God in the discourse of Romania's President, Traian Băsescu

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Dans un Etat où l'Eglise est l'une des institutions dans lesquelles les électeurs investissent un degré très levé de confiance, le politicien roumain se sent obligé d'adapter son discours afin qu'il puisse les convaincre du fait qu'il s'identifie totalement avec la valeur commune, suprême et indiscutable: Dieu.

Des trois présidents qui ont dirigé la Roumanie après 1989, le chef d'Etat actuel, Traian Băsescu, est probablement celui qui s'est adapté le mieux à ces attentes du point de vue du discours.

1. The God of three Presidents

„God and Romanian politics" is an open topic whose research offers the chance to discover new paradoxes. Hence, Ion Iliescu, one of the most acclaimed politicians in post-1989 Romania, proclaimed himself a „free-thinker" in regard to religion, a fact that did not stop him from holding the office of Romania's President for ten years (1990-1996 and 2000-2004). Meanwhile, the Christians interested in politics have not been attracted by the ideological offer of the parties which stated explicitly that they belonged to this category but rather by the offer of other parties, including – and chiefly – that of left-wing parties[1].

The theme of religion in the electoral disputes for the office of President produced anthological moments that political analysts considered to be key-factors in those confrontations[2]. Beneficiary of such a dispute and mainly supported by a Christian-democrat party, Emil Constantinescu granted religion in his discourse[3] the rank expected by the electorate, but was otherwise capable to approach it at a

[1] Radu Carp, *Religia în tranziție*, Eikon, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 64.

[2] In 1996, while they were running against each other for the supreme office of the state, Emil Constantinescu asked Ion Iliescu during a TV show: „Mr Iliescu, do you believe in God?"; the President in office at that time avoided giving a categorical answer.

[3] Excerpts from the speech given after the 1996 run-off which brought him the office of President: „This is a peaceful victory owed to Romanians' pure thoughts and to God's will, which has helped us and protected us throughout the history of our nation"; "I address to you my kindest thoughts and wishes of prosperity, happiness and dignity and pray to our merciful God to bless our Country and the Romanian people".

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superior intellectual level, most likely unique among post-revolutionary Presidents[4].

Unlike his predecessors, we may say that the politician Traian Băsescu approaches the topic of religion in a simple, predictable and politicking manner, wishing to accomplish the universal goal of political men: to get hold of and preserve power. The President voiced his opinions about faith both from a personal point of view, "as a Romanian-Christian-man" and from that of his term, „compulsorily-representative" for Romanian people's expectations and beliefs.

„*I shall consider a strategic goal of my term to improve the education system and to promote Romanian culture and religion both inland and abroad. Education, religion and culture are the safest and the most enduring doors through which Romanian spirit can enter the family of universal spirits*"[5] (Speech given at the ceremony of investiture before the Reunited Chambers of the Parliament of Romania, the Palace of Parliament, December, 21st, 2004).

Talk show host: „*God help us! Isn't it? As sailors say it? By the way, what do sailors say when they leave for the sea? What's their wishing?*"

Traian Băsescu: „*It's in your heart. And when the difficult events you've foreseen are coming upon you, you pray to God to help you. I don't think there's a more sincere prayer than that of sailors when they enter a storm and their ship is rocked and thrashed around. They pray to God with formidable sincerity*"[6] (Interview for the TV show Profesioniştii, TVR 1, October, 1st, 2005).

„*I thank you all, I thank the Romanian Orthodox Church, I thank the Romanian people and I assure them that the partnership between political power and the Romanian Orthodox Church, the partnership between priests and Romania's*

[4] „To approach religions as cultural matrixes or cultures as the successful results of great religious events means to regard the history of humanity as a structure organized around a deeper meaning. Divinity was, has been and will be our supreme reference whenever we want to understand why we have been given the gift of life and what we should do with it. Undoubtedly, religions are those founding experiences in whose absence man's road through history could not find its structural reason, its trajectory and finality. In their turn, cultures may be defined as variations on these founding experiences. Seen from this angle, cultural practices appear to be ever increasingly complex attempts to interpret the primordial – ultimately irreducible – nature of each divine revelation. In such conditions, we may say that the battle between the various sensibilities and even that macabre «culture of war», which seem to always fascinate humanity, develops based on what Paul Ricoeur used to call the conflict of interpretations" (Excerpts from the speech given as a special guest at the 11th International Reunion *Men and Religions*, Padua, October 5th 1997).

