

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH TO THE ROMANIAN PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE REGARDING CULTURAL CHANGE

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Abstract: Critical discourse analysis (CDA) contributes to the implementation of certain political, economic and scientific perspectives by giving the discourse a value of great importance for social change while involving not merely the support of verbal construct, but also its ‘materialization’ as social practice. Therefore, being focused on hegemonic discourse that analyzes unequal power relations, CDA does not usually concentrate on philosophical discourse, whose major aim is to validate a particular ‘logic’ or to allow for the self-referential relationship with the ability of communicating, maintaining a dialogue or thinking etc. Consequently, we witness the impossibility of a scientific development. This happens due to the contrast between the logic of a discourse about (something), which has become a discourse aimed at validating a viewpoint, or at “colonizing” the truth, through CDA, and the logic of openness toward (something), makes relative the truth implying discursive occurrences, by projecting the unique, abstract or ideal perspective outside such occurrences. Thus, philosophical discourse occurs essentially within the boundaries of an assumed power equality, which means it occurs outside the CDA’s area of expertise. Moreover, philosophical discourse does not involve assuming discursive effects; on the contrary, it assumes the perspective itself. Nevertheless, philosophy generates major discourses that propose (and sometimes achieve) changes. Such discourses are not valued from the CDA’s perspective, at the right moment. Instead, they are later on rediscovered and reinterpreted. Philosophical discourse, apparently lacking outcomes regarding social life, causes profound long-termed mutations to societies. In this respect, we propose for debate a major discourse of the Romanian philosopher Constantin Noica. The discourse under debate has been subjected to multiple reinterpretations, attributed ideologies and it continues to generate debates even nowadays. Accordingly, our intention is to organize the analytic construct and focus on a particular segment, namely, the philosophy of culture, and more precisely, one of the major debates of the Romanian philosophy, with regard to cultural change. Focusing on three classical philosophical discourses (What Is Eternal and What Is Historical in Romanian Culture, Noica, 1943), our article aims at identifying their reverberations within today’s political discourse. For this purpose, we intend to find answers to the following questions generated by our study: To what extent is the illocutionary power of the philosophical discourse present within the contemporary political discourse?, and, To what extent does today’s social context allow for the appropriateness of this type of discourse to the Romanian electorate? by analyzing nineteen speeches of the Romanian leader of the National Liberal Party, Crin Antonescu.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, (Critical) Discourse Studies, philosophical discourse, political discourse, critical effects.

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIETY AND DISCOURSE

The entire social activity reduces to to symbols. All social relationships are symbolically mediated. Regarding the

connections between society and symbols, we can draw a set of *linguistic equations*. First of them, according to Ferdinand de Saussure, could be expressed as:

language (*langue*) = language (*langage*) – speaking (*parole*) (1)

more exactly:

Évitant de stériles définitions de mots, nous avons d'abord distingué, au sein du phénomène totale que représentent le *langage*, deux facteurs: la *langue* et la *parole*. La langue est pour nous le langage moins la parole/ (Saussure, 1972:112).

Considering language (*langue*) as a social product, both a *form* and a *non-substance*, the Swiss linguist stressed the necessity of taking into account the interconnections between its constitutive elements. Therefore, Saussure laid the foundations of structuralism as theory, appealing the linguistic system as mediating structure between the objective reality and the subjective perception. The second equation, belonging to the French linguist Émile Benveniste, is based on the same distinction, *langue-langage*. The language (*langue*) is considered a system containing other structures that belong both to community and the individual, while the language (*langage*) is developed within a *langue*. In Benveniste's perspective, *langue* is the product of a certain culture that is conditioned by *langage*, subsumed to *langue*. Benveniste considered that the individual assimilates, perpetuates, and transmits the culture, through *langue*, while the discourse is a component of the *langage*, in an equation rewritten by Caune (2000:28) as follows:

