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Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis

A cross-disciplinary inquiry*

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This paper discusses important and fruitful links between (Critical) Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics. In a detailed analysis of three utterances of an election speech by the Austrian rightwing politician Jörg Haider, it is illustrated in which ways a discourse-analytical and pragmatic approach grasps the intricacy of anti-Semitic meanings, directed towards the President of the Viennese Jewish Community. The necessity of in-depth context-analysis in multiple layers (from the socio-political context up to the co-text of each utterance) moreover emphasizes the importance of interdisciplinary approaches when investigating such complex issues as racism and anti-Semitism as produced and reproduced in discourse. More specifically, the relevance of pragmatic devices such as insinuations, presuppositions and implicatures, is discussed when analyzing instances of 'coded language', i.e., utterances with indirect and latent racist and anti-Semitic meanings as common in official discourses in Western Europe.

0. Introduction: Stating the problem

This paper addresses some important dimensions of recent pragmatic theories and methodologies which can be fruitfully applied in contemporary CDA research on racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism; I will illustrate this application and cross-disciplinary fertilisation through a brief case-study on Austrian recent political discourse.

Pragmatic devices such as insinuations/allusions, wordplay, presuppositions and implicatures will be analyzed in their multiple functions in political rhetoric where they frequently serve to intentionally convey anti-Semitic prejudices in post-war Austria.[1] I will investigate some propaganda slogans and rhetoric in the regional election campaign in Vienna 2001.

In this campaign, Dr. Jörg Haider, then leader of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), employed a coded discourse which many considered to include anti-Semitic and racist meanings and connotations. However, because of the implicit,

coded character of these prejudiced utterances, Haider was able at first to successfully deny having had such intentions; thus, he negated the indirect and implied meanings and — instead — emphasized the literal meanings of the respective linguistic units. Such discursive strategies are, of course, not new in the Austrian (or other national) context(s); they have a discursive history since the end of World War II, due to the consensual taboo on explicit anti-Semitic prejudice in the public sphere.

Hence, the in-depth critical discourse analysis which de-constructs the inferred and indirect linguistic devices as well as explicit prejudiced utterances has to turn to theories in Pragmatics and to the 'pragmatic toolbox' to be able to systematically detect and analyze the anti-Semitic traces, the hidden and coded meanings which often appear as conversational cues in the text.

Due to space restrictions, I will have to neglect recent research in Cognitive Linguistics into anti-Semitic language behaviour: I can only very briefly point to the functions of conceptual metaphors (Chilton 2005; Musloff 2006). This research analyzes very explicit anti-Semitic writing in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and deconstructs the conceptual metaphors contained in Hitler's anti-Semitic ideology. Moreover, Chilton (2005) emphasizes that his cognitive approach, which is based on much work by neuro-linguists and cognitive linguists, would prove that a CDA approach becomes obsolete.

However, such a purely cognitive approach is not able to explain the emotional and affective components of anti-Semitic rhetoric nor the wide range and contextual factors necessary for its mass-psychological impact at a specific time in a specific context (Why are some people affected and others not? Why do some people believe in anti-Semitic/racist ideologies at certain times? Why do these ideologies trigger specific actions which have led, for example, to the extermination of millions?). Moreover, the cognitive approach does not (and can not) consider indirect or latent anti-Semitic meanings and connotations.

This paper proposes a different argument: precisely because of the indirectness and context-dependency of the anti-Semitic post-war rhetoric in Austria, an integrative interdisciplinary theory as well as methodology is needed, combining Pragmatics, CDA, Socio-Cognition, History, Socio-Psychology, Political Science, and so forth.

In the following, I will focus on three utterances by Jörg Haider in detail, uttered during the election campaign 2001:[2]

(1)   Der Häupl hat einen Wahlkampfstrategen, der heißt Greenberg (lautes Lachen im Saal). Den hat er sich von der Ostküste einfliegen lassen! Liebe Freunde, ihr habt die Wahl, zwischen Spindoctor Greenberg von der Ostküste, oder dem Wienerherz zu entscheiden

Mr. Häupl has an election strategist: he's called Greenberg (loud laughter in the hall). He had him flown in from the East Coast. My friends, you have a choice: you can vote for Spin Doctor Greenberg from the East Coast, or for the Heart of Vienna! (translation mine).

(2) Wir brauchen keine Zurufe von der Ostküste. Jetzt ist es einmal genug. Jetzt geht es um einen anderen Teil der Geschichte, die Wiedergutmachung für die Heimatvertriebenen.
We don't need any proclamations from the East Coast. Now we've had enough. Now we're concerned with another part of our history, reparations to those driven from their homes (translation mine).