[5] „Voi considera drept obiectiv strategic al mandatului meu îmbunătățirea sistemului de educație şi promovarea culturii şi religiei româneşti, atît în țară, cît şi în afara ei. Educația, religia şi cultura sînt cele mai sigure şi rezistente porți de intrare a spiritului românesc în familia spiritelor universale".

[6] Realizator: „Doamne ajută! Nu? Cum spun marinarii? Chiar, cum spun marinarii cînd pleacă în cursă? Care era urarea?" Traian Băsescu: „O ai în suflet. Aşa şi cînd se apropie momentele dificile pe care le anticipezi, te rogi la Dumnezeu să te ajute. Dar cred că nu există rugăciune mai sinceră decît cea pe care o fac marinarii cînd văd că intră în furtună şi nava scîrțîie din toate încheieturile. Se roagă la Dumnezeu cu o sinceritate formidabilă".

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citizens is the solution that leads us to unity and to better things further on"[7] (Speech at the ceremony held at the consecration of the Church of the Cotroceni Palace, October 11th 2009).

2. Predetermined texts. Spontaneous texts

A first distinction regarding the presence of the term God in the discourse of President Traian Băsescu refers to the moment when the texts were produced compared mainly with the moment of speaking.

I. *Predetermined texts*.

Produced by specialised advisors, these texts are usually posted on the site of Romanian Presidency, www.presidency.ro. In these cases, two situations stand out:

A. Not read in public by the President:

a) Messages of condolence: „*God rest his soul!*"[8] (Message of condolence at the death of the great literary critic and philosopher Virgil Ierunca, September, 29th, 2006).

b) Special messages: „*Trust in God and thinking of our loved ones are some of the few ways to find peace of mind*"[9] (Message addressed to the troops deployed outside Romanian borders on the Holy Days of Easter, April, 6th, 2007).

B. Subsequent to a public reading by the head of State:

a) Solemn moments: „*So help us God!*"[10] (Speech at the ceremony of investiture before the Reunited Chambers of the Parliament of Romania, the Palace of Parliament, December 21st 2004).

b) Speech given at the annual report of an institution of public interest or at an official meeting on an important topic: „*What is left is for us to pray to God that justice would understand that it has obligations not only to itself but also for the Romanian people*"[11] (Statement to the press regarding the conclusions of a series of meetings with parliamentary parties which took part in the consultations initiated by the Head of State on the reform of the parliamentary system and the streamlining of parliamentary diplomacy in view with the accession to the European Union, October, 5th, 2005).

II. *Spontaneous texts*.

a) Interviews: „*For me, it is a chance I was given by God, even if I have less hair...*"[12] (Interview given to the publication VIP Magazin from the Republic of Moldova, published in the 3rd number of March 2005).

b) Speeches or discussions referring to various people during tours of the country, special moments (New Year's Eve) or meetings with representatives of

[7] „Mulțumesc mult tuturor, mulțumesc Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, mulțumesc tuturor românilor și îi asigur că parteneriatul dintre puterea politică și Biserica Ortodoxă Română, parteneriatul dintre preoți și cetățenii României este soluția care ne duce în unitate și în bine mai departe".

[8] „Dumnezeu să-l odihnească!"

[9] „Credința în Dumnezeu și gîndul la cei dragi rămîn printre puținele căi de alinare sufletească".

[10] „Așa să ne ajute Dumnezeu!"

[11] „Rămîne să ne rugăm la Dumnezeu ca și justiția să înțeleagă că are obligații și față de poporul român, nu numai față de ea însăși".

