu European Affiliation: ALDE Romanian Affiliation: NLP</p>	<p>Topic: One-minute interventions on important political issues</p>



In another intervention, delivered soon after Romania had joined the European Union, the MEP mentions the national elections for the European Parliament. A generic 'we' is projected to mark what the speaker deems as the historical precedence of the event: “*we* will witness a moment that [*I*] could call historical (*vom asista în acea zi la un moment pe care l-aş putea numi istoric*)”. Here, a collective identity is used to introduce a generalised truth of notable socio-historical relevance for the European community.

While context does not offer sufficient extra-linguistic information about the MEP's projected identity, it can be argued that the speaker invokes a national affiliation (as a Romanian) when mentioning the *in-group's* duties towards the European Union. From this angle, he claims that Romania's election process constitutes a test that will account for its involvement and attitudes concerning the well-being of the European institution. Invoking national affiliation is further suggested by the possessive pronoun 'our', highlighting a joint view on the country's political obligations, as a newly admitted member state.

Based on the information retrieved from the corpus analysis, there are few instances where MEPs assume the mantle of Romanian nationals through group referencing. In the examples presented above, invoking national affiliation leaves room for interpretation as other identities might take precedence over it. It is difficult to assess whether the MEP speaks as a Romanian national or Romanian representative. In any case, employing references of a national implication can allow MEPs to represent the interests of their constituency, underline Romanian policies and interests, take a position against other member states, or highlight the positive outcomes derived from acceding within the European Union.

In what follows, I will look at how speakers choose to build a favourable image for the European Union when addressing the topic from a collective view of Europarliamentarians.

#### 4.2.4. Invoking transnational affiliation: „We“ as MEPs

The analysis in question reveals the speakers' institutional identity is mainly introduced through generic „we“ references. Consequently, assuming different roles in parliamentary discourse presupposes adaptability to the context and subjects approached in the sittings. MEPs use various rhetorical strategies when speaking in a representative capacity for the European institution and/or subsequent members. Among these, I mention: (1) positive in-group attribution; (2) appeals to solidarity and cooperation between member states; (3) reiterating core policies of the institution and (4) evoking emotional responses from other colleagues.

EXAMPLE 65: Underlining the group's authority and influence

<p>“In other words, <i>we</i> are history-builders and not historians. <i>We</i> are not asked to judge the past, but to build the present, and are supposed to be judged by the future. Therefore, the Socialist Group reluctantly accepted to subscribe to a resolution which apparently aims to establish a historical truth about a tragic event that took place in Ukraine in the past.”</p>	
<p>Oral Statement (English)  Date: October 22, 2008  MEP: SEVERIN Adrian  European Affiliation: PSE  Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Commemoration of the Holodomor, the Great Famine in Ukraine (1932-1933) (debate)</p>

Using two explicit 'we' references, the MEP mentions the influence of the European Parliament in international politics. The group's authority is emphasised through hyperbole, as the speaker deems the actions of the EP

(and, by extension, of the EU) as a form of "history-building". Inferring that their political activity moulds the present, highlights the group's authority and influence in international politics.

The group's moral attributes are also brought to the fore by way of a second 'we' reference as the MEP claims that the European Parliament must be impartial and should not account for the past mistakes of others: "we are not asked to judge the past". Instead, he claims that the attention of the group should be directed towards "the present", and that their current actions will be scrutinised in "the future". By forwarding this timeline, the MEP's statement can be regarded as a *call to arms*, directed towards the *in-group's* members, urging them to work together in shaping the future of the world.

The topic addressed in parliament dealt with the commemoration of the Holodomor, a tragic event in Ukraine's history, where countless people fell victim to the Great Famine of the early 1930s. The speaker mentions the actions of the European Socialist group, in conjunction with the event, of subscribing to a resolution that aimed at "establishing a historical truth about a tragic event". The adverb "reluctantly" and the adjective "tragic" further reiterate an emotional approach of the MEP on the subject in question. A collective „we“ can highlight the group’s authority and influence. *Self*-referencing remarks might constitute the speaker's attempt to gain a positive *self*-image by coming across as emotionally invested in the issue.

EXAMPLE 66: Appealing to the solidarity of other MEPs

“ <i>Avem nevoie de o politică europeană de securitate comună, coerentă și actualizată, care să contribuie la întărirea identității europene și să permită Uniunii să vorbească cu o singură voce credibilă pe plan internațional.</i> ”	<i>[We]</i> need a common, coherent and updated European security policy which will help strengthen <i>European identity</i> and allow the EU to speak in a single, credible voice in the international arena.
--	--

Oral Statement (Romanian) Date: February 18, 2009 MEP: MARINESCU Marian Jean European Affiliation: EPP-ED Romanian Affiliation: DLP	Topic: Annual Report (2007) on the main aspects and basic choices of the CFSP - European Security Strategy and ESDP - The role of NATO in the security architecture of the EU
---	---

A similar approach is taken in the following example. Through a generic „we“ reference, the speaker invokes a sentiment of solidarity and cooperation directed towards his colleagues. Speaking from this angle, the MEP lists some political objectives, which, from his view, are of great necessity in the European Parliament. This is further suggested by the verb “need”, used in conjunction with the plural pronoun. Among the objectives, the MP underlines the importance of strengthening “European identity,” which, from his perspective, can be achieved through a joint European security policy:” “[We] need a common, coherent, and updated European Security policy (Avem nevoie de o politică europeană de securitate comună, coerentă și actualizată)”.

Underlining the importance of cooperation within the EP are indicators of the speaker’s rhetorical aims, introduced through collective referencing. Through group identity, the MEP can potentially draw other(s) closer to his cause, incite a feeling of righteousness, and further solidify his views presented in the plenum.

#### EXAMPLE 67: Reiterating central policies of the EU

“Acest acord de parteneriat și cooperare dă șansa Uniunii Europene să se implice în găsirea unor soluții în situația Irakului. O situație față de care Uniunea Europeană trebuie să	This partnership and cooperation agreement gives the European Union a chance to get involved in finding solutions to the situation in Iraq. A situation for which the European Union
---	--

<p>își asume un anume rol de vinovăție. <i>Să nu uităm</i> evenimentele de acum zece ani și cu câtă ușurință <i>am susținut</i> Statele Unite în acest război. <i>Cred</i> însă că acest acord de parteneriat și cooperare este foarte important din punct de vedere securitar. <i>Ce ne dorim? Ne dorim un Irak</i> despre care știm toți că este măcinat de conflicte etnice, un Irak care se poate destataliza și poate ajunge într-un război civil, de tipul celui sirian? <i>Avem</i> capacitatea, ca Uniune Europeană, să găsim soluții pentru pace în zonă? <i>Avem</i> această capacitate, în măsura în care <i>suntem implicați politic.</i>”</p>	<p>must assume part of the blame. <i>Let us not forget</i> the events that occurred ten years ago and how easily <i>[we]</i> supported the United States in this war. However, <i>[I]</i> believe that this partnership and cooperation agreement is very important from a security point of view. What do <i>[we]</i> want? Do <i>[we]</i> want an Iraq that we all know is being crushed by ethnic conflicts, an Iraq that can be nationalised and end up in a civil war, like the Syrian one? Do <i>[we]</i>, <i>the European Union</i>, have the capacity to find solutions for peace in the area? <i>[We]</i> have this capacity, insofar as <i>[we]</i> are politically involved.</p>
<p>Oral statement (Romanian) Date: January 16, 2013 MEP: NICOLAI Norica European Affiliation: ALDE Romanian Affiliation: NLP</p>	<p>Topic: Partnership agreement and cooperation between the UE and Iraq (debate)</p>

In the next excerpt, the subject discussed in parliament centres on the EU's foreign policies with Iraq. Initially, the MEP mentions the group's prior actions ten years ago, when the EU publicly supported the United States of America's cause of engaging in a military conflict with Iraq. The MEP deems this action as improper, claiming that the European Union "must assume part of the blame (să-și asume un rol de vinovăție)" for the current state of affairs in Iraq. Switching to *self*-referencing, she presents her view on the topic (introduced by an attitude marker-"I believe-eu cred") and advocates for

cooperation between the two factions. Switching back to a collective identity, the speaker reasserts the EU's central policies and highlights the group's responsibility of avoiding a civil war in Iraq. To add to the rhetorical effect of her claims, the MEP formulates the call for joint action as a question: “Do [we], as the European Union, have the capacity to find solutions for peace in the area? (Avem capacitatea, ca Uniune Europeană, să găsim soluții pentru pace în zonă?)” The MEP provides an answer to her question to highlight that a mutual interest in the topic could help in avoiding the occurrence of a civil war in Iraq: “[We] have this capacity, insofar as [we] are politically involved. (Avem această capacitate, în măsura în care suntem implicați politic.)” In this extract, the speaker underlines the group's political influence and argues that the EU should get involved to find adequate solutions to help Iraq's citizens. From this angle, the MEP can also evoke some personality traits and influence public opinion in the process. She does so by appropriating values and perspectives from the *in-group*. As such, an appeal to ethos can be made in conjunction with the positive image perception of both the addresser and the broader group (the European Union) for which she is speaking.

EXAMPLE 68: Emotional appeals towards other MEPs

<p>“<i>Cred</i> că terorismul a devenit principalul dușman al valorilor europene, al stabilității și al păcii mondiale. Să <i>ne amintim</i> de evenimentele din 11 septembrie 2001 sau cele de la Madrid de acum câțiva ani și <i>avem</i> configurația perfectă a unui tablou ce exprimă groaza, teama și suferința.”</p>	<p>[I] believe terrorism has become the main enemy of European values, global stability and peace. If [we] think of the events of September 11, 2001, or those in Madrid a few years ago, [we] have the perfect configuration of a picture expressing horror, fear and suffering.</p>
---	---

Written statement MEP: Sârbu Daciana Octavia Date: February 18, 2008 European Affiliation: PES Romanian Affiliation: SDE	Topic: Factors that encourage terrorism and encourage the recruitment of terrorists (debate)
--	--

The ongoing threat of terrorism in Europe is another issue openly discussed in Parliament. The MEP makes an emotional address and invokes a common tragic past that might emotionally resonate with other member states, when debating this subject. She argues that terrorism threatens world peace and stability: “[I] believe terrorism has become the main enemy of European values, global stability and peace. (Cred că terorismul a devenit principalul dușman al valorilor europene, al stabilității și al păcii mondiale.)” To add pathetic effect to her statement, she mentions two tragedies in modern history: the terrorist attacks from 9/11 and the 2001 Madrid subway bombing. This further emphasises the amplitude of terrorism as it can evoke a sentiment of fear in the minds of the receivers. The delegate claims that the events mentioned above underline the urgency of dealing with the topic.

Events of a high political charge can be utilised for pathetic effect and referenced, years after their occurrence, to advance a united course of action against a pressing issue with powerful repercussions for the European Community.

#### **4.2.5. Discussion**

As discussed in the previous examples, one main component of political discourse is provided by the strategic use of pronominal identities in the European Parliament. The analysis in question reveals multiple uses of „we“, which project the speaker into diverse collectivities. From this angle, he/she can build a credible ethos by different persuasive means such as underlining transnational ideologies, representing the interests of the citizens, invoking

national ideology, and overseeing the interests of the European Union (summarised in Appendix 10).

Through a collective voice, the speakers can build a credible ethos by underlining transnational political ideologies. In EXAMPLES 21 and 22, members of the same political party and European Alliance choose to co-construct the image of the European Socialist group, given that both oral statements were delivered in a similar timeframe. Speaking from this viewpoint, allows MEPs to mould the *in-group's* social attributes and evoke a sentiment of political responsibility and duty in overseeing the European community's interests. In EXAMPLE 22, the MEP talks on behalf of ethnic minorities and scrutinises the action of an opposing ideological faction. This inadvertently introduces an ,*us*" ,vs. , *them*" dichotomy where positive values are attributed to the *in-group* while negative values are linked to their political counterparts. When directed towards other MEPs, invoking an ideological identity can draw more European delegates to their cause. This is done by highlighting fundamental political principles aligned with those inscribed in the *in-group's* ideological doctrine. In relation to a broader audience, MEPs appeal to ethos as they discursively negotiate the group's firm policies and attributes. In other cases (as seen in EXAMPLE 22), obtaining a positive image perception might be attempted with smaller factions (such as the Roma community).

Overseeing the interests of the multilayered audience was also discussed in EXAMPLES 23-25. Here, the MEP's discursive aim is directed towards European and Romanian citizens through explicit and implicit references. There are instances where the speaker chooses to represent the interests of the European citizens (this is particularly evident in EXAMPLE 23). Consequently, a positive-image building of the *self* can be achieved as it allows the speaker to come across as a well-informed politician, attuned to



the citizens' needs. Considering the contextual information drawn from EXAMPLES 24 and 25, the targeted audience can shift as the messages can be directed towards the Romanian community. Lastly, in EXAMPLE 25, pronominal interplays showcase a variety of identities. I have decided to include it in this subsection because the speaker addresses the Romanian audience from both a personal and a collective viewpoint. Bringing forward a wide array of identities can help delegates establish bonds with multiple groups such as Romanian and European citizens, other MEPs, or members of various European Alliances. While attitude markers and logical inferences can be identified in the excerpt, I would argue that negotiating a credible, authoritative image and appealing to the ethos of the groups mentioned above are the main rhetorical strategies advanced by the speaker.

In EXAMPLES 26 and 27, the MEPs assume the mantle of a Romanian national. From this position, they criticise the actions of other member states (when discussing *Roma* immigration policies) or underline a shared feeling of responsibility directed towards the EU's subsequent members when discussing Romania's accession within the institution. MEPs make promises, praise, criticise, and advance rhetorical questions directed towards the European institution's policies when forwarding interests of national relevance.

Lastly, in EXAMPLES 28 to 31, institutional identity is invoked as MEPs attribute positive qualities to the European Union. Throughout their discourse, they emphasise the authority and influence of the *in-group* (EXAMPLE 28), appeal to the solidarity of other MEPs (EXAMPLE 29), reiterate common policies (EXAMPLE 30), or fortify their argument by eliciting a feeling of fear in the minds of the receivers, should the policies of the EU remain unchanged.

### 4.3. Projecting the identity of *others*

The last subsection of the chapter will focus on the strategic uses of pronouns in projecting the identity of *others*. The corpus under investigation reveals that speakers rarely use *self*-referencing remarks when launching attacks in the European Parliament. This might be explained by the institution's broad political dimensions, which can diminish the effects of such attacks. To provide context, in the Romanian Parliament, tarnishing the image of an important political party member is often directed to the political party as well. However, it is difficult to imagine that such a rhetorical strategy might function in the European Parliament as most subjects are discussed between international alliances (with European delegates of different nationalities). Added to this, are the rigours and the constraints of the European Parliament (such as time limits and sanctions against personal attacks). Here, I will provide some examples of how MEPs project the image of two opposing sides and take a position in relation to them.

#### 4.3.1. Negative attributions of the *out-group(s)*

When launching attacks, MEPs address sensitive topics of public interest and direct their discursive arsenal towards *out-groups*. By way of a 'we' vs. 'they' differentiation, the speaker "can create an image of the group he belongs to in a positive way and the other group in a negative way" (Håkansson 2012: 14). This dynamic will be further examined in this subsection.