(3) Der Herr Muzicant: I versteh überhaupt net, wie ana, der Ariel haßt, so viel Dreck am Steckn haben kann…des versteh i überhaupt net, aber i man…das wird er schon morgen kommentieren, nicht… aber ich bin da nicht sehr schreckhaft, in diesen Fragen.
Mr. Muzicant: What I don't understand is how someone called Ariel can have so much dirty linen… I don't understand that at all, but I mean…he will certainly comment this tomorrow, won't he… but I am not frightened in these questions (Haider on 28th February, Ash Wednesday Speech, my translation).

To be able to understand, analyze and explain these latently anti-Semitic utterances, it is necessary to propose the following theoretical claims:

–   In order to capture the multidimensional nature of racism/anti-Semitism, the concept of *syncretic racism/anti-Semitism* lends itself; it encompasses everyday racism, xeno-racism and other concepts of exclusion (such as racialisation, otherism, discrimination, etc.). By *syncretic anti-Semitism* I mean the construction of 'differences', which serve ideological, political and/or practical discrimination on all levels of society. Old and new stereotypes form a mixed bag of exclusionary practices; they are used whenever seen to be politically expedient — such as in gaining votes. It is a 'racism without races' in which the discourse of exclusion has become de-referentialized, i.e., removed from any direct relation with a specific constructed racial subject (Jews, Blacks, Roma), and has become a 'floating discourse' (almost an 'empty signifier' in the view of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe 1985) in which anti-Semitic/racist/xenophobic attitudes are combined with specific negative stereotypes.

–   The discursive construction of 'US' and 'THEM' is the foundation of prejudiced, anti-Semitic and racist perceptions and discourses. This discursive construction starts with the labelling of social actors, proceeds to the generalization of negative attributions and then elaborates arguments to justify the exclusion of many and inclusion of some. The discursive realizations can be

more or less intensified or mitigated, more or less implicit or explicit, due to historical conventions, public levels of tolerance, political correctness, and the specific context and public sphere.

– Hence, the concepts of 'text, discourse, context and co-text' have to be clarified and theorized in an interdisciplinary framework combining and integrating CDA and Pragmatics. Although Pragmatics has always clearly seen itself as complementary to Semantics, as Paul Chilton has clearly illustrated in his book *Analysing Political Discourse* (2004), and research in Pragmatics has attempted to distinguish important features of the immediate context (speakers, hearers, settings, expectations, intentions etc.), these and other relevant dimensions have frequently been left vague or sometimes simply to the researcher's subjective intuition (see Reisigl 2004). On the other hand, much research in CDA has often neglected the subtle and intricate analysis of latent meanings and has left the interpretation of implicit, presupposed and inferred meanings to the intuition of the researcher and/or the readership.

– Moreover, an integrative pragmatic and discourse-analytic approach has to be further complemented with a range of other linguistic theoretical concepts as well as with theories from neighbouring disciplines. Such a theoretical framework should not only exist as an 'abstract umbrella or general framework', unrelated to the explicit and concrete analysis; such a framework would rather be necessary to be able to choose and justify the relevant categories for the analysis itself (see van Dijk 2003; Wodak 2000 a, b).

The linguistic analysis of pragmatic devices in a particular setting — in our example political discourse expressing anti-Semitic prejudice (speeches and media) — would thus have to draw on a range of analytical tools selected for that specific purpose. In the concrete case I am addressing here, I suggest the following procedures and stages for analysis:

– *Historical analysis* of anti-Semitism and its verbal expressions (i.e., 'coded language');
– *Socio-cognitive analysis* of collective memories and frames guiding the acquisition of specific knowledge to be able to understand the 'coded language';
– *Socio-political analysis* of the election campaign, the on-going debates and the political parties taking part; these three dimensions form the *broader context*;
– *Genre theory*; the functions of political speeches (persuasive strategies, positive self-presentation/negative other-presentation, populist rhetoric, etc.);
– The *setting,* speakers etc. of the concrete utterances; this is the more *narrow context*;
– The *co-text* of each utterance;

–   Finally, the verbal expressions have to be analyzed with regard to *linguistic pragmatic*/grammatical approaches (presuppositions, insinuations, implicatures, etc. as relevant characteristics of the specific 'coded anti-Semitism').