[12] „Pentru mine este o șansă pe care mi-a dat-o Dumnezeu, chiar daca am păr puțin..."

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trades: „*I don't know how many years Renault is going to stay here, when it leaves for Kazakhstan, I don't know how many Nokia will stay, God make them as many as possible*"[13] (Speech at the meeting with the representatives of farmers and businessmen which took place at the Tîrzii Farm-Vaslui, August 20th 2009); „*I've come to see you. I want to tell you that you are not alone, you are with God and the Government is going to give you money to rebuild your houses*"[14] (Visit at the people in distress after the floods from the summer of 2008, ziare.com, August, 6th, 2008).

c) Answers given to questions put during press conferences: „*If that was a test, thank God we were inspired to lead to an action which consolidated their belief that they could continue to negotiate with us*"[15] (Press conference regarding the activity of the task force during the mission to free and bring home three Romanian journalists kidnapped in Iraq, Marie Jeanne Ion, Sorin Mişcoci and Ovidiu Ohanesian, June, 6th, 2005).

d) Electoral debates: „*God helps those who help themselves, Mr Antonescu*"[16] (Electoral debate with the president of the National Liberal Pary, Crin Antonescu, November, 14th, 2009, Cluj-Napoca).

e) Phone intervention:

Traian Băsescu: „*No, dear lady, I was very polite. Do you know what I said in the message? – this is to erase your doubts and not to keep it secret, as it's likely that you won't recover it; but you can find it in my office, among delivered messages, on my desk...*"

Corina Drăgotescu: „*Please send it to me again*".

Traian Băsescu: "*Dear lady, I won't send it to you again; I'm going to tell it. I said only one thing: «God give us health, how true are the things we say about the story you've presented on the front page of tomorrow's paper». If I lied to you...*"

Ion Cristoiu: „*Mr President, forgive me if...*"

Corina Drăgotescu: „*Thank you very much for the message, Mr. President*"[17]. (Phone intervention during the TV show Sinteza zilei, Antena3, September, 5th, 2006).

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[13] „Nu ştiu cîţi ani o să stea Renault aici, cînd va pleca în Kazahstan, nu ştiu cîţi ani va sta Nokia, să dea Dumnezeu să stea cît mai mulţi".

[14] „Am venit să vă văd. Vreau să vă spun că nu sînteţi singuri, sînteţi cu Dumnezeu şi Guvernul o să vă aloce bani să vă reconstruiţi casele".

[15] „Dacă a fost un test, mulţumesc lui Dumnezeu că am avut inspiraţia să ducem o acţiune care le-a consolidat încrederea că pot continua negocierile cu noi".

[16] „Dumnezeu dă, dar nu bagă în traistă, domnule Antonescu".

[17] Traian Băsescu: „Nu, doamnă, a fost foarte politicos. Ştiţi ce spuneam în mesaj? - asta ca să nu aveţi dubii şi să nu rămînă ca un secret, că probabil nu-l veţi mai recupera; dar la mine îl puteţi găsi la mesaje expediate, pe birou..."

Corina Drăgotescu: „Vă rog să mi-l mai trimiteţi încă o dată".

Traian Băsescu: „Doamnă, nu vi-l mai trimit; vi-l spun. Spuneam un singur lucru: «Dumnezeu să ne dea sănătate, cît adevăr spunem legat de povestea pe care aţi prezentat-o în prima pagină a ziarului de mîine». Dacă eu vă mint..."

Ion Cristoiu: „Domnule preşedinte, iertaţi-mă că..."

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3. From God to Lord, the Maker, the Divine, the Heavenly One

Apart from the proper name God, the President's discourse has also revealed some constructions more or less equivalent to this concept. They include the adjective *divine*, the possessive determiner *His* and the proper noun *Lord* – this one being used either in exclamations together with the transitive verb to help or in the vocative or the accusative.

„*But the Church, a divine-human institution, has not denied its contemporariness with circumstances in decisive moments*"[18] (Speech at the celebration of 80 years since the Romanian Orthodox Church received the high rank of Patriarchate, Bucharest, March, 5th, 2005).