EXAMPLE 69: "I" vs. "They". Expressing anti-American attitudes<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> The translation of the excerpt was taken from: Săftoiu, Răzvan (2015), Split voices in political discourse. In *Language and Dialogue*, 5(3): 430-449. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

<p>Astăzi, 4 iulie, <i>sărbătorim</i> un jubileu: 235 de ani de la Declarația de Independență a Americii. E o sărbătoare admirabilă, care marchează, așa cum sună titlul filmului realizat de Griffith, „Nașterea unei națiuni”. <i>Am să omagiez Ziua Națională a Americii în felul meu, invocând câteva maxime și aforisme.</i></p> <p>Mark Twain: „Este bine că America a fost descoperită, dar ar fi fost și mai bine dacă s-ar fi trecut pe lângă ea.”</p> <p>Talleyrand: „Americani au treizeci și două de religii și un singur fel de mâncare.”</p> <p>Henry James: „Aș putea să mă întorc în America să mor, dar niciodată, niciodată să trăiesc.”</p> <p>Regele Eduard al VIII-lea: „Lucrul care m-a impresionat cel mai mult în America a fost felul în care părinții se supun copiilor.”</p> <p>Albert Camus: „Carevașzică, va trebui într-o bună zi să alegem între Rusia și America.”</p> <p>George Washington: „Un popor fără religie nu poate fi condus decât cu tunurile” și <i>Corneliu Vadim Tudor,</i></p>	<p>Today, 4 July, <i>[we]</i> are celebrating an anniversary: 235 years since the American Declaration of Independence. It is a wonderful celebration marking, as the title of the film directed by Griffith says, „The Birth of a Nation”. <i>[I] am going to pay homage to America’s national day in my own way by citing a few quotations and sayings.</i></p> <p>Mark Twain: „It is good that America was discovered, but it would have been even better if it had been passed by.”</p> <p>Talleyrand: „Americans have 32 religions but only one sauce.”</p> <p>Henry James: „I could come back to America to die, but never, never to live.”</p> <p>King Edward VIII: „The thing that impresses me most about America is the way parents obey their children.”</p> <p>Albert Camus: „In other words, we will have to choose one day between Russia and America.”</p> <p>George Washington: „A people without religion can only be led by cannons,” and <i>Corneliu Vadim Tudor, yours truly:</i> „Oh, Lord, put some sense into the Americans before <i>they</i> turn the planet into a beefsteak.”</p>
---	--

adică <i>cel care vă vorbește</i> : „Dă, Doamne, minte la americani până când nu <i>vor face</i> planeta biftec.”	
Intervention Date: June 4, 2011 MEP: TUDOR Corneliu Vadim European Affiliation: NI Romanian Affiliation: GRP	Topic: One-minute interventions on important political issues)

During the National Day of the United States of America, in a one-minute intervention, the Romanian delegate uses his allotted time to quote notable writers and politicians who voiced their grievances against the country. Through an "exaggerated use of quotations" (Săftoiu 2015: 444), the MEP manifests anti-American sentiments without putting forward an explicit personal view against the *out-group*. In doing so, "he avoids taking responsibility for his words, leaving the audience to draw the conclusion for itself" (Săftoiu 2015: 445).

A grammatically inferred 'I' is used by the delegate to 'pay homage' to the United States of America on the day which marks their independence. He does so by listing many faults and shortcomings of the United States of America, mentioned by eminent figures in history. By advancing negative attributes of the *out-group*, the speaker might achieve two rhetorical effects concomitantly.

On the one hand, he can discredit the public image perception of a group. The quotations selected to this effect do not tackle significant socio-economic aspects of the country. Instead, the MEP adds a humorous effect to his intervention by presenting unsubstantiated claims, ranging from American cuisine to American imperialism. Adding 'shock value' to his

statement can potentially engage audience members and add rhetorical effect to the MEP's anti-American sentiments.

On the other hand, the MEP emphasises his authority by publicly expressing his policies as the leader of a Romanian nationalist party. This is also suggested at the end of the intervention, where the delegate decides to include himself within the list of notable figures as he "presents himself as an authority worth quoting" (Săftoiu 2015: 445). At a linguistic level, the other faction is introduced by a plural 'they', utilised in the speaker's self-quotation: "Oh, Lord, put some sense into the Americans before *they* turn the planet into a beefsteak. (Dă, Doamne, minte la americani până când nu *vor face* planeta biftec.)" With limited direct interventions on the topic, the MEP can express his intentions under the apparent guise of an educated person, who puts forward various views of the *out-group's* past and present history. This allows the speaker to launch attacks while straying away from the responsibility of his statements. The excerpt highlights the MEP's nationalist views and his position against the United States of America, a position often expressed in Romanian and European parliaments.

EXAMPLE 70: „I“ vs. an inferred „He“. Speaking against a co-national

<p>“Mr President today is the first time <i>I</i> am ashamed to be a Member of the European Parliament. It is the first time that a man who denies the peace treaty of Trianon signed after the First World War is promoted and voted for such a great position in Europe. The Romanian people...”</p> <p><i>(The President cut off the speaker.)</i></p>	
<p>Intervention Date: Iunie 15, 2010 MEP: TUDOR Corneliu Vadim European Affiliation: NI Romanian Affiliation: GRP</p>	<p>Topic: Election of a Vice-President of the European Parliament (vote)</p>

In another intervention delivered by the same delegate, the MEP launches an attack strategy, aimed at a candidate for the position of Vice-President of the European Parliament. In 2010, László Tőkés, a Romanian politician of Hungarian ethnicity, was proposed for this function. During the voting procedure, the President of the sitting asked if there are any objections against the candidate. Tudor spoke in the plenum and started to criticise the actions of his colleague. Shortly after, he was cut off as he was in direct violation of the voting procedures.

In his short speech, the MEP identifies two targets: his co-national and the other MEPs (who accepted the candidature of Tőkés). Through *self*-referencing remarks, he conveys a feeling of shame, introduced by an attitude marker, when discussing the Parliament's decision: "[I] am ashamed to be a member of the European Parliament". The speaker links the candidate's actions with some political views, which, in his opinion, do not align with the democratic principles instilled within the European Union. By mentioning the Trianon agreement, he argues that his colleague "denies" the act, which was also negotiated by members of some European countries with delegates now present in the sitting.

Here, *I*-references are used to criticise the EU's internal policies and to launch attacks against a Romanian MEP of Hungarian ethnicity. The speaker invokes nationalist feelings on the subject while criticizing those in support of the candidate.

From a rhetorical perspective, the MEP tries to project the image of his counterpart in a negative light and attempts to convince his European colleagues not to support his candidature.

EXAMPLE 71: „We“ vs. inferred „They“. Speaking against terrorism

<p>“The terrorists want to undermine <i>our</i> values and make us abandon our way of life. <i>We</i> can defeat them precisely by defending <i>our</i> values and by refusing to abandon them.”</p>	
<p>Oral Statement (English)  Date: February 14, 2007  MEP: SEVERIN Adrian  European Affiliation: PES  Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Alleged use of European countries by the CIA for the transportation and illegal detention of prisoners.</p>

Many subjects approached in parliament oversaw matters that threatened to destabilise the democratic principles upon which the European Union was founded. In the example above, the speaker puts forward two opposing groups. The first one, suggested by way of plural pronouns (*our, us, we*), is contrastively presented in relation to terrorist organisations and their actions on European soil. The parliamentary debate discusses the possibility of allowing the United States of America to transport and detain prisoners on European territory. In his statement, the speaker implies that terrorism is threatening the stability of the European Community. Here, the plural 'we' might be regarded as a type of "relational identity" (Xue and Zhang 2019: 210), where the MEP projects the image of himself and his political counterparts within a larger group to include all European citizens affected by the threat of terrorism. No pronominal markers are used to introduce the *out-group*, introduced by a noun ('the terrorists'). The delegate further argues that terrorism will "undermine" the *in-group's* democratic values and make the European Community abandon their "way of life". Through attitude markers, he advocates for a united course of action against the *out-group* by invoking a feeling of fear in the receivers' minds. Through an 'us' vs. 'they' differentiation, the Romanian delegate reiterates his view on the topic when

claiming that democratic stability and safety are of the utmost importance in the institution and should be protected against imminent threats.

EXAMPLE 72: „We“ vs inferred „They“. Speaking against Ukraine’s policies

<p>“Mr President, <i>I</i> warmly welcome the progress made by Ukraine over the past few years to get closer to Europe and to <i>our</i> fundamental values. However, <i>we</i> should not disregard the serious problems that the country is facing corruption is rampant, mutual distrust is strong and the judicial system is dysfunctional and totally discredited. In this context, <i>we</i> must encourage reforms, but Ukraine should also ensure that its declarations are followed by practical actions and that deeds follow words.”</p>	
<p>Oral Statement (English)          MEP: VĂLEAN Adina-Ioana          Date: July 12, 2007          European Affiliation: ALDE          Romanian Affiliation: NLP</p>	<p>Topic: Mandate for the negotiation of a new consolidated agreement between the European Community and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part.</p>

In another instance, the MEP congratulates Ukraine for the progress made towards becoming a country that gradually aligns with the principles and “fundamental values” of the European Community. This might constitute the speaker’s personal view, introduced by a first-person pronoun. The MEP switches to inclusive referencing and describes the *in-group* as the European Community. From this position, she expresses her views on why a consolidated agreement with Ukraine must be approached cautiously by listing some of the country’s problems, such as corruption and a faulty judicial system. From a collective viewpoint, she argues that, before any significant political agreement between the two groups can be struck, the European Parliament must “encourage reforms” which should be followed and respected by Ukraine. At the end of the statement, the speaker makes a logical inference by arguing that if Ukraine wants a new agreement, they



should back this up with actions and “deeds”. In this example, othering allows the speaker to express her political view and oversee the interest of the European Parliament.

#### 4.3.2. Positive attributions of the *out-group*

Speakers can also discursively project other groups in the form of those lacking political power and influence to voice their concerns within the European Parliament.

This further substantiates the claim that a dichotomous 'us' vs. 'them' dynamic is not always confrontational as MEPs can choose to speak on the group's behalf when examining pressing issues of international significance. In doing so, the speakers could:

1. target a broad audience by expressing solidarity for marginalised groups;
2. offer solutions by suggesting a joint approach;
3. achieve a positive image perception by representing the interests of the *out-group(s)*;

These aspects will be discussed in the following examples.

EXAMPLE 73: „We“ vs. „They“. Co-constructing the identity of others

<p>“Roma are today European citizens. Perhaps <i>they</i> are in absolute terms the truest European citizens because <i>they</i> are only Europeans. Their cultural, social and economic integration is a European challenge. Therefore, <i>we</i> must communitarise the Roma policy.”</p>	
<p>Oral Statement (English) Date: July 7, 2008 MEP: SEVERIN Adrian European Affiliation: PES Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Creation of a database of fingerprints of Roma in Italy (debate)</p>

Two opposing sides are contextually introduced by way of pronouns. The invoked *in-group* is advanced through a generic 'we', which most likely refers to all the European Parliament members (and by extension the European Union) with the power to provide legislative acts that would aid the social integration process of the Roma community. The other group, marked by the third person 'they', indicates the Roma ethnic minority. The MEP outlines the group's legal status as "the truest European citizens", suggesting that this classification is conferred by their long-lasting ancestral roots on European territory. The delegate underlines the main problem provided by the challenges of socio-cultural inclusion and integration of the Roma community. Diverting attention towards the actions of the *in-group*, he claims that finding a solution for this problem is a shared group prerogative (further underlined by using the verb 'must' in conjunction with the plural referent).

The speaker implies that all European community members should prioritise this problem and find solutions for integrating this community. Consequently, pronominal references allow politicians to symbolically "increase or reduce interpersonal distance" and can be utilised to "maintain or deny hierarchical differences" (Bouissac 2019: 5). By appealing to other MEPs, the speaker can position favourably with the *out-group* and potentially obtain a positive-image perception of the *self* as a result.

EXAMPLE 74: „I“ vs. „They“. Speaking on behalf of a regional group

<p>“Astăzi și mâine <i>veți</i> întâlni aici câțiva tineri studenți din Republica Moldova. <i>Ei</i> au venit la Parlamentul European pentru că la <i>ei</i> acasă <i>nu pot</i> vorbi, sau <i>pot</i> vorbi dar suportă represaliile.</p>	<p>Today and tomorrow, [<i>you</i>] will come across some young students from the Republic of Moldova. <i>They</i> have come to the European Parliament because in <i>their</i> own country, [<i>they</i>] cannot speak out, or if [<i>they</i>] do, [<i>they</i>] can expect reprisals.</p>
--	--

<p>Toate rapoartele Comisiei Europene, audierile noastre în Comisia pentru drepturile omului, precum și rapoartele societății civile din Moldova <i>ne arată</i> că libertatea de expresie este adesea încălcată și că mass-media nu poate fi independentă. Zeci de tineri care utilizau forumurile pe internet pentru a-și exprima opiniile au fost anchetați și amenințați cu dosare penale în 2008. Vă rog să <i>îi</i> priviți, să <i>îi</i> invitați în birourile <i>dumneavoastră</i> și să <i>îi</i> ascultați și să semnați declarația scrisă nr. 13/2009 care a fost creată pentru <i>ei</i>, pentru <i>a le da</i> libertatea de <i>a se exprima</i>, pentru această generație de la granița de răsărit a <i>Europei noastre unite</i>.”</p>	<p>All the European Commission’s reports, our hearings in the Commission on human rights and the reports from the civil society in Moldova indicate to [us] that the freedom of expression is frequently violated and that the mass media cannot be independent. Dozens of young people who were using Internet forums to express their opinions were investigated and threatened with criminal records in 2008. Please show an interest in [<i>them</i>], invite [<i>them</i>] into your offices, listen to [<i>them</i>] and sign the written declaration No 13/2009 which was created for <i>them</i> in order to give [<i>them</i>] the freedom to express [<i>themselves</i>], this generation from the eastern border of <i>our united Europe</i>.</p>
<p>Intervention Date: February 18, 2009 MEP: PETRE Maria European Affiliation: EPP-ED Romanian Affiliation: DLP</p>	<p>Topic: One-minute interventions on important political issues</p>

During a one-minute intervention on matters of political importance, the Romanian delegate addresses his colleagues directly, through a generic *you*-reference, telling them about the presence of Moldavian students in the European Parliament. The MEP informs her colleagues that the *out-group* cannot express its grievances in their home country without being censored and put under criminal investigation. Contextualising the *out-group* is made

through explicit and grammatically inferred plural referencing. Mentioned 11 times throughout the intervention (through various pronominal variants), the speaker makes a case for *out-group* and claims that the students are denied the right to freedom of speech, a key political value in the European Parliament. By projecting the *out-group's* image, the MEP appeals to the solidarity of other MEPs, urging them to speak with the Moldavian nationals and sign a legislative act that would aid their cause. The appeal for cooperation is further reiterated at the end of the intervention as the MEP describes the *in-group* as “our United Europe (Europa noastră unită)”, an influential political group that should use its power to fight for regional groups oppressed by their government.

