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The last decade of the 20th century brought Europe a number of serious political changes. Among the most important ones were certainly the collapse of the communist system, the reunification of Germany, the decay of former Yugoslavia and the division of former Czechoslovakia into two separate states as well as the emergence of right wing populist political movements, the (now fixed) Eastern enlargement of the EU and not least the first formation of a government coalition between a conservative and a right wing-populist party in Austria, a new experience for the country, with the international pressure it caused. From a linguistic perspective these political changes are interesting under at least two aspects.

On the one hand the processes of change were represented and transmitted by the mass media both in the states concerned and abroad. Since representations and representational practices are never "neutral" but influenced by the ideological standpoint of the media and journalists respectively, media coverage of political changes offers a wide range of interesting topics for (critical) discourse analytic research. Therefore, it is no surprise that the dialectical relationship between discourses about "reality" and this "reality" itself have become a genuine research field of modern discourse-analytic approaches. For the audience this multi-layered complexity is not so easily transparent. For a science which takes its social responsibility seriously, however, a critical reflection of these processes and connections seems indispensable.

On the other hand the above-mentioned political changes have had concrete consequences for language policy issues, e.g. new national states define their national identities (at least partly) via national languages; the uni-directional "import" of new discourse genres into the former Eastern block countries (e.g. job application interviews, advertising genres).

The (necessarily micro-sociological) discourse-analytic approach to processes of (macro-sociological) change, however, raises the question which connection between locally situated (small scale) linguistic interaction and the macro-sociological (geo-) political changes may be established, and touches thereby one of the big issues in current sociological theory formation. The so-called linguistic turn, which could be observed in the last decades and which led to a paradigm change within the social sciences, has shown that conventional macro-sociological theories like "conflict models" in the tradition of Karl Marx or "normative order models" in

the sense of Durkheim or from Parsons' system-theoretical perspective are insufficient approaches for explaning social change and/or stability. The development of discourse-analytic approaches (CA, CDA, interactional sociolinguistics etc.) has advanced this discussion theoretically and empirically (see e.g. the dispute between Schegloff and different branches of CDA in the journal "Discourse & Society; Hammersley, 2003a, b, c, and Potter, 2003a, b). Human agency can only be conceived of situationally and locally, and by taking this postulate seriously discourse analysis has solved a methodological dilemma: The sociological dispute whether macro-sociological phenomena must be analysable in terms of individual acency (methodological individualism as proposed by e.g. Hajek and Popper (cf. O'Neill 1973) or whether human agency must be explainable out of its functions and the laws of the system (methodological holism or collectivism), has been clarified, at least in discourse-analytic terms, by stressing a third variant which can be characterised as "methodological *situationalism*" (Knorr Cetina 1981: 8ff): the interactive situation is regarded as a unit *sui generis*, which cannot completely be explained by the intentional agency of its participants; actor are always to be analysed as inter-actors/interactants, the fundamental observable unit to be taken into consideration is not the act (methodological individualism), but the interact (Weick 1979), or, to put it more precisely, situated interaction has to be the generic topic of investigation.

On the basis of this "methodological" clarification two approaches describing the interrelationship between large scale phenomena and micro aspects of individual interactants can be differentiated.

In the so-called "aggregation hypothesis" (Knorr Cetina 1981) macro phenomena are explained as "aggregations" and "repetitions" of many similar micro episodes (Collins 1981). Within the context of research on dissipative structures, fractals and seemingly chaotic phenomena within the social world (stock exchange etc.) this concept has been reformulated and found renewed attention within terms of self similarity (see e.g. Luhmann (1982) and his concept of autopoiesis). Also Cicourel's (1981a) approach may be subsumed under this hypothesis. According to his model macro aspects are construed actively in any micro event by certain communicative actions, provided that these constructions are conceived of as not only coincidentally and arbitrarily, but as at least partly consciously.[1]

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[1] In his analysis of records on juvenile delinquents on the one hand and medical histories on the other one Cicourel demonstrates how macro contexts (in the sense of typified, context free descriptions) are established by communicative procedures like summarising, categorising and so-called accounting practices (Cicourel 1968, 1974, 1981b).