„*Your Beatitude, Father Patriarch,*

God, calling upon you to hold the highest rank of Priesthood, has offered you a priceless gift and a mission of the greatest responsibility for His Church. A Church in the plenitude of His vocation is able to enter a sound partnership with state institutions in order to make the moral face of society be reborn"[19] (Message on the birthday of His Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist, message presented by a presidential advisor, Claudiu Săftoiu, on February, 7th, 2005, during a solemn moment at the Patriarchate).

„*Yes and when I saw Mr Iliescu's opposition I said – Lord, how well president Iliescu has proceeded because...*"[20] (Participation in TV show Agenda politică, special edition, TVR 1, March, 7th, 2005).

„*It's possible that one day – Lord help us if we get there – you'll see executions; anything is possible*"[21] (Participation in the TV show Agenda politică, TVR 1, May 19th 2005).

„*The President of Romania was deeply saddened to hear that His Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist, who has been heading the Romanian Orthodox Church for more than 20 years, has passed away to be with God*"[22] (Message on the passing away of His Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist, July 30th 2007).

More or less equivalent forms such as (our) *Maker*, the *Heavenly One* or *Divinity* have not been found in the President's discourse.

Corina Drăgotescu: „Vă mulţumesc foarte mult pentru mesaj, domnule preşedinte".

[18] „Dar Biserica, instituţie divino-umană, nu şi-a refuzat în momentele decisive contemporaneitatea cu împrejurările".

[19] „Prea Fericite Părinte Patriarh, Dumnezeu, chemîndu-vă la cea mai înaltă treaptă a Arhieriei, v-a oferit un dar de mare preţ şi o misiune plină de răspundere faţă de Biserica Sa. O Biserică aflată în deplinătatea vocaţiei Sale poate intra într-un parteneriat solid cu instituţiile statului pentru a face să renască chipul moral al societăţii".

[20] „Da, şi cînd am văzut opoziţia domnului Iliescu am spus - Doamne, ce bine a făcut preşedintele Iliescu, pentru că..."

[21] „Este posibil ca într-o zi - Doamne fereşte să ajungem la ea - să vedeţi şi execuţii; orice este posibil".

[22] „Preşedintele României a aflat cu adîncă tristeţe vestea trecerii la Domnul a Prea Fericitului Părinte Patriarh Teoctist, care a călăuzit Biserica Ortodoxă Română vreme de peste 20 de ani".

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4. Items of repeated discourse

Most of the occurrences of the noun in question are part of patterns, linguistic prefabricates which stress the stereotypical nature of communication. They mainly refer to messages of condolence or of congratulation, which are part of „everything that in the speaking of a community is repeated in a more or less identical form of ready-made discourse or in a more or less fixed combination, as a short or long fragment of «what has already been said»"[23].

Many of these occurrences are invocative in nature - „*God grant it*", „*God forbid*" – accordingly strengthening, highlighting or abstracting an idea. The proper noun God is present in the President's discourse especially in performative phrases and in expressions and set phrases.

Performative phrases.

„*So help us God!*"[24] (Speech at the ceremony of investiture before the Reunited Chambers of the Parliament of Romania, the Palace of Parliament, December, 21st, 2004).

„*God give you health and joy!*"[25] (Speech at the ceremonies held in Focşani on the occasion of the Union of Romanian Principalities Day, January, 24th, 2006).

„*3...2...1... Happy New Year! Happy New Year, Romania! God bless Romania! Live well!*"[26]

(December, 31st, 2004: On New Year's Eve, the President was in the University Square where he gave a speech and celebrated the beginning of 2005).

„*Journalists for whom I used to have great respect have become pitiful when it comes to reality but it's their choice and when – God willing – this case ends well, because this is our goal, I'd like to see what arguments they'll produce concerning their learned suppositions, often against the mission to recover the three Romanian citizens*"[27] (Statement to the press made at the Cotroceni Palace, followed by answers to the journalists' questions regarding the case of the three Romanian journalists kidnapped two weeks before in Iraq, April, 13th, 2005).