EXAMPLE 75: „I” vs. „They”. Speaking on behalf of a regional group

<p>“<i>Aș dori să fac o clarificare. Lucrătorii din estul Uniunii nu fac și nu doresc niciun “dumping social”; nu ei vor să se vândă ieftin. Costurile refacerii și reproducerii forței de muncă sunt, din păcate, comparabile în est și vest. Unele costuri sunt chiar mai ridicate în România decât în alte părți, iar ei trebuie să-și plătească facturile.”</i>”</p>	<p>[I] would like to make a clarification. Workers in the eastern part of the Union do not apply and do not want any “social dumping”; <i>they</i> don’t want to sell cheap. The costs of rebuilding and regrowing the workforce, are, unfortunately, comparable in the East and West. Some costs are even higher in Romania than elsewhere, and <i>they</i> have to pay their bills.</p>
<p>Written Statement Date: October 21, 2008 MEP: CREȚU Gabriela European Affiliation: PSE Romanian Affiliation: SDP</p>	<p>Topic: Challenges of collective agreements in the EU (debate)</p>

A similar view is expressed here. In a debate on the mobility of the workforce in the European Union, the delegate takes a position against the discrimination of the human resources belonging to Eastern European countries (including Romania). The MEP mentions the poor economic development of the region and the high costs of living: “The costs of rebuilding and regrowing the workforce, are, unfortunately, comparable in the East and West. (Costurile refacerii și r eproducerii forței de muncă sunt, din păcate, comparabile în est și vest.)” Speaking on behalf of the blue-collar EU citizens is introduced by two pronominal references in the form of „they”. From this perspective, she argues that the people are unjustly accused by other MEPs of “social dumping” (“dumping social”) and presents the circumstances which led to this effect. The MEP directs attention towards her colleagues, underlining the importance of providing equal, indiscriminative employment opportunities for the whole workforce of the European Union.

#### **4.4. Discussion**

The previous subsection provided examples of how MEPs speak against or in support of groups and/or individuals. In this extensive political environment, different strategic means are employed to introduce and describe *out-groups*. The study revealed that MEPs direct their rhetorical arsenal towards diverse targets when going *on the offense*. They can highlight ideological beliefs, take a position against a colleague, highlight imminent threats to the stability of the European Community or speak against other countries. Moreover, politicians might strive to negotiate a positive attribution of the *in-groups* and speak on their behalf. Overseeing the interests of smaller communities or regional groups is often directed towards other MEPs which have the power to make political changes that

would heed the call of the speaker. These aspects are summarised in Appendix 11.

EXAMPLES 32 to 35 showcase various attack strategies launched against different targets. In some cases, the speaker expresses his view on the subject (EXAMPLES 32 and 33), while in others, he speaks on behalf of the European Community (EXAMPLES 34 and 35). Among the discursive strategies identified in these situations, I mention: launching an attack by making insinuations and mocking remarks against the United States of America (EXAMPLE 32), questioning the political values of a European delegate (EXAMPLE 33), underlining the negative actions of the *out-group* in changing the status-quo of the European Community (EXAMPLE 34), or criticising the policies and actions of another country (EXAMPLE 35). Furthermore, the speaker can positively build his/her *self* or group image by appealing to the receivers' judgment. Through a collective or personal viewpoint, MEPs attempt to build their character to come across as influential and politically involved in the topics openly addressed in the Parliament. Attitude markers allow them to instil different sentiments in the receivers' minds, i.e. patriotism, fear which further solidifies the persuasive effects of a message.

Lastly, EXAMPLES 36 to 38 provided some instances where the speakers implicate two sides and choose to speak for the *out-group*. By presenting pressing issues that the group is facing, the speaker can represent its interests. The topics approached here dealt with the inclusion of the Roma community (EXAMPLE 36), the discriminative attitudes of the Moldavian government towards its citizens (EXAMPLE 37), and the problems experienced by the Eastern European working class (EXAMPLE 38). By taking a seemingly emphatic approach, the speakers' actions can positively resonate with the members of the *out-group*. Appeals to ethos are also

prevalent as delegates direct their discourse towards other Parliament members, with the power to make changes and improve the livelihood of the *out-groups*.





## FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In this section, I will present the findings of the research and discuss how politicians, with mandates in both the Romanian and European Parliaments, made use of various linguistic resources to actively negotiate their personal and professional identities. To this extent, 75 statements (oral and written), interventions, and interpellations introduced in parliamentary sittings were examined and will constitute the basis of the concluding remarks.

The first subsection will outline the methodological directions implemented in the practical part of the book. Here, I will mention the multiple linguistic non-linguistic theoretical directions integrated into the layout of the analysis. Next, I will bring to the fore some comparative and contrastive findings on how politicians projected their identities in the political institutions under scrutiny and discuss the polyvalent functions of pronouns. Summarising the results of the corpus is followed by a brief overview of the study's limitations.

### **Theoretical observations**

When approaching the extensive and seemingly inexhaustible subject of identity building in parliamentary discourse, I operated under the assumption that individuality should be addressed from different perspectives, which would provide (both for the researcher and readers) a complex view of the nature, design, and characteristics of both the *social* and the *cognitive self*. To highlight this, the theoretical layout of the first chapter is comprised of notable research in multiple areas of investigation such as social-psychology (Cooley 1902, Mead 1913, 1934), anthropology (Malinowski 1923, Sapir 1934), sociology (Goffman 1956, Sacks 1995, Lave and Wenger 1991), or linguistics (Wilson 1990, Chilton 2004, Wodak 2009, Weigand 2010). This outline delineated the structure and limits of the present research, offering a

broad overview of how *core* and social selves are actively negotiated in public forms of speaking. The approaches offered insight into how individuality is shaped and determined by social, cultural, linguistic, and cognitive processes. This allowed me to add new layers to the analysis and carefully consider *where*, *when*, *why*, and *to what ends* are pronominal identities projected in discourse. Simply stated, the chief methodological direction considered for the present study was to look at 'identity in context'. For this reason, the second chapter was reserved for describing the political institution, i.e., parliament, where MPs and MEPs conducted their affairs as Romanian delegates and political representatives. Here, I have found it necessary to highlight the multifaceted nature of both the physical setting (the political body of governance) and the discursive constraints of communicating in a professional environment. Hence, Chapter 2 introduced some features of identity formation accounting for the rigours, rules and institutional constraints, the public nature of parliamentary discourse, the speakers' need to constantly adapt to the audience's expectations, and the politicians' intent of meeting personal and group objectives. The features advanced here accounted for some theoretical directions in language studies (Ilie 2010c, Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012, Fetzer 2013) and personal considerations made on this topic. The multilayered design of the audience, the multiple roles enacted by parliamentarians, and the multifaceted nature of parliament presented here, showcase the intricate nature of discourse.

It is important to mention how the above mentioned directions in research were implemented in the analysis. As shown in chapters 3 and 4, pronouns should mainly be viewed as mechanisms of persuasion. Operating as "social indexicals" (Sacks 1995), these parts of speech enable politicians to add new valences to their public image by invoking a plurality of selves, both as individuals or as members of diverse collectivities. The analysis reveals that

personal pronouns are an essential discursive resource that allows parliamentarians to purposefully switch between social, political, cultural, ethnic identities (among others) and put forward convincing performances directed towards an intended audience. The constant interplay between pronouns grants MPs and MEPs the possibility to display their personal and professional identities while constantly adjusting and readjusting to the needs and wants of the targeted receivers (be they colleagues, adversaries, ordinary citizens, regional groups, broad or specific communities).

The constant flux of personal pronouns, present in parliamentary discourse, aligns with Weigand's (2010) concept of „dialogic interaction“ as identity is constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated in discourse. Individuals aim to obtain desired outcomes throughout their discursive performances and “exploit the flexibility of pronominal references to do this” (Bramley 2001: 259). In other words, a speaker's choices of projecting identities are determined by his/her “goals, purposes and desires in ever-changing surroundings” (Weigand 2015: 10). Employing a multiplicity of roles is achieved from different angles, allowing politicians to adapt to both the parliamentary settings and expectations of the audience.

Drawing from these perspectives, identity was mainly discussed as a naturally occurring phenomenon permeated through language use. In this sense, an expanded meaning was associated with the term „discourse“, used throughout the analysis. Combining multiple approaches, i.e., pragmatics, rhetoric, discourse, and dialogue analysis, within the confines of parliamentary discourse, offered a more extensive outlook on the linguistic realisations of identity.

From a pragmatic perspective, MPs and MEPs use their communicative competences to launch attacks against *other* entities such as colleagues, ideological groups, parties, or in more general terms, distinct or ambiguously

defined political and non-political factions. Politicians also *go on the defensive* and attempt to protect their public image by responding to prior accusations, re-negotiating their ethos, reiterating political agendas, or questioning the truth value of their negative attributions. In some cases, both strategies are used simultaneously, attaining different persuasive effects at the same time.<sup>73</sup>

From a rhetorical viewpoint, I acknowledged the public nature of political discourse (Fetzer 2013) as parliamentary activity is regularly available on the institutions' official websites. With this in mind, I have argued that the primary receivers of the message, targeted in discourse, are represented by a vast audience or, more specifically, by all those having access to a politician's messages. Moreover, the analysis also accounted for distinct types of addressees, introduced implicitly or explicitly in discourse. This is particularly valid in the case of interventions where the speaker employs his/her right of reply or directly addresses political adversaries. The analysis revealed that, when attempting persuasion, politicians will strive to meet shared or personal aims (Weigand 2015b). In some cases, as noted in the analysis, the recipients of the message will be those holding political power (delegates, members of political groups, or individuals with political authority). Regardless of the audience's nature, speakers try to build credible characters, present various lines of reasoning, or use an emotionally laden discourse in an attempt to gain favourable outcomes both in the Romanian and European Parliament.

When investigating ethos, pathos, and logos as rhetorical devices, the analysis reveals that most politicians use pronouns to fortify and enhance the perception of their characters. Ethos is thus the main mode of persuasion attempted by speakers in conjunction with a multi-layered audience. The

---

<sup>73</sup> The presence of pronominal interplays is shown in EXAMPLES 14 and 62.

findings support the idea that appeals to pathos are commonplace in European and Romanian Parliaments. Lastly, putting forward valid arguments backed up by facts and figures was rarely advanced by speakers. While there are examples where both MPs and MEPs construct a line of reasoning to support their claims, it can be argued that most appeals to logos encountered in the study are fallacious as they mainly constitute hasty generalisations or personal attacks. As drawn from the analysis, instinctively, MPs and MEPs can assess the heterogeneity of the audience. Undoubtedly, some receivers of political messages might not be receptive to logical arguments as they often require a certain degree of knowledge and education to understand facts and figures that would constitute an appeal to logos. Consequently, the speakers opt for pathos and ethos as primary rhetorical devices. This puts the spotlight on them: their shared experiences, feelings, or attitudes (constituting pathos) and their projection of competences, principles, values, and knowledge (constituting ethos).

By extensively reviewing these directions in research, I have attempted to approach identity from a novel perspective. In doing so, I have accounted for the fact that these methodological directions can work in unison and establish a type of 'synergic' approach, as each framework serves specific functions in the examination of identity formation (as mentioned above). Contemporary directions in studying discourse seem to be partial to an integrative view of language (Bolivar 2017, Norrick and Ilie 2018, Weigand 2018, Fetzer 2018, Holmes 2018). Narrowing the 'gap' between political discourse and dialogue or pragmatics and rhetoric offers a broader scope on additional methodological tools, which, in turn, allow researchers to have a less constrictive view of the study of diverse phenomena perpetuated through language.

## **Concluding observations on the use of pronouns in the European and Romanian Parliaments**

The qualitative research was conducted on 75 excerpts, chosen from a more extensive database comprised of 322 fragments extracted from the European and Romanian parliaments' official websites. Various types of institutional discourses were selected for this purpose. Some were pre-prepared speeches (oral and written statements), while others constituted direct responses in parliamentary sittings that might have been presented without any prior preparations (interventions and interpellations). The starting point of the analysis was to observe how personal pronouns are used by politicians to actively invoke different identities throughout their parliamentary activity and discuss the potential effects facilitated by pronominal interplays. Along these lines, the examples selected for the practical part were chosen based on their polyvalence in terms of identities put forward by politicians. Upon reviewing the findings of the corpus, it stands to argue that parliamentarians use inclusive, exclusive, and *self*-references that attain social, cultural, political, professional, and individual dimensions. In the latter case, I have referred to attributions of the *core self*, mainly introduced by the first-person pronoun 'I'.

By considering the examples chosen in the practical chapters, I will draw a parallel between the multiplicity of selves and group references invoked by politicians in the European and Romanian Parliaments. In line with this, the uses of „I“, „We“, „You“, and „They“ will be contrastively discussed, based on the conclusions presented in Chapters 3 and 4.

In the Romanian Parliament, politicians use *self*-referencing remarks to highlight personal attributes. Unveiling themselves as honest, morally sound lawmakers enables them to advance individual features and come across as qualified, trustworthy public figures. As shown in the analysis, this might

constitute attempts to preserve one's reputation in connection to his/her 'prior ethos' (Ammosy 2001), or, in more general terms, to discursively re-negotiate his/her overall perception in the public sphere. Advancing positive attributions of the *self* is usually done in association with a political adversary. The relationship between the two entities is generally introduced by an 'I' vs. 'You'/'They' dichotomy where the former is imbued with positive qualities while the latter is negatively depicted. The use of 'I' also indicates a politician's expertise and influence in the parliament. From a rhetorical standpoint, appeals to ethos are prevalent as they have the power to solidify the speakers' credibility and enhance the efficiency of their messages.

Contrastingly, in the European Parliament, the corpus under examination supports the view that Romanian delegates seldom highlight personality traits and individual achievements. It is worth noting that no explicit references attesting to such attributions were identified in the excerpts. While appeals to ethos are found in conjunction with *self*-referencing remarks, politicians regularly adopt “institutional identities” (Sacks 1995) to claim knowledge on a matter and underline professional experience. Assuming a spokesperson's capacity allows MEPs to draw values and competences from the ones used to define the *in-group(s)* and assign them as their own. It can be argued that the lack of explicit references attesting to the *core self* might be influenced by the functional setting in which communication occurs.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the main topics introduced in the Romanian Parliament center on issues and policies that mainly oversee regional or national interests. The adversarial nature, commonplace in the national institution, regularly 'brings into play' political parties. In the Romanian Parliament, personal attacks are directed towards influential members of opposing political groups. By way of association, these also aim at putting the whole party in disrepute, thus achieving different discursive aims

concomitantly, such as tarnishing the image of a political opponent and his/her affiliative groups. However, in the European Parliament, the delegates' activity expands, as the topics discussed in sittings oversee interests of all member states. This might result from the fact that *core self* attributions in the European Parliament do not elicit the same persuasive effects in a political institution where power is mainly negotiated in transnational alliances between 705 members of 27 countries.

Politicians also exploit the polyvalence of pronouns to highlight party associations or promote ideological agendas in the Romanian Parliament. Through *self*-referencing remarks, MPs solidify the credibility of their statements by assuming an official position on a subject as representatives of diverse political factions. Appropriating such identities diminishes the speaker's individual responsibility as he/she arguably presents a joint view on the problem. Similarly, in the European Parliament, MEPs mention ideological values within more extensive transnational political affiliations. Discussing a subject from an official capacity might be done to underline group responsibilities, highlight the political influence and knowledge on a topic, or constitute attempts to gain support from other MEPs belonging to the same ideological group or sharing similar political principles.

When discussing „I“ in Romanian parliamentary discourse, the analysis encountered instances where MEPs discard their „institutional identity“ (Sacks 1995) to advance “relational identities” (Xue and Zhang 2019: 210), directed towards a specific audience. Speaking from within a group (as an affiliate) can instil a sense of camaraderie in members of the same collectivity. By presenting their interests, the politician bonds with others as a seemingly involved representative of the group, devoid of political interests. Through attitude markers, MPs indicate their investment in the subject, which extends beyond their derogations as parliamentarians.



Attaining pathetic effects or strengthening a credible ethos enables politicians to establish rapport with the targeted audience and gain credit for their personal qualities, explicitly or implicitly advanced in discourse.