The second "hypothesis of unintended consequences" Knorr-Cetina associates with authors such as Harré and Giddens. This conception considers a phenomenon which can be understood as criticism of the above model, stressing the fact that a system is more than the sum of its elements, that micro acts (or interacts) in addition to the intended outcome always contain unintended consequences as well, in other words that macro systems contain emergent characteristics. The relationship of action and structure has to be understood as a dialectical one and one of mutual interdependence . From a system-oriented perspective, unintended consequences are inevitable "by-products" of complex systems, as has first been described by the concept of "bounded rationality" (Simon 1967) and empirically analysed by Menz (1999). Frost (1987) speaks even of "bounded intentionality" with allusion to the first mentioned notion. According to this view, complex systems are never completely transparent to any one individual, and, as a consequence, rational, interest-guided action can only include intended consequences up to a certain degree. These consequences, however, influence micro-social practices as "environment" so that the problem of double contingency results on the level of individual communicative action as well (Luhmann 1984). The recent concept of self organisation (Luhmann 1984, Kelso 1995, Menz 1999, 2000) has shed new light on this matter, too.

Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA (as among the most influential ones) takes up some of these aspects, in particular the dialectic relationship of structure and action.
More than ten years have passed now since Norman Fairclough published his book "Discourse and Social Change" (Fairclough, 1992), in which he not only presented a theoretical account of the relationship between language use and societal structures but also a research program for critical discourse analysis (which was updated in Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). The book stimulated a host of critical discourse studies, more than we can review here. Fairclough's conception of a dialectic relationship between orders of discourse and discursive practices, between structure and action, the global levels of social organisation and the local level of participants' everyday interactions has deeply influenced most CDA scholars' view of the relationship between language (or discourse) and society. His linguistic re-reading of the Bakhtinian concept of "intertextuality" and the introduction of the notion of "interdiscursivity" also became part of the "everyday language" of critical discourse analysis theorists and practitioners. Thus, the *discourse model* he presents in the above book can be said to be one of the most influential in CDA.

The other part of Fairclough's book title "Social Change", however, has received much less attention in many CDA investigations[2]. Again and again in his book Fairclough stresses that his discourse theory has been developed to model and explain the interrelationship between discursive and social changes in (Western) society. Fairclough discusses processes of social change under three headings: "democratization", "commodification", and "technologization". Processes of "democratization" of discourse refer to "the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups and people" (Fairclough, 1992: 201). This tendency can occur on different levels of discourse and may become manifest as a higher tolerance for non-standard variants of national languages, better access of underprivileged groups to prestigious genres and the reduction of explicit markers of hierarchy and power in institutional discourse.

"Commodification" refers to a process in which social domains which traditionally were not part of the sphere of production and consumption become organized and conceptualised in terms of commodity production. Typical instances of this tendency are the changes in educational discourse where students become "customers" who shall acquire certain (clearly defined) "skills" in the course of their studies.

The process of "technologization" refers to the colonisation of the "lifeworld" by "systems" of the state and the economy (cf. (Habermas, 1988). With regard to discursive practices Fairclough especially mentions the development of "discourses technologies" like interviewing techniques, advertising skills etc. which are taught in specialised trainings by "discourse technologists".

Fairclough argues that these three tendencies are partly in opposition to and partly in accordance with each other. Furthermore, all three have positive and negative facets: democratization seems to liberate participants in social interactions, but as Fairclough shows, this process may only hide existing power structures. Likewise, processes of commodification introduce a consumer ideology in educational domains which many people will oppose; on the other hand commodificiation may offer clients of educational institutions more options than they would have otherwise. Technologization of discourse goes along with fragmentation of discursive norms as discourse technologies are introduced in social domains which they did not belong to originally. This again shows the ambivalent character of discursive change: whereas Fairclough views technologization as a rather negative effect on discursive orders, the fragmentation of local orders of discourse means also a relaxing of local constraints. All in

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[2] This is not to say that CDA researchers would not demand social and political change as a result of their research – they do of course. What we want to point at here is that social and political processes of change receive much less attention in CDA research than issues of social inequality.

all, Fairclough discusses social change in very broad terms and does not limit it to political change (although he stresses the importance of ideological and political processes for the orders of discourse in a society).

Having been socialised within an approach that views the relationship between the practices of language use (i.e. discourse) and structures of society from a slightly different perspective (namely the discourse historical approach, cf. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), one of our major interests concerns the influence of historical processes on orders of discourse and discursive practices. The last decade of the 20th century offered enough occasion to serve this interest. By focussing on "language and political change" in central Europe during the 90ies we both widened and narrowed Fairclough's theme. We widened it by making "language" the field of investigation, thus broadening the scope of possible research topics from "discourse" (i.e. "language use as a form of social practice", (Fairclough, 1992) to include also "language" in the Saussurian sense. This does of course not mean that we limited the topics of inquiry for this special issue to investigations of the relationship between political processes and systems of "langue". We were rather interested in both fields of investigation: language policy (in the sense of de Cillia 2003, i.e. the direct influence of political macro-processes on language systems) and discursive processes and their dialectical relationship to political changes. Thus, "language" in the sense we use it in this volume denotes both "language as an abstract system" and "language us as a form of social practice".