„*I start from the premise that the Government has set the date of elections for November 25th and God keep us safe from calamities that could change the date, but we are covered by article three*"[28] (Statement to the press from October, 23rd, 2007).

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[23] Coşeriu, Eugeniu, *Limba funcţională,* in Lecţii de lingvistică generală, translated from Spanish by Eugenia Bojoga, Chişinău, Arc, 2000, 249-274. My translation from Romanian.

[24] „Aşa să ne ajute Dumnezeu!"

[25] „Să vă dea Dumnezeu sănătate şi bucurie!"

[26] „3…2…1…La mulți ani! La mulți ani, România! Dumnezeu să binecuvînteze România! Să trăiți bine!"

[27] „Ziarişti, pentru care am avut un mare respect, au ajuns să fie penibili în raport cu realitatea, dar este o opțiune a lor şi atunci cînd - să dea Dumnezeu - acest caz se va încheia bine, pentru că acesta este obiectivul, aş vrea să-i văd ce argumente mai au în raport cu susținerile docte şi adesea împotriva acțiunii de recuperare a celor trei cetățeni români".

[28] „Plec de la premisa că guvernul a stabilit alegerile pentru data de 25 noiembrie şi să ne ferească Dumnezeu de calamități care să modifice data, dar avem acoperire în articolul trei".

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„*Thank God that there was the Government of prime-minister Boc who had the courage to fight against some privileges*”[29] (Interview to Mediafax News Agency, October, 15th, 2009).

Expressions and set phrases.

„*There won't be anyone to ask president Lupaşcu or president Vida from the Constitutional Court or any other lady judge, who believes that God blessed her just because she's part of the Supreme Court, why the fight against corruption is not efficient*”[30] (Participation in the TV show Agenda politică, TVR 1, May, 19th, 2005).

„*No country that has its own resources scorns its citizens by saying: «I'm sorry, the market price is 60 dollars so this is the price I'm also asking from you who have crude oil, whom God put on an earth that hides 80 percent of the necessary of crude oil». And I also warned them about some other things*”[31] (Participation in the TV show Special edition, TVR 1, October, 11th, 2005).

„*And paradoxically, as if it was God's will, the most viable alternative solutions are also found in the Black Sea area, crude oil from the Caspian region*”[32](Interview to Radio Europa Liberă, first part, aired on September, 26th, 2006).

„*Surely, back then, Gruia and Birtalan were like God to me...*”[33] (Ceremony of decoration of players and coaches, World Champions of Romanian handball, June, 11th, 2009).

„*Ok, things are mixed up here, one cannot say that a reduction of five billion, of over 5 billion Euro in the current account deficit for the first five months is just something that has come from God; there has been no incentive for consumption, there has been no excessive increase in wages, there was no...*”[34] (Participation in the TV show Special Edition, TVR1, August, 5th, 2009).

„*And we come back to those God forsaken files lost in courts, with 20, 30 terms...*”[35] (Participation in the annual report meeting of the Public Ministry, for the year 2008, March, 4th, 2009).

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[29] „Mulţumesc lui Dumnezeu că a venit un Guvern Boc care a avut curaj să lupte împotriva unor privilegii”.

[30] „Nu o să vină nimeni să-l întrebe nici pe domnul preşedinte Lupaşcu, nici pe domnul preşedinte Vida la Curtea Constituţională şi nici pe vreo altă doamnă judecătoare care crede că l-a prins pe Dumnezeu de un picior fiind în CSM, de ce nu este eficientă lupta împotriva corupţiei”.

[31] „Nici o ţară care are propria ei resursă nu-şi batjocoreşte cetăţenii spunînd: «Îmi pare rău, preţul pieţei este 60 de dolari, deci vă dau cu 60 de dolari şi vouă, celor care aveţi ţiţei, v-a lăsat Dumnezeu pe un pămînt în care există circa 80% din necesarul de ţiţei». Şi i-am mai atenţionat asupra cîtorva lucruri”.