In the European Parliament, MEPs also aim their messages towards the European Community, co-nationals, or regional groups. In the latter case, Romanian delegates discuss immigration policies, comment on discriminative attitudes against Romanian and national minorities, or debate aspects related to the economic wellbeing of EU member states. In many cases, MEPs defend the rights of minority groups and scrutinise the discriminative attitudes and actions directed against them. This might be done to obtain a positive image perception from the members of the regional group, make appeals to other parliamentarians (by proposing a united course of action), highlight political issues of global relevance, or criticise the actions and policies of the *out-group(s)*, deemed as culpable for the current state of affairs.

To strengthen the rhetorical force of their messages, politicians also project other social and non-political identities. These are contextually dependent, as speakers exploit the topical potential of the parliamentary sitting and react accordingly. MPs use subjectivity to profess their love for the country, their responsibilities towards Romanian citizens, mention family ties or socio-political hardships. All these can be used to elicit emotional responses from those who identify with membership categories such as being a Romanian, an immigrant, a member of the working class, a resident of a small community, a family member, a patriot, a voter, or a Romanian citizen.

This, in turn, constitutes a means of attempting persuasion with a multilayered audience or all those who identify with the speaker's self-attributed values. From a pragmatic perspective, MPs establish favourable sender-receiver dynamics that allow them to achieve persuasion by using

both pathos and ethos as rhetorical devices. A similar approach is found in the European Parliament, as MEPs refer to various professional qualifications to add credibility to their messages. By adapting to the topics discussed in parliament, they can reiterate their point of view, highlight professional expertise (as a lawyer or a businessman) or attempt to achieve pathetic effects when mentioning aspects from an apparently personal outlook (such as living under a communist regime or speaking about the hardships encountered by people with families).

Based on the analysis conducted in Chapters 3 and 4, the following particularities on the uses of *self*-referencing remarks in the Romanian and the European Parliament are foregrounded:

1. It can be observed that politicians in the European Parliament rarely use „I“ to highlight individual attributes.
2. Members of the Romanian Parliament negotiate their identities by forwarding a contrastive dynamic where the subject and its respective group affiliations are described in superlative terms. At the same time, the *other* contextualised entities are discredited and criticised for both for their actions and inactions.
3. It should be noted that, when speaking as a group agent, MEPs use *self*-referencing remarks to mention ideological associations.
4. In contrast, MPs employ *self*-referencing remarks to mainly discuss their membership capacity within political parties.
5. It can be seen that attack strategies introduced by *self*-references are more common in the Romanian Parliament.
6. Based on the excerpts presented in the analysis, asking for assistance and cooperation from subsequent members of different political factions is prevalent in the European Parliament.

The second aspect of the analysis dealt with collective identities, introduced by the first-person, plural 'we'. Considering that, I have presented some examples of how politicians highlight group associations to underline joint attributions, solidify the credibility of their messages when speaking in an official capacity, or launch attacks against other political entities.

In the Romanian Parliament, „we“ is used to discuss political matters under the guise of party membership. As affiliates, speakers direct the receivers' attention towards the *in-group*'s positive values, extrapolated from their policies and efforts. In some cases, the type of discourse is conflictual, as different political factions are drawn into the discussion either through implicit or explicit references. Similar to the use of *self*-referencing remarks, scrutinising the actions, policies, and principles of the *out-group* is done to mainly tarnish the public image of their political adversaries. In other cases, MPs strive for cooperation as they underline broader objectives (that go beyond political agendas) to get support from all parliamentarians. Furthermore, MPs often speak on behalf of larger transnational coalitions and mention their political party's influence within international politics.

In the European Parliament, MEPs chiefly present their ideological affiliations when using 'we'-references. Speaking from this vantage point allows them to reach a more extensive audience, promote common goals, speak on behalf of regional groups, or discuss topics of interest for the target audience.

When diverting attention towards the receivers of messages, politicians oversee their constituency's interests, advance nationalistic views, and advocate for common causes. This is particularly valid in the Romanian Parliament. Appeals to ethos are achieved by positive *in-group* attributions. Invoking feelings such as patriotism, feat, or hope, constitute appeals to

pathos used to „sensitise“ audience members and gain their support in the process.

In the European Parliament, Romanian delegates oversee the interests of various addressees such as Romanian and European citizens, other MEPs, or members of different political coalitions. When speaking to the European community, politicians use positive attributions to emphasise the *in-group's* authority and influence. Appeals to ethos are used to potentially induce fear when imminent threats to the European community's stability and safety are mentioned. Romanian delegates also question their national affiliation by criticising the actions of other member states while presenting a regional problem of transnational relevance.

When discussing how Romanian parliamentarians employ pronominal references to highlight group affiliations, the following aspects should be foregrounded:

1. Similar to *self*-referencing remarks, MPs use „we“ to project national party affiliations. In contrast, European delegates mention their ideological affiliation to address larger political alliances from within the institution.
2. In the Romanian Parliament, speakers target the Romanian constituency or choose to represent specific regional groups from the country. In the European Parliament, speakers assume the mantle of a spokesperson to represent a larger audience, mainly the European community.
3. It should be noted that politicians project national affiliations in the Romanian Parliament to underline common objectives, promote political cooperation, or instil a sense of responsibility and solidarity in all those with political power.

4. On the other hand, in the European Parliament, national affiliations are advanced to reiterate the speaker's position on a topic. This allows him/her to highlight different issues and problems that the country faces and openly discuss them in the parliament.

Lastly, the focus of the analysis shifted towards *other* entities (in the form of individuals or groups) projected during parliamentary sittings. As discussed, politicians are actively engaged in a struggle for political power (how to get it, keep it or enhance it). The adversarial nature of parliamentary discourse often leads to divergent opinions and professional competition as speakers are drawn into a continuous battle of ideas, agendas, and ideologies. In certain situations, these adversities generated political clashes. To this extent, I have provided some examples of how other entities are introduced in discourse by an „I“/“We“ vs. „You“/“They“ oppositional dynamics.

In the Romanian Parliament, *othering* (Tajfel and Turner 1979) is a common feature of parliamentary discourse as it allows speakers to forward a contrastive rhetoric between their public image (as individuals or affiliates) and the image of those referenced in discourse. On the one hand, an MP advances his/her political principles, takes a stand against others, or responds to previous allegations to arguably gain support from the multilayered addressees. On the other hand, attack strategies aim at questioning moral attributes, decisions, actions, policies, and principles of *others*. Frequently, this is directed against members of the governing party and opposing factions striving for political power.

In the European Parliament, MEPs also direct their attention towards more extensive groups, appealing to delegates from other member states. The examples showcase that MEPs mainly refer to the *outgroup(s)* and discuss how their actions affect the European community's stability and livelihood. The politician can make logical inferences or use pathos to gain support for

colleagues when approaching a pressing issue, i.e., the threat of terrorism, racism and discrimination, foreign policies. In other examples, MEPs appropriate values and principles by taking a stand against a group or an individual.

Moreover, Romanian delegates use *othering* to obtain a favourable image perception of the *out-group*. This is done in conjunction with the European Union as the actions of the group (as subsequent members) are presented in a positive light.

1. It should be noted that, in the Romanian Parliament, the discursive target is frequently mentioned explicitly. Attacks of a personal nature (or directed towards political groups) often divert from the well-established norms of parliamentary conduct, leading towards a type of “unparliamentary language” (Ilie 2001). The analysis supports the claim that a conflictual type of discourse is rarely employed as a constructive political dialogue where MPs mention one’s past transgressions or missteps with the sole purpose of consolidating and optimising the parliament’s primary activities. When it comes to the recipients of the message, attack strategies might draw new supporters or elicit favourable reactions from the already-established constituency. In the latter case, putting forward a convincing performance can enhance the group’s sphere of influence by aiming to obtain an evergrowing number of supporters.
2. In the European Parliament, the organisational settings and norms of conduct dictate for a more diplomatic approach as deviations from institutional practices are usually sanctioned. As shown in the analysis, the use of *othering* is frequently done through generic „we“-references. Romanian delegates project *out-groups* by way of generic referencing. These are done to highlight a politician’s position on a

topic, such as expressing anti-American sentiments, criticising a political colleague, or presenting some imminent threats to the European community's stability, such as terrorism or diplomatic relations with other countries. As opposed to the Romanian Parliament, MEPs employ *othering* to promote unity and cooperation between member states. Speaking about shared policies and objectives can also put the *out-group* in a positive light. Politicians advance a line of reasoning (appeals to logos), use attitude markers (appeals to pathos), or highlighting common interests and policies (appeals to ethos), which, in turn, might grant them support from other state delegates.

### **Methodological considerations**

When acknowledging the persuasive effects of pronominal interplays, it is essential to mention some methodological concerns. One such aspect relates to the investigation of the strategic aims and objectives associated with identity formation. Upon reviewing the practical part of the research, it is worth noting that some excerpts contain various pronominal references that could have multiple persuasive effects directed towards multiple receivers. Accounting for this aspect, when analysing an excerpt, I have decided to focus mainly on the process of image building relevant to the proposed subsection. To provide context, there are instances where a politician highlights individual qualities while launching attacks against an opposing party. If the aim was to present *self*-referencing remarks, then the fragment was mainly discussed from this angle. Consequently, I have proposed a standalone section where I analyse the concept of *othering*.

If we consider that political discourse is objective-driven, it is not easy to assess the extent to which politicians project their identities with

intentionality. To this end, I draw on Lave and Wenger's (1991) "community of practice theory" and argue that, when faced with a novel political environment, Romanian delegates will first have to learn how to communicate effectively within the institution. Being involved in a continuous learning process, MEPs need to adapt to the rules and practices of the European Union and learn rhetorical devices (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2013). Arguably, some of these identities, projected in discourse, do not serve extra-linguistic aims and function chiefly in a referential capacity. In some cases, mainly when inferred or generic references are employed, there is a certain degree of interpretability of the identities and the rhetorical functions they entail. This is one of the main reasons for choosing personal pronouns, as they often represent an explicit means of contextualising identities. However, it is worth noting that interpreting the extra-linguistic aspects of pronominal identities can be done from different perspectives since it frequently happens that the true intentions of the speakers are difficult to grasp.

The projection of *self* and *group* references in parliamentary discourse substantiates the idea that politicians actively negotiate and re-negotiate their identities. Exploiting the polyvalence of pronouns constitutes a dialogic action game (Weigand 2010), where MPs and MEPs constantly adapt and reinterpret their public image perception. In this constant stream of discourse, politicians are compelled to put forward convincing performances and advance diverse *self* and *group* attributions to achieve persuasion. From there, those on the receiving end of the message have the power to decide whether the speakers align with their set of values. If negotiating identity can be metaphorically viewed as a plea for one's political prowess, then the audience members will act as judge, jury, and executioners, having the power to determine the future of their political representatives, further perpetuating the persuasive design of parliamentary discourse.



## REFERENCES

Allan, Kenneth (1997), **The Postmodern Self: A Theoretical Consideration**, In *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, vol 20 (1 & 2), pp: 3-24.

Allen, Wendy (2007), **Australian Political Discourse: pronominal choice in campaign speeches**, Unpublished Article, Available online at <https://tinyurl.com/6vn66546>, Accessed on 08.05.2021.

Amossy, Ruth (2000) [2006], **L'argumentation dans le discours**, Paris: Colin.

Amossy, Ruth (2001), **Ethos at the Crossroads of Disciplines: Rhetoric, Pragmatic, Sociology**, In *Poetics Today*, vol 22(1), pp. 1-23, Durham: Duke University Press, DOI: 10.1215/03335372-22-1-1

Angermüller, Johannes (2011), **From the many voices to the subject positions in anti-globalization discourse: Enunciative pragmatics and the polyphonic organization of subjectivity**, in *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol 43 (12), pp. 2992-3000, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.05.013>

Archer, Margaret S. (2003), **Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aristotle (1928), **The "Art" of rhetoric**, transl. by Freese John Henry, London: William Heinemann.

Bahtia, Aditi (2006), **Critical discourse analysis of political press conferences**, In *Discourse & Society*, vol 17 (2), pp. 173-203, DOI: 10.1177/0957926506058057

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1981), **The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin**, ed. by Michael Holquist, transl. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, Mkhail (1984), **Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics**, ed. and transl. by Caryl Emerson, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Barnard, Alan; Spencer, Jonathan (2009), **Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology**, London: Routledge.

Battershill, Charles D. (1990), **Ervin Goffman as a precursor for post-modern sociology**, In *Beyond Goffman. Studies on Communication, Institution and Social Interaction*, ed. by Stephen H. Riggins, pp. 163-186, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bayley, Paul (2004), **Introduction: The whys and wherefores of analysing parliamentary discourse**, In *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Parliamentary Discourse*, pp. 1-44. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, <https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.10.01bay>

Berger, Peter L.; Luckmann, Thomas (1966), **The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge**, New York: Doubleday & Company.

Besley, Tina (2005), **Foucault, truth telling and technologies of the self in schools**. In *Journal of Educational Enquiry*, Vol 6 (1), pp. 76-89.

Biber, Douglas; Edward, Finegan (1988), **Adverbial stance types in English**, In *Discourse Processes, vol 11* (1), pp. 1-34.

Boas, Franz (1940), **Race, Language, and Culture**, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bolivar, Adriana (2017), **Political Discourse as Dialogue: A Latin American Perspective**, London: Routledge.

Bouissac, Paul (2019), **Introduction**, In *The Social Dynamics of Pronominal Systems*, pp. 1-17, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bramley, Nicolette R. (2001), **Pronouns of Politics: The Use of Pronouns in the Construction of „Self“ and „Other“ in Political Interviews**. Australian National University, Unpublished PhD thesis, Available online at [www.openresearch- http://tinyurl.com/asbszhus](http://www.openresearch- http://tinyurl.com/asbszhus), Accessed on July 15, 2020.

Brekke, Herbert E. (1988), **Word-Formation in Karl Bühler Sprachtheorie (1934)**, in *Henry Sweet Society for History of Linguistic Ideas Bulletin*, vol 11 (1), pp. 14-16.

Brennan, Susan E.; Kuhlen, Anna K.; Charoy, Jeanne (2017), **Discourse and Dialogue**, In *Steven's Handbook of Experimental Psychology*, vol 3, ed. by Sharon Thompson-Schill, pp. 149-206, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Brown, Penelope; Levinson, Stephen C. (1978), **Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena**, In *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction*, ed. by Esther N. Goody, pp. 56-310, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers; Cooper, Frederick (2000), **Beyond Identity**, In *Theory and Society*, Vol 29 (1), pp. 1-47, Springer.

Bull, Peter; Fetzer, Anita (2006), **Who are we and who are you? The strategic forms of address in political interviews**, In *Text and Talk*, vol 26 (1), pp. 1-35, DOI: 10.1515/TEXT.2006.002

Burke, Peter J.; Stets, Jan E. (2009), **Identity Theories**, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cap, Piotr; Okulska, Urszula (2013), **Analyzing genres in political communication. An introduction**, In *Analyzing genres in political communication*, ed. by Piotr Cap and Urszula Okulska, pp. 1-29, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cerulo, Karen A. (1997), **Identity construction: new issues, new directions**, In *Annual Review Sociology*, vol 23, pp. 385-409, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.23.1.385>.

Chilton, Paul and Schäffner, Christina (2002), **Themes and principles in the analysis of political discourse**. In *Politics as Text and Talk*, ed. by Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner, pp. 1-41, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chilton, Paul (2004), **Analysing Political Discourse. Theory and Practice**, London & New York: Routledge.

Chomsky, Noam (1956), **Three models for the description of language**, In *IRE Transactions on Information Theory*, Vol 2 (3), pp. 113-124.