Whereas this focus on "language" in the above sense widened Fairclough's original research program, our second focus on "political change" narrows the range of investigations to instances of change in the political field. An analysis of the political field, however, can foreground one of the three following aspects (the following overview is based on Reisigl, 2003: 123): the analysis of "polity" deals with forms and structures which are preconditions of political action such as political institutions, political systems and cultures, and constitutions. An analysis which focuses on this aspect results in a description of general ("macro level") ordering principles of a political system (like the organisation of the political field, its basic values and rules of action). Analysing the "policy" of a certain system means to investigate the (long term) political aims and objects in various political fields ("programs of action"). Investigating "politics" means dealing with concrete ("micro-level") actions of political actors. It results in an analysis of political tactics and strategies actors use to achieve their political aims. Of course these three aspects of the political field are not independent of each other and analysing all of them involves analysing how discursive and non-discursive practices are articulated together in political events (as special cases of social events in the

sense of Fairclough 2003). Obviously analyses of "policy" and "polity" relate to orders of discourse in a given political and social system, whereas analyses of "politics" will mainly deal with discursive practices of political actors.

A problem in the analyzability of the relationships between policy, polity, and politics however remains. It is best described by Weick's (1979) clock-face model. With reference to Thorngate's postulates of commensurate complexity (Thorngate 1976), Weick argues there are inevitable trade-offs in any theoretical statement which may be allocated between the theoretical ideals of generalizability, accuracy, and simplicity. At best, two of these ideals are realisable in any one research project. No actual research can at the same time be generalisable, accurate and simple.
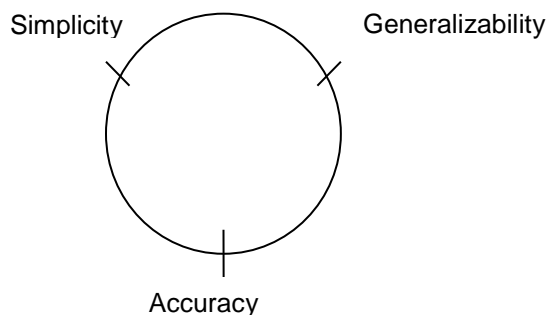
Simplicity   Generalizability

Accuracy

Figure 1: Illustration of Weick's Clock-face Model

If these three qualities were to be represented on a clock-face, where generalisability would take e.g. the position of two o'clock, accuracy the position of six o'clock and simplicity the one at ten o'clock then an e.g. both generally accepted and simple study would be placed on twelve o'clock and thus exactly opposite the ideal of accuracy. Likewise, an equally detailed and simple study would have to be placed at eight o'clock and thus exactly opposite the quality of generalizability. Therefore, according to Weick it is senseless to accuse generalizing studies of their inaccuracy (in the detail) or empirical studies of their lacking generalisation, as these are inherent characteristics of the respective approaches. What this means for the special issue at hand we would like to illustrate with two examples (both of them are dealt with in more detail in papers of this issue).

Our first example comes from (former) Yugoslavia. The history of the Yugoslav conflict with its fierce fights and gory cruelties which horrified the rest of Europe and of the Western world can be traced back at least to the beginning of the 20th century, when the "kingdom of Serbs,

Croats and Slovenes" was founded as one of the successor state of the former Austrian Monarchy. After World War II (during which different ethnic groups on the Yugoslav territory fought on different sides) the newly founded socialist state (under the strong leadership of Jozip B. Tito) followed a policy of national unification which resulted also in a specific language policy: the majority of the citizens (Serbs, Croats and Bosnians) spoke a language which was called "Serbo-Croatian"[3] (this language name itself carries a political program, namely the unification of Serbs and Croats who were on opposite sides during WW II). This policy also had repercussions on the language system ("langue") by levelling linguistic differences between "Serbian" and "Croatian" and ascribing the status of "dialectal variants" of one language to them. After Tito's death discursive actions on the level of politics severely influenced the further course of political events: the notorious 1986 memorandum of members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences who accused the Croats of "genocidal" tendencies and Slobodan Milosevics' speech on the "Kosovo polje" both of which are seen as instigating the following war. The Yugoslavian war, however, marked a new state of political struggle. Discursive actions were replaced by military actions; hate speech was followed by hateful cruelties. The end of the war saw five new nation states (Slovenia, Croatia, the federation of Serbia and Montenegro[4], Bosnia-Herzegovina[5], and Macedonia) and one more or less independent province (the Kosovo) on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Thus, new frameworks for political action had emerged (changes in "polity") which gave rise to new policies. Again these changes in polity and policy resulted in new language policies. "Serbo-Croatian" is no longer a language name; Croats speak "Croatian", Serbs use "Serbian" and Bosnians talk "Bosnian". The former dialect variants of one language became national languages and new ethnic and linguistic minorities were created through legislative action. The case of Yugoslavia may be an extreme example for the relation between polity, policy and language (at least in the European context) but it shows the close interplay between large scale discursive actions, political changes and language changes. In this context Fairclough's notions of "fragmentation" and "technologization" get new meaning: in the Yugoslavian case "fragmentation" means the breakdown of a former state order which made a greater variance of languages possible. These "new" languages are formed by "language technologists" (not discourse technologists) whose specialisation lies in the formation of new "nation-languages" which may serve as national symbols. In terms of Weick's virtual clock face model, an