***langage* = logos (disourse + ration) (2).**

The first two equations are important in order to establish the relationships between language (implicitly between discourse) and society/community. Benveniste's assertion, *la langue contient la société*, sustained by E.T. Hall's expression, *culture is communication, communication is culture*, applied through the equations (1) and (2), is designed to stress the liaison between the society and the forms of language that express the society. Without establishing lineages in terms of relations with Saussure's structuralism, the French scholar Patrick Charaudeau approaches equation (1), noting that his perspective can (and need to) be nuanced. In an article explaining his

theoretical position, Charaudeau splits from the French rationalist essentialism, but accepts the perspective of social subgroups, of the structuralist anthropologist Levi Strauss' cultural variants, contributing to the emergence of idea „*que l'identité culturelle est à la fois stable et mouvante*” (2002). Charaudeau places himself in the proximity of scholars considering that the natural relationship with cultural identity is achieved not through language but through discourse, pointing out the following: „*contre une idée bien répandue, il faudrait dissocier langue et culture, et associer discours et culture*” (2009). Charaudeau's clear-cut position is different from the moderate one of Caune, who considers that, despite the interdependence between language and communication, the authenticity of culture is outlined through individual aspirations and interests that lead to an adjustment of the relation individual-culture through small groups, culturally independent (Caune, 2009:91). On the contrary, Charaudeau considers that cultural values are not transmitted through language, but through discourse. In this respect, the discourse is variable, while language does not change depending on the addresser and addressee. Rewriting Saussure's equation from Charaudeau's perspective (2001:343) means, actually, taking into account a different equation, namely:

discourse = language (*langue*) + language application (*speech*) (3).

This perspective explains best how the effects of a previous philosophical discourse are reactivated within a new discursive framework – a political one – maintaining the language as an invariant. Therefore, in Charaudeau's terms, speaking about discourse community is more adequate than speaking about language community.

A community of discourse (sometimes seen as a community of discourse and practice, Skovira, 2010:370), represents a dynamic structure, with boundaries placed depending on the discursive context. Moreover, a community of discourse includes people sharing ideologies and context patterns (or

context models). Regarding our area of interest, this kind of association implies the profound elements that highlight the transmission of the cultural values through discourse. In this case, the philosophical discourse coagulates the language around the core of the cultural values. The community of discourse could be considered community only if deep fundamentals lead to fastening relations between individuals. Thus, this community of discourse is one of profoundly philosophically and culturally based discourse.

The philosophical discourse, that unifies membership and identity and permits the development of an ideology of the cultural area, constitutes a rhetorical genre. Yet, the philosophical discourse incorporates a weaker power of the enunciator, balanced by an emotional effervescence that carries the potential power towards other possible discourses. Moreover, assumed power equality represents one of the fundamental features of the philosophical discourse. The philosophical discourse does not involve any assuming discursive effects. Is therefore, the analysis of critical effects of a philosophical discourse possible, as long as the philosophical discourse does not involve power imbalance, direct social change or assumption? All these three characteristics of critical effects are subjects of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA).

2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS PERSPECTIVE

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) operates with a particular definition of discourse. Out of this perspective, the discourse is seen as an instrument used in performing macro-social changes, related to major social events. It represents a communicational construction that expresses a particular kind of social behavior. Therefore, the discourse analyzed by CDA is a hegemonic discourse, one that produces unequal relationships. Generally speaking, CDA refers to power relationships, to social inequality, to gender discourse, to racial engagements and to other kinds of discourses implying or (re)producing inequalities. In Maingueneau's terms, there is a particular

inclination towards social cognition and representation of power and dominance that could be roughly be expressed as follows:

Roughly speaking, discourse analysis would only describe practices, whereas critical approaches to texts and talks would show how these hide power relations, prejudices, discrimination, and so on. (Maingueneau, 2006:229)

Thus, CDA focuses on the colonist discourse, on the discourse that colonizes the discursive area related to a perception of truth based on a particular certitude (ideologically marked) and on a particular moral correctness. The critical discourses' purpose does not specifically to maintain or deepen the inequality, but this inequality is preserved through the discourse capacity to maintain the relations of power. CDA is characterized by the common interest in demystifying power ideologies¹ as long as the critical discourse represents the engine of society:

(...) discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:6).