Such devices are embedded in *discursive macro-strategies* of *positive self* and *negative other* presentation; these strategies employ various other linguistic features, rhetorical tropes and argumentation/legitimization patterns. In our case, moreover, we have to contextualize this election campaign into other discourses on foreigners, Jews, minorities, marginalized groups in Austria and Europe, in order to be able to grasp the interdiscursivity, intertextuality and recontextualization of certain *topoi*[3] and arguments throughout many genres and public spheres.[4]

In sum, my aim throughout this paper is to illustrate the wide and systematic range of methodological instruments needed to achieve an explicit, retroductable and valid linguistic analysis. At this point, it is also important to emphasize that — even though my primary research focus as a (critical) discourse analyst is directed towards the investigation of a 'social problem', such as racism or anti-Semitism — this epistemological perspective does not imply that the detailed linguistic analysis and linguistic theorizing would be of lesser importance. Quite on the contrary: the schools in the CDA framework all define explaining/understanding 'social problems' as their main research goal; but at the same time, all the different schools in CDA tend to embrace very precise linguistic analysis.[5]

In the following, I will first present some very brief historical/political information (the broader context) regarding my case-study; secondly the most important linguistic concepts and the discourse-historical approach in CDA applied for this analysis have to be elaborated. Finally, the detailed analysis of the above mentioned examples of the election campaign and Jörg Haider's speeches illustrates the integrative theoretical framework of Pragmatics and CDA.

1.   The broad context: 'Discourses of silence/coded language'

The first stage of the analysis consists in addressing the broad context of the election campaign discourse 2001. More specifically, we need to ask the question why anti-Semitic meanings are expressed in a 'coded way'; the relevant historical background of post-war Austria provides first answers.

Because of Nazi atrocities and the involvement of many Austrians in the Shoah, explicit anti-Semitic utterances were tabooed in official contexts after 1945. Nevertheless, many empirical quantitative and qualitative studies have illustrated that anti-Semitism continued to exist, with the same stereotypes and prejudices as during the Nazi period as well as before 1938. Moreover, several new stereotypes were created in relation to compensation issues, which primarily accused Jews of 'being

rich anyway' and 'exploiting a population which was itself a victim' (see Marin 2000). The conflicts in the Middle East since the Second Intifada and the Iraq War 2003 have also triggered more resentment. It is — of course — impossible to recapitulate the history of anti-Semitic prejudice in Austria in this paper (but see Mitten 1997, Pelinka and Wodak 2002); nevertheless, it is important to state that anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic prejudices and stereotypes have been and still are functionalized for political reasons in the Second Austrian Republic. We are dealing with *syncretic anti-Semitism*: whenever necessary to gain voters, old and new stereotypes are intentionally used in political debates (see above).

However, because of the taboo on explicit anti-Semitic utterances in public domains, specifically in official political discourses, a different — coded — mode of expressing anti-Semitic prejudices and stereotypes was created after 1945, which was analyzed in detail elsewhere (Wodak 2004a) and labelled as 'discourses of silence'. This means that anti-Semitic contents can only be *inferred* by listeners/viewers/readers who know the background and also the genesis of such allusions/insinuations or presuppositions. The listeners/viewers/readers have acquired the necessary *knowledge through collective memories or narratives handed down through generations (*Heer *et al.* 2003; Welzer 2002; van Dijk 1984; Lutz and Wodak 1987). *They were thus socialized into specific cognitive frames (event models, metaphor scenarios) and discourses* (see Wodak 2006a).[6] If accused, the speaker can always justify himself — or herself — by stating that s/he did not 'mean' what others imply that they had said. This fact — *inter alia* — makes the explicit analysis of such prejudiced discourse a real challenge for linguists, discourse analysts and scholars of Pragmatics, because the broad and narrow contexts and co-text of the respective utterance have to be systematically integrated into the analysis.

Moreover, certain argumentative *topoi* are recontextualized from one public domain to the next, and realized through different linguistic devices (Iedema 1999, Wodak 2000b, Wodak and Iedema 2005). I will highlight only those which help understand and explain the specific case-study in this paper, which deals with the recent manifestation of anti-Semitic prejudice in political discourse in Austria 2001: the utterances by Jörg Haider against the president of the Jewish community in Vienna, Ariel Muzicant, during the Vienna election campaign 2001.

2.   Theorizing context — the discourse-historical approach in CDA

2.1   Some relevant concepts in CDA

The terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are often used interchangeably. In fact, in recent research it seems that the term CDA is

preferred and is used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL. CDA sees language as 'social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), and considers the context of language use to be crucial (Weiss and Wodak 2003; Wodak and Weiss 2004a, 2004b; Wodak 2004b). CL and CDA may be defined as fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as they are manifested in language.