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[3] Of course, even at that time a variety of other languages was used in former Yugoslavia (Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian, Hungarian etc.). The Yugoslavian language policy, however, stressed the importance of the common language "Serbo- Croatian".

[4] Which is itself a fragile compound of two nation states, namely Serbia and Montenegro.

[5] Which consists of a Serbian, a Croatian, and a Bosnian province respectively.

analysis of the relation between the new language policies and the resulting national languages in the successor states of former Yugoslavia is both general and simple in the sense that it does not account for the actual language(s) in use.

Our second example with which we want to illustrate the relationship between political processes and discursive action comes from Austria and shall illustrate another extreme of the relations in question. The Austrian parliamentary elections of October 1999 brought a new government between the Christian- conservative Austrian's People Party (ÖVP) and the right wing populist- national Freedom Party (FPÖ). This marked the end of a more than 30 year era during which the Austrian Social- Democratic Party (SPÖ) ruled Austria (either alone or in a coalition with the ÖVP). Although the realm of "polity" remained of course unchanged by the formation of a new government, new accents in policy were set by the new government (a change from a social market economy to a neo- liberal policy agenda) and new forms of politics emerged (a change from a consensus- oriented negotiation style to a confrontational style of enforcing governmental interests through legislation). These changes resulted in discursive changes as well: social institutions became "commodified" which led to the use of economic discourse and economic metaphors in the areas of education and social security. This language use systematically inhibits the public discussion of political and social alternatives in the media as well as in the political field. Additionally, certain genres like political negotiations to find compromises were replaced by "round tables" inorder to talk through issues on which the government had already decided. The Austrian example thus shows how a relatively small scale political event like the formation of a new government brings about discursive changes in a society. On Weick's "clock face", studies of these phenomena would be accurate and simple as they rely heavily on empirical data but are only of limited generalizability.

The above two examples mark two end- poles of a cline between large scale ("macro"-) political events which result in changes of political systems on the one hand and rather small scale ("micro"-) political events which change only certain facets of an existing political system. Both kinds of changes, however, may influence language and discourse in several ways and on various levels. Of course, investigations of macro- or micro-level phenomena and their relation to discourse and language require rather different methodologies, a fact which is reflected in the papers of this volume and systematically displayed in Table 1.

Author(s)	Level of inquiry	Methodologies employed
Bugarski	Macro level	Legal document analysis

Wodak/Kovacs	Macro to micro level	multiple methods
Leudar/Nekvapil	Intermediate level	Dialogical network analysis
Gruber	Micro level	Discourse analysis (Systemic Functional Linguistics)
Birkner	Micro level	Discourse analysis (conversation analysis)

Table 1: Inter-relationship between levels of inquiry and methodologies

The papers in this volume specify different positions on the above-mentioned cline. Bugarski's paper marks the macro-level of analysing changes in polity and resulting changes in language policy. He investigates language policy in former Yugoslavia and its successor states. Starting with a short description of the rather liberal language policy of the former Yugoslavian state, he then compares the language policies of the six states which were founded on Yugoslavian territory. He does so by comparing the constitutions of these six states and analysing those parts of them which explicitly deal with issues of language, such as definitions of "official (i.e. state) languages" and the rights of language minorities. He concludes that all successor states in principle inherited the basic liberal language policy approach of former Yugoslavia but he notices also significant changes, especially regarding minority languages. He names one special problem, namely the so-called "new minorities", these are groups of the population which were citizens of the former Yugoslav republic, but who are now "foreigners" in one of the new states (e.g. Serbs in Croatia or Croats in Serbia). As their former common mother tongue "Serbo-Croatian" has split up into several national languages they are at present not only citizens of foreign countries in places where they lived for decades but also speakers of a minority language who demand language rights. He closes by formulating the hope that all successor states of Yugoslavia will once arrive at a language policy which values large-scale bilingualism and multilingualism higher than it is now the case.