Maingueneau (2006:229-230) distinguishes three foremost levels of critical discourse that emerge from three steps in differentiation between discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis: (i) a level focused on the critical orientation in relationships with social phenomena, that are ethically or politically negative; (ii) a level implying the behavioral disciplines in the global project of society change, meaning *Kritische Theorie* in terms of the Frankfurt School; and (iii) a level regarding the research in discourse analysis area with the purpose of searching a critical orientation of discourses. Taking into account this taxonomy and analyzing the ideological

¹ „Critical theories, thus also CDA, want to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection”, noted Wodak & Meyer (2009:7)

dimension – one of the most important dimensions of critical discourse that lay the foundation of its hegemony – we could consider that the first level poses an important ideological charge, the second one is ideologically neutral², and the third could be a meta-ideological level. In the intention to studying the critical effects of previous philosophical discourses on current political discourses, our interest results from an oscillation between the first and the third Maingueneau's levels. We need to equally investigate the direct effects of political discourses, therefore the ideological charge of this discourse, and the indirect effects of philosophical discourse, a purpose that could be reached through the agency of a meta-ideological approach. In these terms, including the enunciator's intends to obtain benefits from the ideological charge – I mean "ideology" in relationship with *critical discourse analysis* seen as "an elaborate story told about the ideal conduct of some aspects of human affairs" (Locke, 2004:33)³ – of his discourse, respectively to use an important discourse that produces long time before other social effects, without necessarily aiming at the same effects, but conveying a meta-ideological reference.

As our topic is concerned, the philosophical discourse, approached through the political discourse, constitutes a form of transmigration from the ideologically neutral level (or from the meta-ideological one) to the level focused on the critical orientation in relationship with social phenomena. In order to study the possible critical indirect effects of the philosophical discourse, it is important to select an adequate research strategy depending on two sets of polar values: agency vs. structure, respectively broad linguistic

operationalization vs. detailed linguistic operationalization. Wodak & Meyer proposed the following taxonomy:

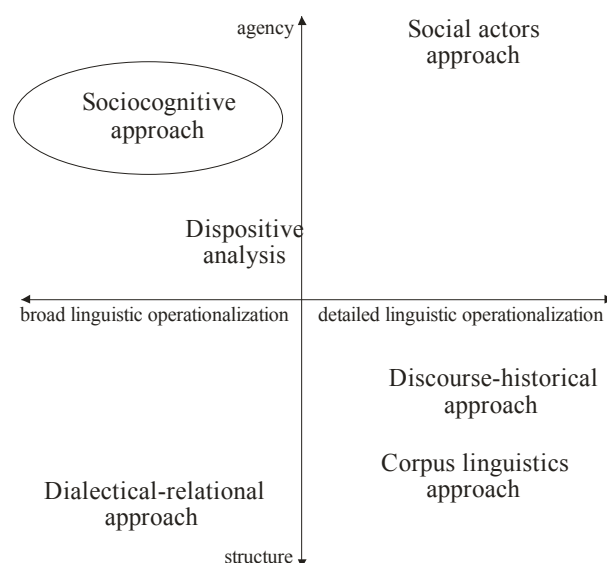


Fig.1 Linguistic depth of field and level of aggregation (*apud* Wodak & Meyer, 2009:22)

Due to the openness involved by the socio-cognitive approach as an analytical strategy, especially due to the possibility to plunge into a multidisciplinary field, we've chosen this perspective as being satisfactory for the purpose of our study.

3. (CRITICAL) DISCOURSE STUDIES PERSPECTIVE

With roots in philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, rhetoric, psycho-sociology, etc., *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) can be approached through the agency of a broader disciplinary field, (*Critical*) *Discourse Studies* or (C)DS, based on a proposal of labeling initiated by Teun A. Van Dijk in 2009. (C)DS suggests that a critical approach does not imply only an analytical perspective, but also a critical theoretical engagement, external references, applications and methods. Logically, it is suggested that the family of analytical methods does not belong to CDA, but to (C)DS that, understood as disciplinary field, is not limited to a method, but to a „critical perspective, position or attitude within the discipline of multidisciplinary *Discourse Studies*” (van Dijk, 2009:62). This

² Regarding the second level, of *Kritische Theorie*, Maingueneau (2006:229) noted "From this viewpoint, the analyst may study phenomena that, at first glance, might seem ideologically neutral."