Four concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: the concepts of *critique, power, history,* and *ideology.* Let me elaborate these briefly in turn:

'Critique' carries very different meanings: some adhere to the Frankfurt School, others to a notion of literary criticism, some to Marx's notions (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Sayer 2006 — for overviews). Basically, 'critical' could be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, making the respective political stance explicit, and having a focus on self-reflection as scholars undertaking research. For all those concerned with CDA, application of the results is important, be it in practical seminars for teachers, doctors and bureaucrats, in the writing of expert opinions, or devising schoolbooks.

Thompson (1990) discusses the concepts of ideology and culture and the relations between these concepts and certain aspects of mass communication. He points out that the concept of ideology first appeared in late 18th century France and has thus been in use for about two centuries. The term has been given a range of functions and meanings at different times. For Thompson, ideology refers to social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, symbolic forms circulate in the social world. Ideology, for CDA, is seen as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. CDA takes a particular interest in the ways in which language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions.

Critical theories, thus also CDA, are afforded special standing as guides for human action. They are aimed at producing enlightenment and support emancipation. Such theories seek not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion. Even with differing concepts of ideology, critical theory seeks to create awareness in agents of how they are deceived about their own needs and interests. This was, of course, also taken up by Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'violence symbolique' and 'méconnaissance' (Bourdieu 1989). One of the aims of CDA is to 'demystify' discourses by deciphering ideologies.

For CDA, language is not powerful on its own — it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. In agreement with its Critical Theory predecessors, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power.

An important perspective in CDA, related to the notion of 'power', is that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which are in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences of power in hierarchical social structures. Very few linguistic forms have not at some stage been pressed into the service of the expression of power by a process of syntactic or textual metaphor. CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text, or by access to certain public spheres. It is often exactly within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is exercised or challenged.

2.2 Text and context

One methodical way for critical discourse analysts to minimize the risk of critical bias and to avoid politicizing, instead of analyzing, is to follow the principle of 'triangulation' (Cicourel 1969). One of the most salient features of the *discourse-historical approach* is its endeavour to work interdisciplinarily, multi-methodically and on the basis of a variety of different empirical data as well as context theories (see Wodak 2001). Depending on the object of investigation, this approach attempts to transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion.

Critical research in the field of language, politics and discrimination has expanded enormously in recent years.[7] According to the underlying specific theoretical approach the notion of 'discourse' is frequently defined in different ways.[8] In the analysis of discourse and politics, the meaning of 'discourse' is therefore closely linked to the respective research context and theoretical approach. Possible definitions range from a 'promiscuous use of *text* and *discourse*', as it may be found predominantly in Anglo-Saxon approaches, to a strict definition from the perspective of linguistic pragmatics (see Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter 2000).

The notion of 'politics' is also defined in many different ways depending on the respective theoretical framework. It ranges from a wide extension of the concept according to which every social utterance or practice of the human as a *zoon politikon* is 'political', to a notion of politics referring only to the use of language by politicians in various settings and in political institutions:

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert their power and those, who seek to resist it. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like (Chilton 2004: 3).

Chilton (2004) embraces an interactive view of politics, which cuts through both of the above-mentioned dimensions. This is also the perspective endorsed in this paper.