Cinoglu, Hüseyin; Arikan, Yusuf (2012), **Self, identity and identity formation: From the perspective of three major theories**, In *International Journal of Human Sciences*, Vol 9 (2), pp. 1114-1131.

Cooley, Charles H. (1902), **Human Nature and the Social Order**, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Cooren, François (2010), **Ventriloquism, Performativity, and Communication. Or how to Make Things Talk**, In *Réseaux*, vol 163 (5), pp. 33-54, DOI: 10.3917/res.163.0033

Cruse, Alan (2006), **A Glossary of Semantics and Pragmatics**, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Culpeper, Jonathan (1996), **Towards an anatomy of impoliteness**, In *Journal of Pragmatics*, Vol. 25 (3), pp. 349-367, <http://tinyurl.com/mr24asda>

Davies, Bronwyn; Harré Rom (1990), **Positioning: The discursive production of selves**, In *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, vol 20 (1), pp. 43-63, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1990.tb00174.x>

Davis, Richard (1997), **Understanding Broadcast Political Talk**, In *Political Communication*, vol 14 (3), pp. 323-332.

De Finna, Anna (1995), **Pronominal choice, identity, and solidarity in political discourse**, In *Text and Talk*, vol 15 (3), pp. 379-410, <https://doi.org/10.1515/text.1.1995.15.3.379>

De Michelis, Lidia (2008), **Britain and “corporate” national identity**, In *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*, pp. 203-223, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Denton, Robert (2010), **Studies on Identity in the 2008 Presidential Campaign**, Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Dervin, Fred (2015), **Discourses of othering**, In *The international encyclopedia of languages and social interaction*, pp. 1-9, New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Du Bois, John W. (2007), **The stance triangle**. In *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, ed. by Robert Englebretson, pp. 139-182, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ekman, Paul (2003), **Emotions Revealed: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life**, New York: Henry Holt and Co.

Ellemers, Naomi; Spears, Russell; Doosje, Bertjan (2002), **Self and Social Identity**, In *Annual Review of Psychology*. vol 53, pp. 161-186, [doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135228](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135228)

Epstein, Charlotte (2011), **Who speaks? Discourse, the subject and the study of identity in international politics**, In *European Journal of International Relations*, vol 17 (2), pp. 327-350.

Erikson, Erik H. (1956), **The Problem of Ego Identity**. In *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Organization*, vol 4(1), 56-121.

Erikson, Erik H. (1968), **Identity, Youth and Crisis**, New York: W.W. Norton Company.

Fabian, Gyula; Miha, Nicolae; Emod Veress (2007), **Parliamental European**, București: Wolters Kluwer.

Fairclough, Norman (1989), **Language and Power**, London: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman; Wodak, Ruth (1997), **Critical Discourse Analysis**, In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. by Teun van Dijk, vol 2, pp 258-284). London: Sage.

Fetzer, Anita (2013), **The multilayered and multifaceted nature of political discourse**, In *The Pragmatics of Political Discourse: Explorations across cultures*, ed. by Anita Fetzer, pp. 1-18, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fetzer, Anita (2018), **Discourse pragmatics: Communicative action meets discourse analysis**, in *Pragmatics and its interfaces*, ed. By Cornelia Ilie and Neal Norrick, pp. 33-57, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fligstein, Neil (2000), **The process of europeanization**, in *Politique Européenne*, pp. 25-42, published online on <https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-europeenne-2000-1-page-25.htm#>, accessed on 05.05.2021

Foster, Steven (2010), **Political Communication**, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Foucault, Michel (1972), **The archeological knowledge**, New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michael (1980), **Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977**, ed. by Colin Gordon, transl. by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper, New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel (1988), **Technologies of the self. A seminar with Michel Foucault**, ed. by Luther H. Martin; Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Freud, Sigmund (1923), **The Ego and the Id and other works**, In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Strachey, vol 19 (1923-1925): The Ego and the Id and Other Works, pp: 1-66.

Gauntlett, David (2002), **Media, Gender and Identity. An Introduction**, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Routledge.

Giddens, Anthony (1984), **The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration**, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, Anthony (1991), **Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age**, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gillian, Nelson (2010), **A century of covert ethnography in Britain, c. 1880, c. 1980**, Glasgow University, Unpublished PhD thesis, Available online at <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2163/>, Accessed on May 23, 2017.

Goffman, Erving (1956), **The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life**, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre.

Goffman, Erving (1967), **Interaction ritual: Essays in face-to-face behavior**, New York: NY: Doubleday Anchor.

Goffman, Erving (1981), **Forms of talk**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Grad, Héctor; Rojo, Luisa M. (2008), **Identities in discourse: an integrative view**, In *Analysing Identities in Discourse*, ed. by Rosana Dolón and Júlia Todolí, pp. 3-31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Håkansson, Jessica (2012), **The use of Personal Pronouns in Political Speeches. A comparative study of the pronominal choices of two American presidents**, Linnaeus University, Unpublished Article, Available online at <https://tinyurl.com/efv5s25s>, Accessed on May 21, 2020.

Harrison, Tom (1937), **Savage Civilization**, London: Left Book Club.

Herrick, James A. (2000), **The history and theory of rhetoric: an introduction**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Hester, Stephen; Eglin, Peter (1997), **Culture in Action. Studies in Membership Categorization Analysis**, Washington: International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis & University Press of America.

Hoinărescu, Liliana (2018), **Definitions as an argumentative strategy in parliamentary discourse. A cross-cultural and contrastive approach**, In *Language and Dialogue*, vol 8 (2), pp. 209-234. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, DOI: 10.1075/ld.00013.hoi

Holmes, Janet (2018), **Sociolinguistics vs Pragmatics: were does the boundary lie?** in *Pragmatics and its interfaces*, ed. By Cornelia Ilie and Neal Norrick, pp. 11-32, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hyland, Ken, (2005), **Metadiscourse**, London: Continuum.

Ilie, Cornelia (2001), **Unparliamentary language: Insults as cognitive forms of confrontation** in *Language and Ideology: Descriptive Cognitive Approaches*, Vol 2, ed. by René Dirven, Roslyn M. Frank, and Cornelia Ilie, pp. 235-263, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, doi.org/10.1075/cilt.205.14ili

Ilie, Cornelia (2003), **Histrionic and agonistic features of parliamentary discourse**, In *Studies in Communication Sciences*, vol 3(1), pp. 25-53.

Ilie, Cornelia, (2004), **Insulting as (un)parliamentary practice in the British and Swedish parliament: A rhetorical approach**, In *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Parliamentary Discourse*, ed. by Paul Bayley, pp. 45-87.

Ilie, Cornelia (2006), **Parliamentary Discourses**, in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics 2nd edition*, ed. by Keith Brown, vol 9, pp. 188-197, Oxford: Elsevier.

Ilie, Cornelia (2010a), **Discourse strategies and interactional practices**, In *European Parliaments under Scrutiny*, ed. by Cornelia Ilie, pp. 1-29, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ilie, Cornelia (2010b), **Identity co-construction in parliamentary discourse practices**, In *European Parliaments under Scrutiny*, ed. by Cornelia Ilie, pp. 57-79, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ilie, Cornelia (2010c), **Managing dissent and interpersonal relations in the Romanian parliamentary discourse**, In *European Parliaments under Scrutiny*, ed. by Cornelia Ilie, pp. 193-222, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ilie, Cornelia (2018), **Pragmatics vs rhetoric. Political discourse at the pragmatics rhetoric interface**, In *Pragmatics and its Interfaces*, ed. by Cornelia Ilie and Neal Norrick, pp. 85-121, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana (2012), **Introduction**. In *Parliamentary Discourse across Cultures*, ed. by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Melania Roibu and Mihaela Constantinescu, pp. 1-20, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Publishing.

Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Liliana (2014), **Strategic uses of certainty and uncertainty in a political debate**, In *Language and Dialogue*, vol 4 (1), pp. 149-162.

Johnson, Allan G. (2000), **The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology: A User's Guide to Sociological Language**, New Jersey: Willey-Blackwell Publishing.

Jung, Carl G. (1971), **Psychological Types. Collected Works of C.G. Jung**, vol. 6 (2), New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Kärkkäinen, Elise (2007), **The role of *I guess* in conversational stance taking**, In *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, ed. by Robert Englebretson, pp. 183-221, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kasper, Gabriele (1990), **Linguistic politeness: current research issues**, In *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol 14, pp. 193-218.

Kayam, Orly (2018), **The Readability and Simplicity of Donald Trump's Language**, In *Political Studies Review*, vol 16 (1), pp. 73-78, DOI: 10.1177/1478929917706844

Koller, Veronika (2012), **How to Analyse Collective Identity in Discourse: Textual and Contextual Parameters**. In *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, vol 5 (2), pp. 19-38.

Lauerbach, Gerda (2006), **Discourse representation in political interviews: The construction of identities and relations through voicing and ventriloquizing**, In *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol 38 (2), pp. 196-215, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.06.015>

Lave, Jean; Wenger, Ettiene (1991), **Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, Jean; Wenger, Etienne (1996), **Practice, Person, Social World**, In *An Introduction to Vygotsky*, pp. 143-151, New York: Routledge.

Levinson, Stephen C. (1983), **Pragmatics**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liebes, Tamar; Ribak, Rivka (1991), **A mother's battle against TV news: a case study of political socialization**, In *Discourse and Society*, vol 2(2), pp. 203-222.



Lilleker, Darren G. (2006), **Key Concepts in Political Communication**, London: Sage.

Locke, J. (1683), **Identity of Persons**, In Bodleian Libraries, Oxford MS Locke f7.

Lombardo, Emanuela; Meier, Petra (2006), **Gender Mainstreaming in the EU: Incorporating a Feminist Reading?**, In *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol 13(2), pp. 151-166, DOI: 10.1177/1350506806062753

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1923), **The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages**. In *The Meaning of Meaning*, ed. by Charles Ogden and Ivor Richards, pp. 296-336, London: K. Paul, Trend, Trubner.

Marinero, Isabella C. (2009), **Between Surveillance and Exile. Biopolitics and the Roma in Italy**, In *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, vol 1 (2), 265-287.

McCall, George J.; Simmons, Jerry L. (1978), **Identities and Interactions: an examination of human associations in everyday life**, New York: Free Press.

McNair, Brian (1999), **An Introduction to Political Communication**, London: Routledge.

Mead, George H. (1913), **The Social Self**. In *Journal of Philosophy, Psychological and Scientific Methods*, vol 10 (14), pp. 374-380, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2012910>

Mead, George H. (1934), **Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist**, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, Carolyn R. (1984), **Genre as Social Action**, In *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 70 (2), pp. 151-167.

Mills, Sara (2009), **Impoliteness in a cultural context**. In *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol 41 (5), pp. 1047-1060.

Nietzsche, Friedrich (1887), **On the Genealogy of Morals**, In *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann [2000], New York: Modern Library.

Norricks, Neal R.; Ilie, Cornelia (2018), **Introduction: Pragmatics and its interfaces**, in *Pragmatics and its interfaces*, ed. By Cornelia Ilie and Neal Norricks, pp. 1-10, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ochs, Elinor (1993), **Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective**, In *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, vol 26 (3), pp. 287-306, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Oyserman, Daphna; Elmore, Kristen; Smith, George (2012), **Self, Self-Concept, and Identity**, In *Handbook of Self and Identity*, ed. by Mark Leary and June Tangney, pp. 69-104, New York: The Guilford Press.

Palmer, Michael (1981), **The European Parliament. What it is. What it does. How It Works**, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Poletta, Francesca (2006), **It was like a fever: Storytelling in protest and politics**, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pop, Lia (2007), **Pentru Parlamentul European**, Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea.

Rigby, Jessica G.; Woulfin, Sarah L.; März, Virginie (2016), **Understanding How Structure and Agency Influence Education Policy Implementation and Organization Change**, In *American Journal of Education*, vol 122 (3), pp. 295-302, DOI: 10.1086/685849

Sacks, Harvey (1995), **Lectures on Conversation. Vol I and II**, ed. by Gail Jefferson and Emanuel A. Schegloff, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Săftoiu, Răzvan (2013), **The discursive practice of addressing in the Romanian Parliament**, In *The Pragmatics of Political Discourse: Explorations across cultures*, ed. by Anita Fetzer, pp. 47-65, <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.228.04saf>

Săftoiu, Răzvan (2015), **Split voices in political discourse**. In *Language and Dialogue*, vol 5(3), pp. 430-448, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, <https://doi.org/10.1075/ld.5.3.04saf>

Săftoiu, Răzvan, Toader, Adrian (2018), **The persuasive use of pronouns in action games of election campaigns**, In *Language and Dialogue*, Vol 8(1), pp. 21-43, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Said, Edward (1978), **Orientalism**, New York: Pantheon Books.

Sapir, Edward (1934), **The Emergence of the Concept of Personality**. In *A study of culture*, *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol 5, pp. 408-415, DOI: 10.1080/00224545.1934.9921609

Schäffner, Christina (1996), **Political Speeches and Discourse Analysis**, In *Language and Society*, vol 3(2), pp. 201-204, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Silverman, David (1998), **Harvey Sacks Social Science and Conversational Analysis**, New York: Oxford University Press.

Spencer-Oatey, Helen (2007), **Theories of Identity and the Analysis of Face**, In *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39 (4), pp. 639-656, Amsterdam: North Holland, DOI: doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2006.12.004

Sperber, Dan; Wilson, Deirdre (1995), **Relevance: Communication and cognition**, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Stefănescu, Ariadna (2015), **Analysing the rhetoric use of the epistemic marker Eu cred că (I think) in Romanian parliamentary discourse**, In *Persuasive Games in Political and Professional Dialogue*, ed. by Răzvan Sătoiu, Maria-Ionela Neagu and Stanca Măda, pp. 101-142, <https://doi.org/10.1075/ds.26.06ste>

Steffens, Niklas K. (2013), **Power through „Us“: Leaders“ Use of We-Referencing Language Predicts Election Victory**, In *PloS ONE*, vol 8 (10), e77952, DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0077952

Tajfel, Henry (1978), **Differentiation between social groups. Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations**, London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, Henry; Turner, John (1979), **An Interactive Theory of Intergroup Conflict**, In *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. by William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, pp. 33-47, Monterey, CA: Brooks Cole.

Tajfel, Henry (1982), **Social Psychology of intergroup relations**, In *Annual Reviews Psychology*, vol 33, pp. 1-39.

Tajfel, Henry; Turner, John (1986 [2004]), **The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior**. In *Political Psychology. Key Readings*, ed. by John T. Jost and Jim Sidanius, pp. 276-294, New York, Psychology Press.

Tannen, Deborah (2007), **Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue and imagery in conversational discourse**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tekin, Beyza Ç. (2010), **Representation and othering in discourse. The construction of Turkey in the EU context**, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tirado, Francisco J.; Gálvez, Ana (2008), **Positioning Theory and Discourse Analysis: Some Tools for Social Interaction Analysis**, in *Historical Social Research*, vol 33 (1), pp. 224-251.

Titscher, Stefan; Meyer, Michael; Wodak, Ruth; Vetter, Eva (2000), **Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis**, London: Sage.

Toader, Adrian (2015), **Projections of the Self in Romanian political discourse**, In *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, vol 4(8), pp. 31-40.

Toader, Adrian (2016), **Strategic Maneuvering in Presidential Debates. The case of Traian Bănescu vs. Mircea Geoană**, In *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, vol 9 (58), pp. 81-92.

Toader, Adrian (2022), **Attitudinal Stance in Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. The Case of the „Colectiv” Tragedy**, in *Attitude and Stance in Discourse*, Cambridge. Cambridge Scholar Publishing.