³ In a different perspective, more nuanced, the ideologies, seen as *worldviews* that represent *social cognitions* by van Dijk, are defined as „representations of aspects of the world which contributes to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:8)

multidisciplinary approach is closer than others (as CDA, for example, whose philosophical roots could allow such an approach) to our intention to analyze the critical effects of the philosophical discourse taken through the political discourse. This multidisciplinary approach is closer to ours that analyzes the critical effects through philosophical discourse over political discourse than trying vicinity through the CDA, whose philosophical roots may allow such an approach. In addition, (C)DS represents for van Dijk rather a *problem oriented* (or *theory oriented*) than a disciplinary field. Being on the way to truth – the truth of interpretation – and not imposing the truth approach the subject of our analysis by (C)DS (nu are predicat). It is worth mentioning that (C)DS is limited, according to Dutch scholar, to the analysis of a particular class of social problems⁴, whose overcome, however, is not the subject of our study. Intention of critical effects of philosophical discourse analysis, whose semantic macrostructures are taken through political discourse, is not apart from van Dijk projection. In this respect, now, it is not necessary to discuss the possibilities of broadening the field of study.

(C)DS field dimensions extend the possibilities of our subject, due to the interest in real language and real users of '*naturally occurring*' language, focusing on *larger units* (such as texts, for example) and not on words and isolated sentences, the linguistics extending *beyond sentence grammar* towards the study of action/interaction, extending towards study of *nonverbal aspects* of communication, the orientation towards interactional strategies, the study of *contexts of language use* (social, cultural, situative, or cognitive) functions, respectively the analysis of a large number of *phenomena of text grammar and language use* (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:2).

⁴ (C)DS „aim to analyse, and thus to contribute to the understanding and the solution of, serious social problems, especially those that are caused or exacerbated by public text and talk, such as various forms of social power abuse (domination) and their resulting social inequality.” (van Dijk, 2009:63)

The most important dimension of (C)DS in terms of our analysis is related to the study of the language use context functions, issue to be dealt with later. From this perspective, van Dijk believes that the relationship between discourse and society is not direct, but mediated by so-called *context models*, by a set of contextual patterns (culturally shaped, and extended to a local or *micro* dimension and to a global or *macro* dimension), that

(...) are organized by a relatively simple *schema* consisting of fundamental *categories*, such as:

- a spatiotemporal setting
- participants
 - identities, roles, relationships
 - goals
 - knowledge
 - ideologies
- the ongoing social action. (van Dijk, 2009:73-74)

Context models are considered to be, *par excellence*, the interference zone between discourse and society and to play, therefore, an important role in critical discourse analysis. Moreover, these contextual patterns imply appealing to the discursive criterion of *relevance*, to a relative relevance, regarding knowledge, goals, desires, interests and personal experiences of participants in discursive act, filtered by the enunciator. In our case, the relative relevance derives from a general framework, a framework of culture, of common knowledge regarding culture, became particular through the subjective filter of participants in discourse.

4. CASE STUDY: PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE POLITICALLY UPDATED

In 1943, in a speech within a conference in Berlin, entitled “Ce e etern și ce e istoric în filosofia românească” (*What Is Eternal and What Is Historical in Romanian Culture*), the Romanian philosopher Constantin Noica said:

We do not want anymore to be the eternal villagers of history. (...) Economically and politically, culturally and spiritually, we feel that we cannot live in a patriarchal, villageois, ahistorical Romania. An historical Romania is

no more satisfactory for us, we need a current Romania.⁵ (Noica, 1991:7-8)

This fragment from an ample and reasoned discourse is, in fact, a notorious piece of Romanian cultural philosophy on the conflict between *eternal* and *historical*, whose roots are present in the Romanian way of thinking from the early eighteenth century. Dimitrie Cantemir, prince of Moldavia and encyclopedic scholar, identifying a crisis of Romanian conscience, projects the Western system of values onto the Romanians, intending to get them out of apathy and of the influence of oriental values. If in Cantemir's text (1714/1973) the political and philosophical discourses are intertwined, after the eighteenth century this topic became only the a privileged one in the philosophical discourse, finding his highest expression in Noica's work, that formulated \emptyset , in a syntactical manner, one of the Romanian conscience's dramas. But, as Professor Grigore Georgiu noted (2007:239), the issue of the relationship between *eternal* and *historical*, as it was called by Noica, is one of the issues "that the Romanian nation, with its history full of discontinuities and fractures, failed to overcome it even nowadays, in the hour of its European integration".