Furthermore, it is important to define the political domains and the genres which are relevant in this field (in the sense of Bourdieu's theory of fields, *habitus* and capitals). The most important domains can be summarized in the following figure:
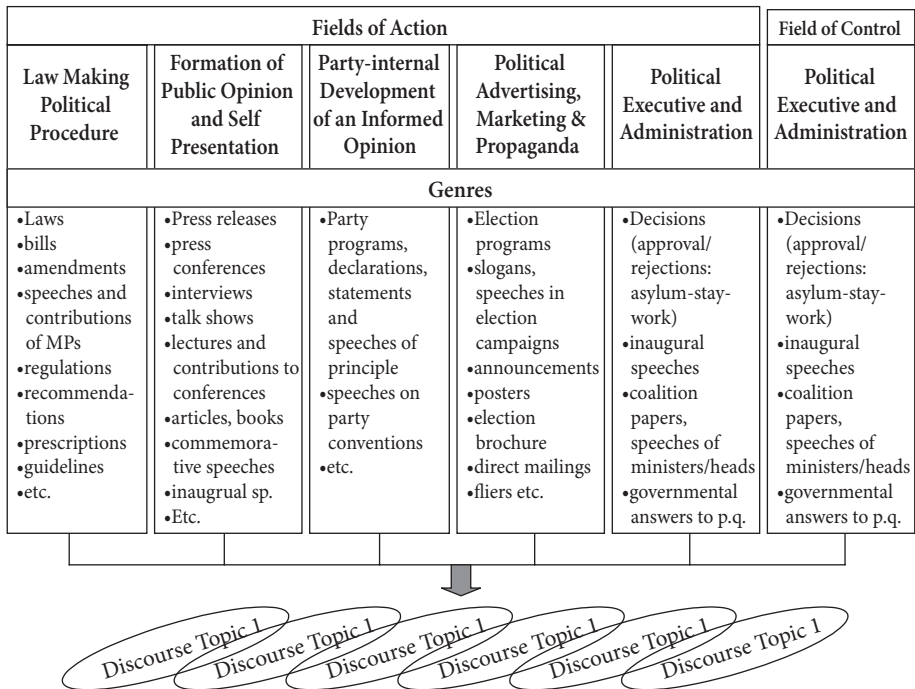
Fields of Action					Field of Control
Law Making Political Procedure	Formation of Public Opinion and Self Presentation	Party-internal Development of an Informed Opinion	Political Advertising, Marketing & Propaganda	Political Executive and Administration	Political Executive and Administration
Genres					
•Laws •bills •amendments •speeches and contributions of MPs •regulations •recommendations •prescriptions •guidelines •etc.	•Press releases •press conferences •interviews •talk shows •lectures and contributions to conferences •articles, books •commemorative speeches •inaugural sp. •Etc.	•Party programs, declarations, statements and speeches of principle •speeches on party conventions •etc.	•Election programs •slogans, speeches in election campaigns •announcements •posters •election brochure •direct mailings •fliers etc.	•Decisions (approval/ rejections: asylum-stay-work) •inaugural speeches •coalition papers, speeches of ministers/heads •governmental answers to p.q.	•Decisions (approval/ rejections: asylum-stay-work) •inaugural speeches •coalition papers, speeches of ministers/heads •governmental answers to p.q.

Discourse Topic 1　Discourse Topic 1　Discourse Topic 1　Discourse Topic 1　Discourse Topic 1　Discourse Topic 1

Figure 1. Selected dimensions of Discourse as Social Practice (Wodak and Meyer 2001).

Our triangulation approach is based on a concept of *context* which takes into account four levels:

– The co-text of each utterance or clause
– The con-text in the macro-text; the genre analysis
– The socio-political context of the speech event
– The intertextual and interdiscursive relationships of the respective speech event to other relevant events.

In the following example, I will illustrate each level of context and make the sequential analysis transparent, following the categories of analysis that will be defined below. I will focus in detail on the linguistic means, which relate the broad and narrow contexts with each other. This implies that one needs to demonstrate how certain utterances realized through linguistic-pragmatic devices point to extra-linguistic contexts, diachronically and synchronically. The impact of such a discourse can only be understood when related to the Austrian political developments, and most importantly, to the instrumentalization of a 'coded' anti-Semitism in political discourse in post-war Austria.

3.   Some linguistic/pragmatic concepts

In this case study, we need to turn to a number of linguistic concepts and devices that are of particular importance for the description of post-war anti-Semitism in Austria.

Through *allusions* (cf. also Wodak *et al.* 1990) one can suggest and address negative associations and connotations without being held responsible for them. Ultimately the associations are only hinted at; the listeners/viewers/readers must make them explicit in the act of reception (Wodak and de Cillia 1988: 10).[9] Allusions depend on *shared knowledge* (cf. Searle's (1976) *background assumptions*, Sperber and Wilson's (1986) *mutual manifestness*, van Dijk's (2005) *common sense knowledge*, and so forth). The person who alludes to something counts on the general preparedness for resonance of the audience, that is, the hearer's tendency to expand literal meanings according to this shared knowledge.

Hence, in the field of politics, allusions may bear the intention, and achieve the result, of devaluating political opponents, without accepting responsibility for what is implicitly said: at best an invitation was given to make particular connections.[10] What is not pronounced creates, in the case of allusions, a kind of secrecy or intimacy, and familiarity suggests something like: 'we all know what is meant'. The world of experience exists, however, in a 'repertoire of collective knowledge', which we can analyze through historical, psychological, etc. studies and theories of anti-Semitism. Allusions frequently rely on racist/anti-Semitic *topoi* (*World conspiracy*) and standardized linguistic patterns which manifest and carry clearly defined meanings (e.g., 'East Coast'; Mitten 1992 and Wodak 2004a for discussion), or which point to collectively well-established anti-Semitic stereotypes (such as 'Jewish speculators and crooks'; Wodak and de Cillia 1988: 15).