Turner, Jonathan H. (2012), **Contemporary Sociological Theory**, London: Sage Publications.

van Dijk, Teun A. (1984), **Prejudice in discourse: An analysis of ethnic prejudice in cognition and conversation**, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

van Dijk, Teun A. (1985), **Dialogue as discourse and interaction**, in *Handbook of discourse analysis*, ed. by Teun van Dijk, pp. 1-11, London: Academic Press.

van Dijk, Teun. A. (1987), **Communicating Racism. Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk**, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

van Dijk, Teun A. (1989), **Mediating racism: The role of the media in the reproduction of racism**, In *Language, Power and Ideology*, ed. by Ruth Wodak, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

van Dijk, Teun A. (1993), **Elite discourse and racism**, London: Sage Publications.

van Dijk Teun A. (1995), **Discourse Semantics and Ideology**, In *Discourse & Society*, vol 6(2), pp. 243-289.

van Dijk, Teun (1997), **What is Political Discourse Analysis?**, In *Political Linguistics*, vol 11 ed. by Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen, pp. 11-52, published online: <https://tinyurl.com/hb6b7e>.

van Dijk, Teun. A. (2000), **Critical discourse analysis**, Unpublished article, Retrieved March 5, 2018, from <http://tinyurl.com/4bjwmm44>

Van Dijk, Teun A. (2006), **Ideology and Discourse Analysis**, In *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol 11 (2), pp. 115-140.

Van Dijk Teun A. (2007), **Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction**, Unpublished Book, Available at <http://tinyurl.com/yc4c2dat>, Accessed on January 11, 2021.

Vasilescu, Andra (2010), **Metastance in The Romanian Parliamentary Discourse. Case Studies**, In *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 55(4), pp. 365-380.

Vuković, Milica (2012), **Positioning in pre-prepared and spontaneous parliamentary discourse: Choice of person in the Parliament of Montenegro**, In *Discourse and Society*, vol 23 (2), pp. 184-202, DOI: 10.1177/0957926511431507

Waddle, Maurice; Bull Peter; Böhnke, Jan R (2019), **“He is Just the Nowhere Man of British Politics”:** **Personal Attacks in Prime Minister’s Questions**, In *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, Vol 38 (1), 61-84, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X18767472>.

Waugh Linda R., (2008), **Shifting Linguistic Identities in Interaction: The Case of a French-English Bilingual**, in *Readings in Language Studies*, vol 1, *Language across Disciplinary Boundaries*, ed. Miguel Mantero, Paul Miller, and John Watzke, pp. 211-227, St. Louis: International Society for Language Studies, Inc.

Weigand, Edda (2010), **Dialogue: The Mixed Game**, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Weigand, Edda (2011), **Pardigm changes in linguistics: From reductionism to holism**, In *Language and Sciences*, vol 33 (44), pp. 544-549, DOI: 10.1016/j.langsci.2011.04.031

Weigand, Edda (2015a), **Persuasion or the integration of grammar and rhetoric**, in *Persuasive Games in Political and Professional Dialogue*, ed. by Răzvan Săftoiu, Maria-Ionela Neagu and Stanca Măda, pp. 3-19, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Weigand, Edda (2015b), **Identity as a dialogic concept** in *Language and Dialogue*, vol 5(1), pp. 7-23.

Weigand, Edda (2015b), **Dialogue in the stream of life** in *Language and Dialogue*, vol 5(2), pp. 197-223.

Weigand, Edda (2018), **Dialogue: the key to pragmatics**, in *From pragmatics to dialogue*, ed. by Edda Weigand and Istvan Kecskes, pp. 5-28, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wenger, Etienne; McDermott, Richard A.; Snyder, William M. (2002), **Cultivating Communities of Practice: A guide to managing knowledge**, Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Whisnant, Clayton J. (2012), **Foucault and Discourse: A Handout for HIS 389**, online, last modified November 9, 2012, <http://tinyurl.com/b58rejsn>, accessed on 15.04.2021

Widdowson, Henry G. (2007), **Discourse analysis**, New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Raymond (1960), **Culture and Society 1780-1950**, University of Iowa: Doubleday.

Wilson, John (1990), **Politically Speaking. The Pragmatic Analysis of Political Language**, Oxford: Blackwell.

Wilson, John (2008), **Political Discourse**, in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton, pp. 398-416, London: Blackwell Publishing.

Wilson, Julie (2009), **Power and Pragmatics**, in *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics*, ed. by Jacob L. Mey, pp. 744-747, Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1922), **Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus**, transl. by Charles K. Ogden, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company Inc.

Wodak, Ruth (1989), **Language, Power and Ideology**, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wodak, Ruth (2009), **The Discourse of Politics in Action. Politics as Usual**, London: Pallgrave MacMillan.

Wodak, Ruth (2014), **Discourses of exclusion: xenophobia, racism and anti-semitism**, In *The discourse studies reader: main currents in theory and analysis*, pp. 400-409, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Xue, Bing; Zhang, Shaojie (2019), **The Chinese pronominal system and identity construction via self-reference**, In *The Social Dynamics of Pronominal Systems*, ed. by Paul Bouissac, pp. 205-217, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Yule, George (1996), **Pragmatics**, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zafiu, Rodica (2013), **The Epideictic Discourse in a Deliberative Context: Political Statements in the Romanian Parliament**, in *Parliamentary Discourses across Cultures: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Melania Roibu, Mihaela-Viorica, pp. 133-150, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Zupnik, Yael-Janette, (1994), **A pragmatic analysis of the use of person deixis in political discourse**. In *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol 21 (4), pp. 339-383, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(94\)90010-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(94)90010-8)

## Webography

1. **The European Parliament**, official website, <http://tinyurl.com/3bx448sx>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
2. **The Romanian Senate**, official website, <https://www.senat.ro/>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
3. **The Romanian Chamber of Deputies**, official website, <http://www.cdep.ro/>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
4. **The Construction of identity in the Romanian and European discourse. A pragma-rhetorical approach**, UEFSCDI project, 2015-2017, University of Transylvania Braşov, <http://tinyurl.com/mtbvypm3>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
5. **The etymology of „identity“**, <http://tinyurl.com/5n77dv6m>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
6. **Definition of „anthropology“**, <http://tinyurl.com/mshd7sh9>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
7. **The etymology of „platic“**, <http://tinyurl.com/4eck4du4>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
8. **Definition of „communion“**, <http://tinyurl.com/euksfksb>, accessed on 20.04.2021.

9. **Definition of „rhetoric“**, <http://tinyurl.com/4ahet7zc>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
10. **Definition of „phatos“**, <http://tinyurl.com/s8avkfc4>, accessed on 20.04.2021.
11. **Definition of „pditics“**, <http://tinyurl.com/yztap2wx>, accessed on 29.04.2021.
12. **Definition of „discourse“**, <http://tinyurl.com/yeywvp73>, accessed on 29.04.2021.
13. **Definition of „parliament“**, <http://tinyurl.com/mw4pvusr>, accessed on 30.04.2021.
14. **European Council. Council of the European Union**, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/>, official website, accessed on 30.04.2021.
15. **Members of the European Parliament**, <http://tinyurl.com/4c289pk8>, official website, accessed on 30.04.2021.
16. **National parliaments in the EU**, official website, <http://tinyurl.com/yc7a2arp>, accessed on 30.04.2021.
17. **Regulation on the Joint Meetings of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate**, official website, <http://tinyurl.com/4usbms96>, 30.04.2021.
18. **Definition of „audience“**, <http://tinyurl.com/5n8su4b5>, accessed on 30.04.2021.
19. **Definition of „agnistic“**, <http://tinyurl.com/45jmfu44>, accessed on 30.04.2021.
20. **Definition of „histrionic“**, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/histrionic>, accessed on 30.04.2021.
21. **About *Paşoptism***, <https://tinyurl.com/yvdzrt84>, accessed on 05.05.2021.
22. **About rapporteurs in the EP**, <http://tinyurl.com/ytz7cmxj>, official website, accessed on 05.05.2021.
23. **About European Committees**, <http://tinyurl.com/3u4t4tz7>, official website, accessed on 07.05.2021.
24. **About the European Parliament**, official website, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/democracy-and-human-rights>, accessed on 07.05.2021.



25. **About the European Authentic Act**, <https://tinyurl.com/r7fjhnx8>, accessed on 07.05.2021.
26. **Definition and Examples of Hypernyms in English**, <https://tinyurl.com/bww8248w>, accessed on 07.05.2021.
27. **The Treaty of Lisbon**, <http://tinyurl.com/4bvnhdw>, official website, accessed on 07.05.2021.

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1.</b> Understanding identity and the complex whole .....	69
<b>Figure 2.</b> Political discourse as „goal -oriented“ .....	77
<b>Figure 3.</b> A traditional view of political communication (Lillaker 2006: 5) .....	78
<b>Figure 4.</b> Discursive identities and strategies of image-building.....	91
<b>Figure 5.</b> The multilayered audience.....	93

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1, Transcribing Conventions. List of Romanian political parties<sup>74</sup>

<b>Political Parties (RO)</b>	<b>Abbreviation (RO)</b>	<b>Political Parties (ENG)</b>	<b>Abbreviation (ENG)</b>
Partidul Democrat Liberal	PDL	Liberal Democratic Party	LDP
Partidul Național Liberal	PNL	National Liberal Party	NLP
Partidul Social Democrat	PSD	Social Democratic Party	SDP
Partidul România Mare	PRM	Greater Romanian Party	GRP
Partidul Democrat	PD	Democratic Party	DP
Partidul Conservator	PC	Conservative Party	CP
Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România	UDMR	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania	DAHR

---

<sup>74</sup> This list contains transcribing conventions referring only to the political affiliation of the politicians discussed in the present book.

**Appendix 2, Transcribing conventions. List of alliances within the European Parliament**

<b>European Alliances (the 6<sup>th</sup> legislature 2004-2009)</b>	
<b>Name</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
European People's Party- European Democrats	EPP-ED
Party of European Socialists	PES
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	ALDE
Union for Europe of the Nations	UEN
The Greens-European Free Alliance	Greens- EFA
European United Left-Nordic Green Left	GUE-NGL
Independence/Democracy	IND/DEM
Non-Inscrits	NI

<b>European Alliances (the 7<sup>th</sup> legislature 2009-2014)</b>	
<b>Name</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
European People's Party (since June 22, 2009)	EPP
Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (since June 23, 2009)	S&D
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	ALDE
European Conservatives and Reformists	ECR
The Greens-European Free Alliance	Greens- EFA

### Appendix 3, Political affiliation of the MPs and MEPs

<i>Name</i>	<b>Political Affiliation</b>	<b>Activity within the Romanian Parliament</b>	<b>Political Affiliation in the European Parliament</b>	<b>Activity within the European Parliament</b>
<b>ANASTASE</b> Roberta	Democratic Party Liberal Democratic Party (from 2008) National Liberal Party (From 2015)	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008; 2012-2020) MP-Senate (2020-present)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2009)
<b>BUȘOI</b> Cristian Silviu	National Liberal Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008) MP-Senate (2008-present)	ALDE	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2014)
<b>CORLĂȚEAN</b> Titus	Social Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008) MP-Senate (2008-2012; 2012-2016)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2008)
<b>CREȚU</b> Gabriela	Social Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2007-2009)
<b>FILIP</b> Petru	Liberal Democratic Party Social Democratic	MP-Senate (2008-2012; 2012-2016)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2009)

	Party (from 2012)			
<b>IACOB</b> Monica Ridzi	Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008; 2008-2012; 2012-2016)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2009)
<b>MARINESCU</b> Marian-Jean	Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2014)
<b>PASCU</b> Ioan Mircea	Social Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2014)
<b>PETRE</b> Maria	Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2009)
<b>PLUMB</b> Rovana	Social Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008; 2012-2016)	PES	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2012)
<b>POPA</b> Mihaela	Democratic Party	MP-Senate (2008-2012; 2012-2016)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2008)
<b>SÂRBU</b> Daciana Octavia	Social Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2014)

<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	Social Democratic Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2011; suspended)
<b>SOGÓR</b> Csaba	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians	MP-Senate (2004-2008)	EPP-ED	MEP (2007-2009; 2009-2014)
<b>VĂLEAN</b> Adina-Ioan	Liberal Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2004-2008)	ALDE	MEP (2007-present)
<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	Social Democratic Party	MP-Senate (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2009-2014)
<b>BECALI</b> George	Greater Romania Party	MP-Chamber of Deputies (2012-2016)	none	MEP (2009-2013)
<b>CUTAȘ</b> Sabin	Conservative Party	MP-Senate (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2009-2014)
<b>NICOLAI</b> Norica	Liberal Party	MP-Senate (2004-2008)	ALDE	MEP (2009-2014)
<b>ȚICĂU</b> Silvia Adriana	Social Democratic Party	MP-Senate (2004-2008)	PES	MEP (2009-2014)
<b>VADIM</b> Tudor Corneliu	Greater Romania Party	MP-Senate (2004-2008)	none	MEP (2009-2014)

#### Appendix 4, The Romanian Parliament. Full texts of the corpus

	MEP	DATE	Type	FULL TEXT
1	<b>IACOB</b> Ridzi Monica	27.07.2009	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/k7sa3u2j">https://tinyurl.com/k7sa3u2j</a>
2	<b>BECALI</b> George	18.02.2013	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/e52anxyp">https://tinyurl.com/e52anxyp</a>
3	<b>PASCU</b> Ioan Mircea	14.06.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4z6rzvej">https://tinyurl.com/4z6rzvej</a>
4	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	19.04.2007	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/vmdf6xr8">https://tinyurl.com/vmdf6xr8</a>
5	<b>ANASTASE</b> Roberta	01.11.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4y4xpdu9">https://tinyurl.com/4y4xpdu9</a>
6	<b>BUȘOI</b> Cristian Silviu	26.04.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2h57b47n">https://tinyurl.com/2h57b47n</a>
7	<b>FILIP</b> Petru	02.03.2009	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/y9vbcy45">https://tinyurl.com/y9vbcy45</a>
8	<b>PETRE</b> Maria	10.02.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/fhv4993b">https://tinyurl.com/fhv4993b</a>
9	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	22.05.2006	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/xfjeyury">https://tinyurl.com/xfjeyury</a>
10	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	28.12.2004	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4srhhr86">https://tinyurl.com/4srhhr86</a>
11	<b>IACOB</b> Ridzi Monica	27.07.2009	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/anurw77y">https://tinyurl.com/anurw77y</a>
12	<b>PLUMB</b> Rovana	08.03.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/z67afafw">https://tinyurl.com/z67afafw</a>
13	<b>NICOLAI</b> Norica	15.03.2004	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4a4r9eub">https://tinyurl.com/4a4r9eub</a>
14	<b>POPA</b> Mihaela	23.03.2009	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/chejv3tm">https://tinyurl.com/chejv3tm</a>
15	<b>CUTAȘ</b> Sabin Ioan	11.04.2005	Interpellation	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4xbdp77j">https://tinyurl.com/4xbdp77j</a>
16	<b>IACOB</b> Ridzi Monica	09.12.2014	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/45rpa8rf">https://tinyurl.com/45rpa8rf</a>
17	<b>POPA</b> Mihaela	09.02.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4hwasaty">https://tinyurl.com/4hwasaty</a>