Given this preamble whereby we announced the subject of our analysis, it is important for us to point out the methodological itinerary regarding the case study. **The overall objective** is to identify the coverage of the issue regarding the relationship between *eternal* and *historical* in the contemporary Romanian political discourse. The study corpus consists of a set of nineteen major discourses of the liberal leader Crin Antonescu, performed between 3rd of April 2007 - 23rd of January 2012. Studying the effects of a topic of the Romanian political discourse (originated in the philosophical discourse), **the units of analysis** are

Antonescu's political discourses, and **the units of interpretation** are the semantic macrostructures from these discourses that reflect the *eternal/historical* relationship. The sources of information are the liberal leader's discourses, recorded and transcribed on the website <http://crinantonescu.ro/Public/cat/16/Discursuri.html>. Intending a qualitative analysis on the critical effects of the philosophical discourse taken by the political discourse, the **research questions** are: *To what extent is the illocutionary power of the philosophical discourse present within the contemporary political discourse?*, and, *To what extent does today's social context allow for the adequacy of this type of discourse to the Romanian electorate?* The designed research is a standard one, using the **study of documents**. The research is based on the circular process proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2009:22): theory → [conceptualization; selection of theoretical concepts and relations, assumptions] → operationalization → [procedures and instrument] → discourse/text → [selection of information] → interpretation → [examination of assumptions] → theory, taking into account the (C)DS perspective of Dutch Teun van Dijk (2009:62-88). Concerning the phases of critical discourse analysis, the focus is naturally oriented towards *linguistically oriented phase* involving a fine analysis on context, text surface and rhetorical means, and not towards *content-oriented phase* that implies a structure analysis.

The first observation on the coverage of the Romanian philosophical matter regarding the cultural change under the mark of the *eternal/historical* relationship, mediated by Noica, in Crin Antonescu's political discourses is related to the presence of this issue in five paragraphs within three discourses of a total of nineteen, roots of this topic being found in three more discourses. Crin Antonescu, by refusing to quote⁶ directly well-known phrases

⁵ "Noi nu mai vrem să fim eternii săteni ai istoriei. (...). Economicește și politicește, culturalicește și spiritualicește, simțim că nu mai putem de mult trăi într-o Românie patriarhală, sătească, anistorică. Nu ne mai mulțumește o Românie istorică, vrem o Românie actuală", in original.

⁶ Crin Antonescu even mocks at the practice of direct reference, of uncritical tacking of well-known phrases, anticipating the indirect connection with the text from the Romanian cultural philosophy (meaning a direct connection with the major ideas of the Romanian cultural philosophy): „Ar trebui, la final, să spun lucruri

of Romanian philosophy, relates indirectly to them. In fact, his professional and educational background recommends the analysis and the critical taking over of Romanian cultural philosophy's major issues, Crin Antonescu being a graduate of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, University of Bucharest, thus becoming a rarity in the contemporary Romanian political landscape.