[32] „Şi paradoxal, parcă aşa a vrut Dumnezeu să fie, soluţiile alternative cele mai viabile sînt tot în zona Mării Negre, ţiţeiul din zona Caspică”.

[33] „Sigur, la vremea aceea mă uitam ca la Dumnezeu la Gruia şi la Birtalan...”

[34] „Bun, sînt lucruri combinate aici, nu poţi să spui că reducerea cu cinci miliarde, peste cinci miliarde de euro a deficitului de cont curent pe primele cinci luni este pur şi simplu ceva ce ne-a venit de la Dumnezeu, nu s-a stimulat consumul, nu s-au mai mărit excesiv salariile, nu s-au mai...”

[35] „Şi aici venim la acele dosare uitate de Dumnezeu în instanţe cu cîte 20, 30 de termene...”

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„*I wish to express my kindest and respectful regards to all those for whom the Birth of our Lord means celebrating the love of God and fraternity*”[36] (Message addressed to Romanian people on Christmas, December, 24th, 2007).

5. Discourse techniques

Traian Băsescu's discourse encompasses some of the most important techniques used by senders to persuade receivers.

Hyperbole appears in structures where the speaker uses the reference to God metaphorically. Here some attributes of the divinity are taken on and then transferred in the human sphere, or, to be more precise, the profane sphere.

„*There are still too many officers with very high ranks compared with our troops, we haven't transformed the sergeant into the God of military activities, but things are in progress...*”[37] (Participation in the radio show Sfertul academic, Radio România Actualități, February, 4th, 2005).

Metaphor passes from the proper meaning to the figurative one with the purpose of stressing the privileged role of a trade compared with the other citizens.

„*The judge is God in the courtroom*”[38]. (The newspaper *Gîndul*, September 28th 2010, after a meeting with the representatives of magistrates held at the Superior Council of Magistracy).

Repetition aims to stress the overwhelming role of Divinity in the destiny of peoples, a fact acknowledged before some of the most important representatives of the Church.

„*Today more than ever it is necessary to outline a space of common reflection on the role that Churches can assume in our societies, according to their religious mission, in order to develop inter-Christian and inter-religious dialogue, to cultivate respect toward personal dignity, toward others and toward the nature in which believers see the work of God. God bless us, God bless our peoples, God bless Europe!*”[39] (Discourse during the opening ceremony of the European Ecumenical Assembly, September, 5th, 2007).

Comparison underlines here the superior quality, the „fascination” with some people who have become an example for the sender's age of adolescence.

„*Surely, back then, Gruia and Birtalan were like God to me...*”[40] (Ceremony of decoration of players and coaches, world champions of Romanian handball, June, 11th, 2009).

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[36] „Celor pentru care Naşterea Domnului este o sărbătoare a iubirii lui Dumnezeu şi a fraternităţii umane, doresc să le adresez toate gîndurile mele pline de respect şi de preţuire”.

[37] „Încă avem prea mulţi ofiţeri cu grade foarte mari în raport cu ce trupă avem, încă n-am făcut din sergentul major Dumnezeul activităţilor militare, dar lucrurile sînt în progres...”.

[38] „Judecătorul e Dumnezeu în sala de judecată”.

[39] „Astăzi este mai necesar ca oricînd să conturăm un spaţiu de reflecţie comună asupra rolului pe care Bisericile pot să şi-l asume în societăţile noastre, potrivit misiunii lor religioase, pentru a dezvolta dialogul intercreştin şi interreligios, pentru a cultiva respectul faţă de demnitatea persoanei, faţă de semeni şi faţă de natura în care credincioşii văd creaţia lui Dumnezeu. Dumnezeu să ne binecuvînteze, Dumnezeu să binecuvînteze popoarele noastre, Dumnezeu să binecuvînteze Europa!”

[40] „Sigur, la vremea aceea mă uitam ca la Dumnezeu la Gruia şi la Birtalan...”