18	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	27.12.2004	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/jp83mtuh">https://tinyurl.com/jp83mtuh</a>
19	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	14.03.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/ucczn54a">https://tinyurl.com/ucczn54a</a>
20	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	25.04.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/ety89vww">https://tinyurl.com/ety89vww</a>
21	<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	15.03.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2kh2rp3h">https://tinyurl.com/2kh2rp3h</a>
22	<b>ȚICĂU</b> Adriana Silvia	24.10.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/225nytjr">https://tinyurl.com/225nytjr</a>
23	<b>CREȚU</b> Gabriela	01.11.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/hv6758x2">https://tinyurl.com/hv6758x2</a>
24	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	30.10.2006	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/zm3k7bea">https://tinyurl.com/zm3k7bea</a>
25	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	22.05.2006	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4yjs4fpb">https://tinyurl.com/4yjs4fpb</a>
26	<b>FILIP</b> Petru	02.03.2009	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/y9vbey45">https://tinyurl.com/y9vbey45</a>
27	<b>ANASTASE</b> Roberta	09.05.2006	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/x4przxu7">https://tinyurl.com/x4przxu7</a>
28	<b>ȚICĂU</b> Adriana Silvia	19.03.2007	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/5ejn49p3">https://tinyurl.com/5ejn49p3</a>
29	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	01.02.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4yeswy2j">https://tinyurl.com/4yeswy2j</a>
30	<b>VĂLEAN</b> Adina Ioana	21.06.2005	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/u9bmbd34">https://tinyurl.com/u9bmbd34</a>
31	<b>NICOLAI</b> Norica	22.09.2004	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/3dr42r9w">https://tinyurl.com/3dr42r9w</a>
32	<b>IACOB</b> Ridzi Monica	05.10.2009	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/rub29sv6">https://tinyurl.com/rub29sv6</a>
33	<b>ANASTASE</b> Roberta	04.03.2013	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/3cdxrryc">https://tinyurl.com/3cdxrryc</a>
34	<b>ANASTASE</b> Roberta	26.06.2006	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/yu65vuhu">https://tinyurl.com/yu65vuhu</a>

35	<b>IACOB</b> Ridzi Monica	08.05.2007	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/uhfzxa9d">https://tinyurl.com/uhfzxa9d</a>
36	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	22.09.2008	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4emjc9na">https://tinyurl.com/4emjc9na</a>
37	<b>CORLĂȚEA</b> N Titus	20.12.2005	Intervention	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/ww6r2eue">https://tinyurl.com/ww6r2eue</a>

### Appendix 5, The European Parliament. Full texts of the corpus

	MEP	DATE	Type	FULL TEXT
38	<b>PLUMB</b> Rovana	12.01.2009	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/9v45vv5m">https://tinyurl.com/9v45vv5m</a>
39	<b>NICOLAI</b> Norica	18.01.2011	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/82fu56vt">https://tinyurl.com/82fu56vt</a>
40	<b>PETRE</b> Maria	09.03.2009	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/3p9ha562">https://tinyurl.com/3p9ha562</a>
41	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	06.06.2011	Intervention (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/3h3za7hy">https://tinyurl.com/3h3za7hy</a>
42	<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	10.04.2008	Written Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/w67dyt93">https://tinyurl.com/w67dyt93</a>
43	<b>PETRE</b> Maria	26.03.2009	Oral statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/ehtwwe8">https://tinyurl.com/ehtwwe8</a>
44	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	09.10.2008	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/42m4c8ad">https://tinyurl.com/42m4c8ad</a>
45	<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	12.11.2007	Oral Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/101kisku">https://tinyurl.com/101kisku</a>
46	<b>CSABA</b> Sógor	25.03.2009	Oral Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2ca2h9ap">https://tinyurl.com/2ca2h9ap</a>
47	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	07.09.2010	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2xmnkdnb">https://tinyurl.com/2xmnkdnb</a>

			(RO)	
48	<b>CSABA</b> Sógor	09.03.2009	Intervention (HU)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2hen9ub8">https://tinyurl.com/2hen9ub8</a>
49	<b>BECALI</b> George	06.10.2010	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/hzjc4jpb">https://tinyurl.com/hzjc4jpb</a>
50	<b>BUȘOI</b> Cristian Silviu	18.12.2008	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/hb5c3af4">https://tinyurl.com/hb5c3af4</a>
51	<b>BECALI</b> George	13.09.2011	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4u274b2s">https://tinyurl.com/4u274b2s</a>
52	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	16.12.2010	Intervention (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/h2mxbf6e">https://tinyurl.com/h2mxbf6e</a>
53	<b>PETRE</b> Maria	04.05.2009	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/p3yee7nc">https://tinyurl.com/p3yee7nc</a>
54	<b>MARINESCU</b> Marian-Jean	17.01.2007	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/au67h7ka">https://tinyurl.com/au67h7ka</a>
55	<b>FILIP</b> Petru	08.10.2008	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2eybahra">https://tinyurl.com/2eybahra</a>
56	<b>PASCU</b> Ioan Mircea	03.09.2007	Intervention (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/y3ut7d37">https://tinyurl.com/y3ut7d37</a>
57	<b>PLUMB</b> Rovana	20.05.2008	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/skcytr6d">https://tinyurl.com/skcytr6d</a>
58	<b>CREȚU</b> Gabriela	04.09.2007	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/z3htn7ry">https://tinyurl.com/z3htn7ry</a>
59	<b>CREȚU</b> Corina	09.03.2009	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/kcdt8pv8">https://tinyurl.com/kcdt8pv8</a>
60	<b>NICOLAI</b> Norica	04.07.2012	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/mhtee76x">https://tinyurl.com/mhtee76x</a>
61	<b>BUȘOI</b> Cristian Silviu	20.02.2008	Oral Statement	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/3n32f8c4">https://tinyurl.com/3n32f8c4</a>

			(RO)	
62	<b>IACOB</b> Ridzi Monica	28.11.2007	Intervention (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/ynkvfkr9">https://tinyurl.com/ynkvfkr9</a>
63	<b>PASCU</b> Ioan Mircea	20.05.2008	Intervention (Eng)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/2h36fzfd">https://tinyurl.com/2h36fzfd</a>
64	<b>BUȘOI</b> Cristian Silviu	03.09.2007	Intervention (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/hvav6fk">https://tinyurl.com/hvav6fk</a>
65	<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	22.10.2008	Oral Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/mt5encmu">https://tinyurl.com/mt5encmu</a>
66	<b>MARINESCU</b> Marian-Jean	18.02.2009	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/scyb2dkk">https://tinyurl.com/scyb2dkk</a>
67	<b>NICOLAI</b> Norica	16.01.2013	Oral Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/x8fuyx68">https://tinyurl.com/x8fuyx68</a>
68	<b>SÂRBU</b> Daciana Octavia	18.02.2008	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/mztr9jar">https://tinyurl.com/mztr9jar</a>
69	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	04.07.2011	Intervention (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4nnzc57j">https://tinyurl.com/4nnzc57j</a>
70	<b>TUDOR</b> Corneliu Vadim	15.05.2010	Intervention (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4jux5s4r">https://tinyurl.com/4jux5s4r</a>
71	<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	14.02.2007	Oral Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/tshvbkbkf">https://tinyurl.com/tshvbkbkf</a>
72	<b>VĂLEAN</b> Adina Ioana	12.07.2007	Oral Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/6nyhs7a8">https://tinyurl.com/6nyhs7a8</a>
73	<b>SEVERIN</b> Adrian	07.07.2008	Oral Statement (ENG)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/5m8m3nut">https://tinyurl.com/5m8m3nut</a>
74	<b>PETRE</b> Maria	18.02.2009	Intervention (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/4nmyeujm">https://tinyurl.com/4nmyeujm</a>
75	<b>CRETU</b> Gabriela	21.10.2008	Written Statement (RO)	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/yyh9rw7t">https://tinyurl.com/yyh9rw7t</a>

## Appendix 6, An overview of *self*-referencing remarks in the Romanian Parliament

*Ex.* Pronominal identities      Targeted audience      Discursive strategies      Discursive effects

	Implicit	Explicit	Inferred	Mentioned		
<i>Ex. 1</i>	„I” as an <b>honest politician</b>	X	Broad Audience	Other MPs (“ <i>dear colleagues</i> ”)	Underlining personal attributes in an attempt to clear one’s name	Appeal to ethos Re-constructing her public image perception
	„I” as an <b>innocent politician</b>					
	„I” as a <b>victim</b>					
<i>Ex. 2</i>	„I” as an <b>honest politician</b>	„I” as an <b>innocent politician</b>	Broad Audience	Other MPs (through a generic „you” reference)	Underlining personal attributes in an attempt to clear one’s name	Appeal to ethos and pathos; Re-constructing his public image perception
<i>Ex. 3</i>	„I” as a <b>competent politician</b>	X	Broad Audience	X	Underlining personal attributes of the <i>self</i> Emphasising negative attributes of <i>others</i>	Positive image-building of <i>self</i> Negative image building of <i>others</i>
<i>Ex. 4</i>	„I” as a <b>person of principle</b>	„I” as a <b>knowledgeable MP</b>	Broad Audience	Other MPs (projected through the pronoun „we”)	Underlining personal attributes of the <i>self</i> Emphasising negative attributes of <i>others</i>	Positive image building of <i>self</i> Negative image building of <i>others</i>
				Other young politicians		

Ex.5	„I“ as a <b>competent politician</b>	„I“ as a <b>young politician</b>	Broad Audience	and/or MPs (projected through the pronouns „we“ and „us“)	Underlining professional experience	Positive image building: claiming knowledge and competence
Ex.6	„I“ as a <b>competent politician</b>	„I“ as a <b>young politician</b>	Broad Audience	Other MPs (projected through the pronoun „we“)	Underlining professional experience	Positive image building: claiming knowledge and competence
Ex.7	„I“ as an <b>experienced politician</b>	„I“ as a <b>former mayor</b> I as a former <b>MEP</b>	Broad Audience	X	Invoking his professional background to add credibility to his character	Positive image building: claiming political experience
Ex.8	„I“ as an <b>experienced politician</b>	„I“ as a <b>former MP</b>	Broad Audience	Other MPs (“the colleagues who know me from the previous term”)	Invoking his professional background to underline core political policies	Positive image building: claiming political experience
Ex. 10	„I“ as an <b>influential politician</b>	X	Broad Audience	The president of the Senate (“dear mister President”)	Invoking his political influence to discredit the image of the <i>others</i>	Positive image building: claiming influence Negative image building of <i>others</i>
Ex. 11	X	„I“ as a <b>member of a political party</b> ”	Broad Audience	X	Emphasising personal attributes to the <i>in-group</i> Underlining negative attributes of the <i>out-group</i>	Positive image building of the group Negative image building of the opposition
Ex.	„I“ as a	„I“ as a	Broad	Other MPs (projected through the		

12	<b>representative of female Romanians</b>	<b>member of a political party</b>	Audience	pronoun „we“) Romanian women (projected through the noun “româncelor”)	Emphasising personal attributes of the <i>in-group</i>	Positive image building of the group
Ex. 13	X	„I”as a <b>representative of a party</b>	Broad Audience (suggested through the generic possessive „our”)	X	Bringing into question the party’s long lasting history	Positive image building of the group
Ex. 14	X	„I”as a <b>former MEP</b> „I”as a <b>former senator</b> „I”as a <b>representative of a smaller constituency</b> „I”as a <b>member of the Liberal Democratic Party</b>	Broad Audience	Smaller constituency (citizens of Iași)  Former Romanian Members of the EP  Other MPs from the same political group	Emphasising professional experience  Establishing a bond with the audience  Claiming responsibility and competence	Positive image building of the <i>self</i>
Ex. 15	„I”as a <b>representative of a specific constituency</b> e.g. the citizens of the Teleorman County	X	Broad Audience	The Citizens of Teleorman county	Establishing a bond with the audience	Positive image building of the <i>self</i>
	„I”as as a		Broad		Establishing a	Positive image

Ex. 16	<b>representative of a specific constituency</b> e.g. the citizens of Jiu Valley	X	Audience The Citizens of Jiu Valley	X	bond with the audience	building of the <i>self</i>
Ex. 17	„I”as a <b>knowledgeable MP</b>	„I”as a former <b>educator (director, school inspector, teacher)</b>	Broad Audience	Other colleagues (through a generic „you” reference)	Emphasising professional experience on the topic at hand	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> Adding credibility to her statement
Ex. 18	„I”as a <b>knowledgeable MP</b>	„I”as a <b>historian</b> „I”as a <b>sociologist</b>	Broad Audience	Other MPs (through a generic „you” reference)	Emphasising professional experience on the topic at hand	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> ; Adding credibility to his statement
Ex. 19	„I”as a <b>victim</b> „I”as a <b>patriot</b>	„I”as a <b>family man</b> (“oameni din familia mea”)	Broad Audience	X	Underlining the laden history between Romanians and Hungarians	Positive image building of the <i>self</i>

## Appendix 7, An overview of inclusive identities in the Romanian Parliament

Ex.	Pronominal identities		Targeted audience		Discursive strategies	Discursive effects
	Implicit	Explicit	Inferred	Mentioned		
					Underlining	Appeal to ethos



Ex. 20	„We“ as <b>members of a political party</b>	“We, the Parliamentary group of the SDP”	Broad Audience/ Other MPs	X	political group attributes Underlining the group’s moral integrity	Positive image perception of the <i>in-group</i> Negative image perception of the <i>out-group</i>
Ex. 21	„We“ as <b>members of a political party</b>	Impersonal referencing	Broad Audience	X	Underlining political group attributes Emphasising negative attributes of <i>others</i> Invoking a collective response to an issue	Appeal to ethos and pathos Discrediting the governing party Positive image perception of the <i>in-group</i>
Ex. 22	„We“ as <b>Romanian parliamentarians</b>	X	Other MPs Broad Audience	“Dear colleagues”	Making a plea to other MPs to cooperate in parliament	Appeal to logos (directed towards other MPs) Positive image perception for the <i>in-group</i>
Ex. 23	„We“ as a <b>transnational group with shared values</b>	“Together with my social democrat colleagues, [I] belong to a group.”	Broad Audience	X	Mentioning shared political values with other European Parties	Appeal to logos (underlining the influence and power of the party)
Ex. 24	„We“ as a <b>transnational group with shared values</b>	Explicit „we references” Impersonal referencing	Broad Audience	X	Mentioning political accomplishments of the <i>in-group</i> Mentioning shared political values with <i>other</i> European Parties	Positive image building: claiming knowledge and competence Discrediting the governing party
	„We“ as a <b>transnational</b>	“We, the SDP group”	Broad Audience	X	Underlining prior	Appeal to logos

Ex. 25	<b>group with shared values</b>				accomplishments and professional experience of the <i>in-group</i>	
Ex. 26	„We“ as <b>representatives of the constituency</b>	“The citizens that we represent”	Broad Audience	X	Speaking on behalf of the constituency	Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> (appeal to ethos)
Ex. 27	„We“ as <b>representatives of the constituency</b>	Expressed through a positive pronoun „our“	Broad Audience	“our integration”	Speaking about Romania’s ascension into the European Union	Appeal to pathos (invoking patriotism)
Ex. 28	Collective „we“ as <b>Romanians</b>	X	Broad Audience	“We, Romanians”	Invoking a shared sentiment with the audience	Positive image building: appeal to pathos
Ex. 29	Collective „we“ as <b>Romanians</b>	“we, the Romanians”	Broad Audience	X	Mentioning the hardships met by Romanians during the communist period	Appeal to pathos (sensitising the audience members by approaching an emotionally-laden topic)
Ex. 30	Collective „we“ as Romanians	“[we] are directly interested, both the political class and the Romanian civil society”	Broad Audience	X	Advocating for a common cause with the Romanian electorate	Appeal to logos and pathos