This refusal of direct connection to the philosophical discourse – that implies the logic of openness toward (something), that makes relative the truth implying discursive occurrence, projecting a unique, abstract or ideal perspective outside occurrence, differing therefore from the discourse that is created in order to validate a perspective, to „colonize” the truth - is due to the need to pass through the filter of contextuality, respectively through the filter of relativity ideas that will fuel a nascent ideology. This refusal of direct connection to the text (support for the philosophical discursive performance) or to some phrases from the original text, a text previously engrained? by a different author/enunciator, a text carrying by itself a great illocutionary force, leads to a different perspective on Romanian discursive approach. The Romanian philosophical discourse's critical effect in Crin Antonescu's speeches is created through discussed and indirectly approached text in a meta-discursive manner, revealing Noica's perspectives on cultural change. In Maingueneau's terms, we can observe the prevalence of the level focused on the critical orientation in relationships with

*memorable, să dau un citat din vreu clasic – dacă aş face-o în latină aş fi chiar asimilat unui intelectual rafinat -, şi ridicându-mi vocea ar trebui să creez un moment dramatic” „In the end, I should say; memorable things, quote some classical author – if I'd do it in Latin, I would be even assimilated with a refined intellectual – and, raising my voice, I should create a dramatic moment” (speech on the 7th of May, 2009, National Liberal Party candidates for Euro parliamentary election release). The liberal leader irony intends to make the amendment of discourses inconsistent with the current realities of Romanian nation and Romanian state, a good reason for designing his future campaign for presidency under a logo being a processed phrase from the Romanian cultural philosophy, *Romania of common sense*.*

social phenomena, with negative ethical or political issues (therefore, ideologically charged). Moreover, we can distinguish the presence of the meta-ideological level that permits recreation or targeting a new ideology, indirectly assumed. Antonescu's discourse, as shown in this undertaken analysis, is itself a discourse plus discourse analysis (at a critical level), through the critical relationship with a large corpus of inadequate Romanian political discourses.

Given that the post communist political language is approached to a little extent (Bidu-Vrâncănu, 2004; Guțu Romalo, 2005 etc.), that the political communication studies (Beciu, 2002; Ficeac, 2006) “*does not pay much attention to language particularities*” (Zafiu, 2007:28), predominantly focusing on pragmatic issues, engaging in a linguistic analysis of Antonescu's discourse is both difficult and little satisfactory regarding the goals of our study. An analysis of reconsideration the relationship *eternal/historical* in the current political discourse is more important and more appropriate, more suitable in our approach.

There are, at the semantic level, two approaches of Antonescu to the already-announced topic:

- the first one, within the conjunctive logic, a personal redrafting of Noica's theme, requiring rebalancing and repositioning depending on the interpretative nuance, as follows:

I believe in *Romania of those who work*, in *Romania of those who learn*, in *Romania of those who try*, in *Romania of those who respect and are united*, in *Romania of those who have aspirations, have hopes, have plans for them, for their children, for their country*.⁷ (speech on 17th of August, 2009, presenting the presidential program, entitled *Stă în puterea noastră să schimbăm puterea lor*⁸)

⁷ Eu cred în *România celor care muncesc*, în *România celor care învață*, în *România celor care încearcă*, în *România celor care știu să respecte și să fie solidari*, în *România celor care au aspirații*, au speranțe, au planuri pentru ei, pentru copiii lor, pentru țara lor, in original;

⁸ *It is in our power to change their power*;

Nowadays, we know or we try to arrange in our mind and in our action what we can do for Romania, but, unfortunately, we know in addition what *today's Romania, the official Romania* can do for you.⁹ (speech on 29th of August, 2009, held on the occasion of event *Crin¹⁰ for Young*)

If *my Romania* I talked about and I will talk about all the time during this campaign and of my political life, is inclusively *your Romania*, defend it.¹¹ (speech on 29th of August, 2009, held on the occasion of *Crin for Young* event)

- the second one, of correction of his opponents' (mainly members of the Democrat-Liberal Party) poor understanding of the relationships between the two completely opposable Romanias, within a disjunctive logic, due to the optics of the „*arrogant, inefficient state*” (speech on 17th of August, 2009, presenting the presidential program, entitled *Stă în puterea noastră să schimbăm puterea lor*):

There is no *two Romanias*, Mr. Prime Minister. (...) You may think that there is a *second Romania. Sunday's Romania. Televisual Romania. Romania of Băsescu's spondulicks and of Geoană's giant weddings*.¹² (speech on the 24th of September, 2009, before the joint chambers of the Romanian Parliament, in debating of the motion initiated by the National Liberal Party)