Wodak/ Kovacs also investigate large scale policy issues. In two case studies they compare public political discourse in Austria and Hungary and how it influences and relates to aspects of national identities in the two countries. Although their topic is one of large scale policy, their focus of investigation is on discursive practices such as political speeches. The Austrian case study deals with the Austrian neutrality which is generally considered essential for the formation of an Austrian post-war identity. By investigating Austrian presidential speeches in which "neutrality" is a topic, they show how the ideological concept of neutrality is reframed

and recontextualized at different historical times. Whereas in earlier years (after WW II) neutrality is presented as something which was "imposed" upon Austria (as a prerequisite for gaining independence and freedom after 10 years of allied occupation), this representation shifts towards a view where neutrality is seen as something which may be changed by Austrian policy and finally become obsolete. Wodak/ Kovacs explain this shift (which manifests at the levels of syntax, semantics and rhetoric) by a socio-political change towards a possible Austrian entry to NATO which would render neutrality obsolete. The Hungarian case study deals with public opinion on Hungary's NATO membership. By relying on data from opinion surveys and focus group discussions, Wodak/ Kovacs show that public opinion on this issue is linked to two sources: on the one hand the Hungarian NATO membership was seen as a rational choice based on the country's security and foreign policy needs. On the other hand public pro- NATO arguments also drew upon national identity issues which stress that NATO membership means also a return of Hungary to Europe. Anti- NATO discourse hooks into the same theme (namely the relation between Hungary and Europe) but argues in the opposite direction: according to this view Hungary has never been a part of Europe and has suffered for centuries under the "Christian yoke". These Anti- NATO discourses, however, were only marginal and ineffective. Wodak/ Kovacs's two case studies show how elite discourse perlocates through to everyday political opinions and thus shows the interdependence of elite discourse genres and the political views of the public majority. Leudar/ Nekvapil investigate another domain of public discourse. They show how dialogical networks emerge in the media. Their conception of dialogical networks in the media is based on an adaptation of concepts which were originally developed to analyse face-to-face communication in the framework of conversation analysis. By using Bakthin's concept of "dialogicity" and by adapting CA-concepts like "adjacency pair", "sequential structure", etc. they are able to model and explain the interrelationship between public statements which originally were not directed at each other. By showing the active part the media play in establishing dialogical networks, Leudar/ Nekvapil show how politicians, politics and political discourse depend upon mass media. The authors argue that this interdependence is only possible in democratic states with a free press. Thus, their paper again illustrates the nexus between large scale policy, public genres and social and discursive practices. Gruber's paper also deals with media discourse. In a case study he shows how the change in the Austrian government which occurred at the beginning of 2000, when a right- wing conservative- national government came into office, affects small scale discursive practices in a media discussion. His data come from a TV-discussion between representatives of the then

government and opposition parties, public institutions and the confessions, business organisations, universities, and "ordinary people" which was broadcast during the so-called "sanctions" of the 14 EU-members against the national-conservative Austrian government. By applying insights from Martin's "appraisal theory" and Kress/ van Leeuwen's "visual grammar" in investigating various aspects of verbal and non-verbal characteristics of the program, Gruber shows the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) means by which the public Austrian broadcasting company ORF and the two ORF journalists who hosted the discussion steered the interaction towards a public representation of Austria which stresses the country's "victim status" and national unity against this victimization. In this paper again the interplay between large scale political changes and the micro-level of discursive practices becomes evident.

This interplay between macro- political changes and their repercussions on the micro-discursive level is also the underlying theme of Birkner's paper. She investigates job interviews which were conducted in East Germany (the former GDR). In all interviews the job applicants are East Germans and the interviewers come from the West. Each job interview was followed by a follow-up discussion during which the West German interviewers provided their East German interviewees with detailed feedback on the weaknesses they had shown during the interviews. By applying conversation analytic methods, Birkner shows how the transformation of knowledge on the new (and in the GDR unknown) genre of a job interview takes place between interviewers and interviewees. Whereas this transformation happens quite smoothly in some cases, in others it leads to more or less overt conflict between conversationalists. Using Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" Birkner argues that here data show only one facet of the asymmetry in communicative households between East and West Germans where West German represents the dominant (hegemonic) model which colonises East German communicative genres.

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[6] A full collection of the articles presented at the conference appeared as Gruber, Menz, Panagl (eds) (2003).

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