## Appendix 8, An overview of *othering* in the Romanian Parliament

Ex.	Pronominal identities			Targeted audience	Discursive strategies	Discursive effects
	Implicit	Explicit	Inferred	Mentioned		
Ex.31	„I” vs. „You”	Referencing another politician through the honorific, “dumneavoastră”	Broad Audience/ The addressee	Gramatically-inferred and explicit references to the addressee	Launching an attack by making insinuations and mocking the addressee	Negative image perception of the addressee Positive image perception of the addresser
Ex.32	„I” vs „You”	Impersonal referencing	Broad Audience/ Others	Through direct forms of address “Mr. Nicolăescu” “Mr. Robert Negoiță”	Responding to her <i>prior ethos</i> by discrediting others Questioning the moral character of the counterparts Questioning the credibility of the addressees’ claims	Negative image perception of the addressee Appeal to ethos („I” as an unjustly accused victim)
Ex.33	„I” vs „You”	X	Broad Audience/ Others	Through direct forms of address “Domnule Ministru”	Making implications of an enduring negative traits, i.e. political incompetence	Negative image perception of the addressee
Ex.34	„We” vs. „They”	Referencing another politician through the honorific “dumneavoastră”	Broad Audience/ Others	The Governing Party and subsequent members	Questioning the moral character of the group	Negative image perception of the addressee and the <i>out-group</i> Positive image perception of the addresser and the <i>in-</i>

						<i>group.</i>
Ex.35	„We“ Vs. „You“ (pl.)	Explicit „we references“ Impersonal referencing	Broad Audience/ Others	“On behalf of the population of Hunedoara County”	Representing the constituency Accusing the governing party of political bias and corruption	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> Negative image perception of the <i>out-group</i>
Ex.36	Mixed pronominal interplays	“I” as a historian	Broad Audience/ Members of The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania	X	Underlining nationalist and patriotic values Questioning an MP’s statement by invoking his identity as a historian Threatening MPs with anti-nationalistic views	Appeal to pathos (colleagues and general audience) Positive image-perception of the <i>self</i> (as a knowledgeable MP) Negative image perception of the <i>out-group</i> and subsequent members
Ex.37	Mixed pronominal interplays	X	Broad Audience/ Others	X	Negative labels linked to the governing party Discrediting the image of the <i>out-group</i>	Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> Negative image perception of the <i>out-group</i> and subsequent members

## Appendix 9, An overview of *self*-referencing remarks in the European Parliament

	Implicit	Explicit	Inferred	Mentioned		
Ex. 38	Underlining political/ideological affiliation	„I“ as a <b>European Social-Democrat</b>	Broad Audience	Other European Social Democrats (projected through the pronoun „we“)	Promoting a common cause Speaking on behalf of an ideological group	With <b>Social-Democrat MEPs</b> - underlining group responsibilities (appeal to ethos) With a <b>broader audience</b> : Positive attributes associated with the <i>in-group</i> (appeal to ethos) Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (underlining political experience/influence)
Ex. 39	Underlining political/ideological affiliation	„I“ as a <b>European Liberal</b>	Broad Audience	Other Liberals (projected through the pronoun „we“)	Promoting a common cause Speaking on behalf of an ideological group	With <b>Liberal MEPs</b> - underlining group responsibilities (appeal to ethos) With a <b>broader audience</b> : Positive attributes associated with the <i>in-group</i> (appeal to ethos) Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (underlining political experience/influence)
Ex. 40	Underlining political affiliation	„I“ as a <b>European rapporteur</b>	Broad Audience	X	Taking an official position on a topic	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (highlighting knowledge and competence)
Ex. 41	Underlining political affiliation	„I“ as a <b>delegate of a European Committee</b>	Broad Audience	X	Taking an official position on a topic	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (highlighting knowledge and competence)

Ex. 42	„I” as a spokesperson for a national ideological group	„I” as <b>Head of the Romanian Socialist Delegation</b>	Broad Audience	Other group members (projected through the pronoun „we”)	Appealing to collective reasoning. Speaking on behalf of a political/ideological group. Criticising the actions of the EU	Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> (claiming knowledge and competence) Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (underlining political influence conferred by the delegate’s function) Negative image building of the <i>out-group</i> (scrutinising EU policies)
Ex. 43	X	„I” as a <b>Romanian MEP</b>	Broad Audience	Other group members (“my colleagues and I”)	Speaking on behalf of impoverished families within the European Community. Claiming knowledge on the topic. Emotional appeals (directed towards a broad audience)	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (protecting the interests of regional groups) Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> (underlining policies and actions meant to strengthen the group’s image)
Ex. 44	X	„I” as a <b>Romanian Representative</b>	Broad Audience	X	Advocating for a better medical healthcare in the European community	Evoking emotive reactions from the addressee (appeal to pathos) Underlining character traits (appeal to ethos)
Ex.	X	„I” as a	Broad	X	Speaking on behalf of Romanian	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (through attitude markers and the position taken on the topic)

45		<b>European Representative</b>	Audience		citizens Criticizing the practices of European Democrats	Negative image building of the <i>out-group</i> (criticising the actions of the European Democrats)
Ex. 46	Speaking on behalf of ethnic minorities	„I” as a <b>representative of Hungarians in Romania</b>	Broad Audience	Hungarian minorities in Romania (mentioned explicitly in the extract)	Speaking about the discrimination of ethnic and linguistic minority groups	Positive image building of the self (showing compassion and understanding for an ethnic minority)
Ex. 47	Speaking on behalf of the Roma Community	X	Broad Audience	X	Speaking about the discrimination of the <i>Roma</i> minority	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (achieved through group membership) Appeal to pathos – introduced by attitude markers Negative image building of the generic <i>others</i>
Ex. 48	Speaking on behalf of ethnic and religious communities	„I” as a <b>representative of traditional national minorities</b> „I” as a <b>representative of religious minorities</b>	Broad Audience	Traditional national minorities (conveyed by his language choice)	Speaking about the Romanian government’s discriminative policies against a religious minority Criticising the discriminative views of other MEP	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (speaking on behalf of a allegedly discriminated minority group) Negative image building of the <i>out-group</i> (speaking against the action of other MEPs)
					Approach	Appeal to pathos (through attitude)

Ex. 49	Speaking on behalf of a regional group (The Albanian People)	X	Broad Audience	X	ing the topic from a seemingly subjective perspective Mentioning his Albanian heritage	markers and the position taken on the topic) Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (through hyponymy-Albanian heritage)
Ex. 50	X	„I” as a <b>lawyer</b>	Broad Audience	X	Emphasizing professional experience on the topic at hand	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (adding credibility to his message)
Ex. 51	X	„I” as a <b>businessman</b>	Broad Audience	X	Emphasizing professional experience on the topic at hand	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (adding credibility to his message)
Ex. 52	„I” as a person of culture	„I” as a <b>Romanian historian and writer</b>	Broad Audience	X	Claiming knowledge on the topic at hand	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (adding credibility to his message)
Ex. 53	X	„I” as a <b>mother</b> „I” as a <b>Romanian MEP</b>	Broad Audience	X	Taking an official position on a topic (Romanian MEP) Taking a subjective position on a topic (“as a mother of two”)	Positive image building of the <i>self</i> (adding credibility to her message) Evoking emotive reactions from a broad audience (through hyponymy- family)



Ex.54	„I“ as a newly admitted MEP	X	Broad Audience	Presidents of the EU (mentioned explicitly in the excerpt)	Praising the actions and policies of the EU presidents	Establishing a bond with the members of the EU (appeal to ethos)
Ex. 55	„I“ as an MEP	X	Broad Audience	X	Appealing to the collective judgment of other MEPs Speaking on behalf of the European constituency	Fallacious appeal to logos (directed towards other MEPs) Appeal to pathos (directed towards a broad audience)
Ex.56	X	„I“ as a MEP from a former communist country	Broad Audience	X	Invoking his past under communist rule Claiming knowledge on a topic Criticising political authorities from Ireland	Emotive appeals (referencing living under a communist regime) Appeal to pathos - invoking a sentiment of fear (directed towards MEPs or a broad audience) Discrediting the image of the <i>out-group</i> (criticising their external policies)

## Appendix 10, An overview of inclusive identities in the European Parliament

Ex.	Pronominal identities		Inferred	Targeted audience	Discursive strategies	Discursive effects
	Implicit	Explicit		Mentioned		
Ex. 57	Underlining political ideology	„We“ as <b>European Socialists</b>	Broad Audience	X	Overseeing the interests of European citizens Speaking on behalf of an ideological group	With a <b>broad audience</b> : Invoking a general attitude towards its citizens (appeal to ethos)  With <b>other MEPs</b> : promoting a shared cause (appeal to ethos)
Ex. 58	Underlining a political ideology	„We“ as <b>Socialists</b>	Broad Audience	X	Promoting a common cause Speaking on behalf of an ideological group	With a <b>broad audience</b> : highlighting the negative effects of immigration (appeal to pathos suggested by the use of attitude markers)  With <b>other MEPs</b> : promoting a shared cause (appeal to ethos)
Ex. 59	Underlining political ideology	„We“ as <b>Leftists</b>	Broad Audience	Other political faction “the Right”	Speaking on behalf of the Roma community Promoting a common cause Criticising Right wing politics.	Discrediting the image of the <b>group</b> (the Right) Positive image building of <b>the in-group</b> (appeal to ethos).  With <b>other MEPs</b> : promoting a shared cause (appeal to ethos)
Ex. 60	„We“ as representatives of the Romanian citizens	„We“ as representatives of the European citizens	Broad Audience	X	Speaking on behalf of the European citizens. Underlining key policies of the <i>in-</i>	With a <b>broad audience</b> : Invoking a general attitude towards its citizens (appeal to ethos)  With <b>other MEPs</b> : highlighting joint political principles (appeal to ethos)

					<i>group</i>	
Ex. 61	„We“ as representatives of the Romanian /European citizens	X	Broad Audience	X	Highlighting professional duties in relation to the European citizens. Promoting a common cause	<p>With a <b>broad audience</b>: underlining the importance of communicating with EU citizens (appeal to ethos)</p> <p>With <b>other MEPs</b>: highlighting joint political actions (appeal to ethos)</p>
Ex. 62	„We“ as Romanian MEPs „We“ as European MEPs „We“ as Romanian democrats „I“ as a grateful politician	X	Broad Audience	Other MEPs (dumneavoastă) The Romanian citizens	<p>Representing the interests of the Romanian citizens</p> <p>Underlining the influence of a Romanian party in international politics</p> <p>Expressing gratitude towards Romanian citizens and other MEPs</p>	<p>With Romanian citizens (speaking on their behalf-appeal to ethos)</p> <p>With a European Alliance (highlighting the influence of the Romanian party in the EP)</p>
Ex 63	Invoking national affiliation	„We“ Romanians	Broad Audience	X	<p>Highlighting professional duties in relation to the Roma community in Europe</p> <p>Expressing a personal viewpoint on the subject</p> <p>Criticizing the actions of other member states of the EU</p>	<p>Appeal to ethos (directed towards other MEPs)</p> <p>Appeal to pathos (directed towards a broad audience)</p> <p>Negative image building of <i>the out-group</i> (EU member states)</p> <p>Criticising the actions of the EU</p>

Ex. 64	Invoking national affiliation	„We“ as a member state of the EU	Broad Audience	X	Speaking on behalf of the Romanian nation Underlining the <i>in-group</i> 's responsibilities towards the EU	Appeal to ethos and pathos (directed towards other MEPs) Appeal to ethos (directed towards the Romanian citizens)
Ex. 65	Underlining the group's authority and influence	„We“ as “history builders”	Broad Audience	X	Underlining the authority and influence of the <i>in-group</i>	Appeal to ethos (directed towards other MEPs) Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> (underlining their political influence)
Ex. 66	Appealing to the solidarity of other MEPs (through generic „we“ references)	X	Broad Audience	X	Invoking a collective response from the <i>in-group</i> Underlining key political values of the <i>in-group</i> .	<b>With other MEPs:</b> highlighting joint political principles (appeal to ethos)  With the broad audience: Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> (appeal to ethos)
Ex. 67	Reiterating central policies of the EU (through generic „we“ references)	X	Broad Audience	X	Underlining key political values of the <i>in-group</i> Discussing the EU's involvement in the US-Iraq conflict	With other MEPs highlighting joint political principles (appeal to ethos) With the broad audience: Positive image building of the <i>in-group</i> (appeal to ethos)
	Emotional	X	Broad	X	Speaking about	Appeals to pathos (a sentiment of fear)

Ex. 68	appeals towards other MEPs (through generic „we“ references)		Audience		terrorism in the EU Mentioning prior terrorist attacks	directed towards other MEPs and a broad audience) Appeals to ethos (advocating for a common course of action)
--------	--	--	----------	--	---	--

## Appendix 11, An overview of *othering* in the European Parliament

**Ex. Pronominal identities Targeted audience Discursive strategies Discursive effects**

	Implicit	Explicit	Inferred	Mentioned		
Ex. 69	„I“ vs. „They“ Expressing anti-American attitudes	X	Broad Audience/ The addressee	Grammatically-inferred reference to the addressee “they”	Launching an attack by making insinuations and mocking remarks at the expense of the American nation	Discrediting the image of the <i>out-group</i> . Positive image perception of the addresser (as an authoritative figure)
Ex. 70	„I“ vs inferred „he“ Speaking against a co-national	Referencing the target through the noun “man”	Broad Audience/ Other MEPs	X	Questioning the political values of his counterpart	Negative image perception of the addressee (appeal to ethos) Instilling a sense of nationalism/patriotism (appeal to pathos)
Ex. 71	„We“ vs inferred „They“ Speaking against terrorism	Explicit references of the in-group (“our”, “they”, “we”)	Broad Audience/ Other MEPs	X	Criticising the actions of the <i>out-group</i> Underlining the negative implications of the <i>out-group</i> 's actions	Appeals to pathos (instilling a sentiment of fear in the minds of the broad audience) Appeals to ethos (suggesting a common course of action to deal with this issue) - directed towards other MEPs

Ex. 72	„We“ vs inferred „They“. Speaking against Ukraine’s policies	Explicit references of the <i>in-group</i> (“our”, “they”, “we”)	Broad Audience	X	Criticising the actions of the <i>out-group</i> Underlining the negative implications of the <i>out-group’s</i> actions	Negative image perception of the addressee Positive image perception of the addresser (appeals to ethos and logos)
Ex. 73	“We“ vs. „They“. Co-constructing the identity of others	Explicit references of the <i>in-group</i> and <i>out-group</i> (“we” and “they”)	Broad Audience	X	Speaking on behalf of the <i>out-group</i> Asking support from other MEPs Speaking against discrimination	Appeals to ethos (suggesting a common course of action to deal with this issue) Positive <i>self</i> -image of the <i>in-group</i> (through the position taken on the topic) Positive image - perception of the <i>out-group</i> (showcasing discriminative policies against them)
Ex. 74	„I“ vs. „They“. Speaking on behalf of a regional group	Other MEPs (plural „you“, „our“) The regional group (they, them, themselves)	Broad Audience	X	Representing the interests of the regional group Underlining the influence of the European Parliament	Establishing a bond with the Regional group (appeal to ethos) Positive image perception of the self and/or <i>in-group</i> (through the position taken on the topic)
Ex 75	Invoking national affiliation	„We“ Romanians	Broad Audience	X	Highlighting professional duties in relation to the Roma community in Europe Expressing a personal viewpoint on the subject	Appeal to ethos (directed towards other MEPs) Appeal to pathos (directed towards a broad audience) Negative image building of <i>the out-group</i> (EU member states)