This distinction realized by Antonescu, a fine distinction regarding the subject of our study, is able to bring up the two approaches: ideological and meta-ideological (configuring possible choices between ideological ways). His engagement differs from the cliché

⁹ Astăzi știm sau încercăm să așezăm în mintea noastră și în acțiunea noastră ce puteți face voi pentru România, dar, din nefericire, mai știm ce poate face *România de azi, România oficială* pentru voi, in original;

¹⁰ Wordplay; In Romanian, Crin means *Lily*;

¹¹ Dacă *România mea*, despre care am vorbit și voi vorbi tot timpul acestei campanii și în tot timpul vieții mele politice, e și România voastră, apărați-o, in original;

¹² Nu există *două Românii*, domnule prim-ministru. (...) Dumneavoastră credeți poate că există și o *doua Românie. România de duminică. România de televizor. România Cașcavelei lui Băsescu și a nunților gigantice ale lui Geoană*, in original;

“*Romania*”, from the nominals “*Romanians*”, “*Romanian people*” etc. (possible accompanied by demonstratives with deictic value, as: that, these, etc.), used as marks of emphasis. The meta-discursive and meta-ideological dimensions of Antonescu's discourse save falling into populism generally specific to contemporary Romanian political discourse. Moreover, his irony saves gross approach. The attacks (at the limits of the disjunctive thinking of opponents) are done not explicitly, through evaluation, but implicitly, through repeated statements, intending the reconfiguration of thinking framework. Considering nonverbal performative aspects, such as emphasis, intonation, firm attitude, verbal flow control, expressive gestures (mainly the illustrators, nonverbal elements that accompany the discourse) etc., we can find an appropriation to the entry into the complex issues of intended cultural change.

Addressing to a specific target group (very large) in each case of analyzed discourses, associating to the group as member of it (envisioning, therefore, the ideological charge that will be approached), emphasizing their good intentions in relationship with the bad intentions and the inappropriate actions of the opponents, trying to globalize, to generalize the meanings, Crin Antonescu proposes a discourse with critical effects. These effects are evident not only due to the force of his own construction, but they are originated, as we observed, in the Romanian philosophical discourse on the Cantemir's conflict *eternal/historical* taken through Noica's discourse.

Remaining within the semantic macrostructures (and emphasizing the nonverbal elements that represent a particular subject of van Dijk's sociocognitive approach), we can find the expression critical effects of Antonescu's discourse despite the fact that the roots of this discourse are hidden in the Romanian philosophical discourse soil.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this respect, one can say that the critical effects of the Romanian philosophical

discourse are present due to the educational background of the Romanian liberal leader, due to his innate discursive abilities regarding the text construction and the appropriateness of the text to the context of performing, of expectations of electorate and undecided public. Using the critical effects of Philosophical discourse is not facile, not available to each candidate. Once the educational background permits, the discourse-society appropriateness is guaranteed. Organizing (and orientating) the community of discourse around a dynamic construct - where the authentic language possibilities are completed by a genuine discursive production (as in Charaudeau equation no.3), where the authentic value systems guide the engagement and contribute in increasing the illocutionary force of discourse – explain the direct effect on public. Liberal leader's political capital, gathered during the analyzed five years of opposition to the president of Romania, Traian Băsescu, respectively to the Democrat-Liberal Party, is not the expression of political opportune actions (from this point of view we can stress that Antonescu made mistakes and missed important opportunities), but it is the result of his discourse, anchored in the Romanian reality, where the critical effects of the Romanian philosophical discourse, known and internalized by him, lead to the first rank in the trust capital of Romania (over 40%), respectively to the first rank in vote intention for the future president of Romania (about 40%). Moreover, despite low expectations regarding the convergence between the Romanian electorate and the political discourse philosophically grounded, the deep Romanian roots and the theme argumentation appealing to the common knowledge represent two important indicators of effects to be achieved.

Generally speaking, we can firmly affirm that philosophy generates major discourses that propose social change. This kind of discourses has not short-termed consequences, but long-termed mutations into society that can be observed due to them. We can conclude that the political discourse based on a classical philosophical discourse may produce

(depending on the context and on the enunciator) major effects, critical effects concerning the social and political change.

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