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Irony and self-irony are meant to discredit political opponents and, respectively, to obtain a moment of „respite" from the senders, a moment to solve a problem that preoccupies them, a problem so hard that the One Above himself, who has supreme powers, is not able to solve, at least for the time being.

„*God helps those who help themselves, Mr Antonescu*"[41] (Electoral debate with the president of the National Liberal Pary, Crin Antonescu, November, 14th, 2009, Cluj-Napoca).

By a rhetorical question, which replaces somewhat an invective, the sender aims to stress the seriousness of a situation and to lay the blame on some individuals or institutions which are against the normal functioning of things.

„*God only knows how come they didn't see this incompatibility when the National Anticorruption Prosecution Service was harassing Băsescu in their hallways, as a former minister, and now, out of the blue, they see it*"[42] (Participation in the TV show Agenda politică, TVR 1, May, 19th, 2005).

„*Great God, you compare Chiuariu's value, education, credibility and capacity to do Romania good with Monica Macovei's?*"[43] (Participation in the TV show Special Edition, Realitatea TV, July, 3rd, 2007).

Allusion, close to invective in our case, is meant to intimidate the interlocutor who, for various reasons, can no longer be persuaded by the correctness of one's opinion through logical arguments.

Traian Băsescu: „*Dear lady, I won't send it to you again; I'm going to tell it. I said only one thing: «God give us health, how true are the things we say about the story you've presented on the front page of tomorrow's paper». If I lied to you...*"[44] (Phone intervention during the TV show Sinteza zilei, Antena3, September 5th 2006)[45].

6. The use of „God" from the viewpoint of the communicative functions

In the President's discourse on God it is easy to identify the most important functions of language such as they were defined by Roman Jakobson.

a) The expressive function, specific to the Addresser, aims to reveal his/her internal state through the attitude toward the message. There are structures which express states of irritation, discontent, puzzlement and which highlight the affective dimension of the speaker.

„*God only knows how it was possible at the very end of 2008 to write a law that hasn't an article, which says «the president of the High Court of Cassation and Justice is exempt», sorry, it's only an example, «members of the Superior Council*

[41] „Dumnezeu dă, dar nu bagă în traistă, domnule Antonescu".

[42] „Cum Dumnezeu de nu au văzut această incompatibilitate cînd PNA îl hărțuia pe Băsescu pe coridoare pe acolo, ca fost ministru, şi au văzut-o dintr-o dată acum".

[43] „Ce Dumnezeu, puteți compara Chiuariu, ca valoare, ca pregătire, ca credibilitate, ca şi capacitate de a face bine României, cu Monica Macovei?"

[44] „Doamnă, nu vi-l mai trimit; vi-l spun. Spuneam un singur lucru: «Dumnezeu să ne dea sănătate, cît adevăr spunem legat de povestea pe care ați prezentat-o în prima pagină a ziarului de mîine». Dacă eu vă mint...".

[45] At that time, the receiver of the message had a very serious disease.

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of Magistracy are exempt», «the generals of Ministry of the Interior are exempt», «the generals of the Ministry of Defence are exempt». That's the face of democracy, no exceptions. I know it's bothering, because we got used to be the clients of exceptions. But the greatest favour I ask is for you to treat things with no exception"[46] (Speech at the meeting of the Superior Council of Magistracy, January, 8th, 2009).

b) The conative function allows for the receiver to be incited mainly by the use of imperative forms.

„*God forgive those who died on September 11th 2001, God forgive all those who died in terrorist attacks after that moment and God forgive us for we don't have a solution for this thing not to happen again! God forgive them!*"[47] (Speech given on September 11th 2006 at the National Theatre in Bucharest on the commemoration of victims of the attack of September, 11th, 2001).

c) The phatic function is defined by the sender's attempt to make the receiver aware of the message that will follow, to check his/her "collaboration" through the channel S-M-R in order to produce an effect, a discourse result. This happens through the use of „discourse marks".

„*The current political class, I also come from this political class, I want you to understand, I don't think God put me somewhere afloat above this political class...*"[48] (Participation in the TV show Special Edition, TVR 1, November, 5th, 2007).

„*It was a cliché created by the press more or less benevolently, but if they're really badly corrupted, I wonder, why in God's name would these firms still get contracts?*"[49] (Press conference, July, 18th, 2008)

„*I say and argue: the economy works well, may God make it work better this year*"[50] (Participation in the TV show Zona fierbinte, TVR 1, January, 22nd, 2007).

7. Conclusions

It is easy to observe that in the President's discourse the theme of the divine is consistent and adapted to the moment when it is voiced. One of the hypotheses of this research is that when the theme is used in spontaneous texts, the source of use still originates in the rational, predetermined side. This is explained by the

[46] „Cum Dumnezeu să scriem în anul 2008 la sfîrşit o lege care nu are un articol, care spune «se exceptează preşedintele Înaltei Curți de Casație şi Justiție», scuze este doar un exemplu, «se exceptează membrii CSM», «se exceptează generalii din Ministerul de Interne», «se exceptează generalii din Ministerul Apărării». Cam aşa arată democrația, fără excepții. Ştiu că este deranjant, că ne-am obişnuit să fim clienții excepțiilor. Dar marea mea rugăminte este să tratați lucrurile fără excepții".

[47] „Dumnezeu să-i ierte pe cei care au murit pe 11 septembrie 2001, Dumnezeu să-i ierte pe toți cei care au murit în atentatele teroriste de după şi Dumnezeu să ne ierte pe noi pentru că nu avem o soluție pentru ca acest lucru să nu se mai întîmple! Dumnezeu să-i ierte!"

[48] „Actuala clasă politică, şi eu provin din această clasă politică, vreau să înțelegeți, nu consider că m-a lăsat Dumnezeu undeva să plutesc deasupra clasei politice..."

[49] „A fost un clişeu pe care l-a creat presa cu mai multă sau mai puțină bunăvoință, dar dacă tot sînt rău corupți, de ce Dumnezeu ar mai obține contracte, mă întreb, aceste firme?"

[50] „Spun şi susțin: economia merge bine, să dea Dumnezeu să meargă mai bine anul acesta".

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politician's permanent and unconscious wish to obtain the electorate's legitimacy and to hold on to power by adhering, though formally, to its values.

In the particular case of President Traian Băsescu, this wish is favoured by the fluent and free use of language items in a way that made others call him a good orator, who uses instinctively a „theme-password", specific to all politicians but exploited in all its deep demagogical nuances only by those politicians labelled as „charismatic" by theory.

Traian Băsescu is aware that the destiny of a political man depends on how he maintains a balance between the democratic game and that of power. Apparently opposed, the two „games" can be harmonised: the more you assume the people's will as representative and the better you express the electorate's wishes and interests, the higher the number of supporters that you could mobilize[51]. If the politician lets the others see what lies behind the two „games" – the multiplicity of the relative, the fact that „truths" are partials and they feed particular political interests, he would risk losing the electorate's support. Thus, because his aim is to mobilise majorities, he must adapt his discourse to a heterogeneous audience, formed by both „reasonable" and „unreasonable" people[52]. In order to do so, the themes approached need to be as close as possible to the „heart" of the masses, as it happened in 2004, when the President's speech focussed mainly on the fight against corruption. Although currently this is not one of the decisive themes in the Romanian political spectrum, religion and God are closely related to these themes, which the electorate expects to be reaffirmed and consolidated periodically at the level of public assumption. It is as if a father was told: „Your children are smart. They are like you!" This is all the more so as, in the Romanian electorate's view, there is the belief that a candidate who behaves differently, who does not or even does not promise to solve those things which do not function in society, well, that candidate does not behave rationally from a political viewpoint.

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[51] Ieţcu-Fairclough, Isabela, *Legitimation and Strategic Maneuvering in the Political Field*, „Argumentation", 2008 (22), p. 399-417.

[52] *Ibidem.*

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