Although allusions resemble other types of implicit components of meaning, it is necessary to go into further details and differentiate allusions proper. Januschek provides a useful definition for allusions embedded in political discourse:

[…] In contrast to slogans, allusions require active thinking and discriminating recipients. Not everyone can understand allusions, and those who do understand them have to do something about it: they have to give meaning to the allusion. The creator of the allusion can thereby renounce responsibility for the meaning that arises: he may distance himself. In other words: allusions can be very short — but they can never be one-sided communicative acts. And, allusions may be understood in a highly explosive way — but always so subtly that they provoke contradiction and cannot be casually filed away in particular drawers. Whereas electoral slogans tend to cause fragmented discourse to break down completely, allusions drive it forward. Under the conditions of fragmentized political communications they are the linguistic means that relies on the fact that citizens, under these same conditions, generally act intelligently and not merely as puppets for the cleverest manipulators (Januschek 1994: 115).

In our case study, for instance, we can observe that in accusing Dr. Ariel Muzicant, Dr. Jörg Haider frequently employed allusions. By this kind of discursive device, he (and others) implied and addressed certain presuppositions, which many people shared as 'common sense knowledge' or 'shared truth'. This is, of course, not a new linguistic strategy in prejudiced discourse.

The concept of presupposition is central to Linguistics. The analysis of presuppositions within speech act theory, which began with John Austin (1961) and John Searle (1969, 1976), makes it possible to make explicit the implicit assumptions and intertextual relations that underlie text-production (see Schiffrin 1994).

In the case of anti-Semitic utterances, at least since 1945, no enclosed ideological edifice of anti-Semitism is directly and completely spelled out. Rather, an amalgam of ideological tenets is invoked by linguistic 'clues and traces', in order to relate to a particular set of beliefs, thus constructing a 'discourse space' through rhetorical, argumentative, metaphorical and pragmatic means — irrespective of where the 'roots' of this 'discourse space' may lead.[11]

There are many linguistic phenomena that have been related to presuppositions. Here I shall follow the survey given in Yule (1996: Chapter 4), which concentrates on 4 types (see Table 1).

Table 1. Types of Presupposition.

Presupposition Type	Example	Presupposition
existential	'The X'	>>X exists.
factive	'I regret having done that'	>>I did it.
non-factive	'He claimed to be a teacher'	>> He was not a teacher.
lexical	'She managed to escape'	>>She attempted to escape
structural	'Who is coming?'	>>Someone is coming.
counter-factual	'If I were not ill…'	>>I am ill

It is useful to notice, for further analyses (see below), that presuppositions have remarkable properties regarding the triggering of audience consent to the message expressed. Presupposed content is, under ordinary circumstances, and unless there is a cautious interpretive attitude on the part of the hearer, accepted without (much) critical attention (whereas the asserted content and evident implicatures are normally subject to some level of evaluation). For example: a mother, knowing that her child is not happy about the idea of going to visit Aunt Mary, may utter, in order to facilitate consent, *Which Teddy bear would you like to bring with you to Aunt Mary's place*, where the fact that they are definitely going to visit Aunt Mary is presupposed, instead of simply stating *We are going to Aunt Mary*.

Existential presuppositions are a very effective way to manufacture consent. I will come back to this briefly below.

Finally, I would like to consider the term 'wordplay'. In his most 'famous remark' during the election campaign (see example (3)), Haider made a word play on 'Ariel', Muzicant's first name. This was then relativized as a 'joke', as 'irony' and so on, in the sense of 'why not have a bit of fun during the carnival'?[12]

Wordplay ('play on words') means playful use of words, the humorous effect of which depends particularly on the ambiguity of the words used or on the identical or similar pronunciation of two related words with different meanings. As Bering (2002) has elaborated, Goebbels used wordplay frequently in the 1930's to defame and denounce prominent Jewish lawyers in pre-war Berlin. Some of these persons went to court and even won their case against Goebbels; however, the new 'names' stuck.[13] Playing with names and distorting names thus has to be seen as denying and threatening the identity of a specific person. As illustrated below, this can be realized linguistically in different ways: either the pronunciation can be altered or shifted, phonetically or phonologically; or allusions and semantic associations with other concepts can be constructed; sometimes, conceptual metaphors can be created through such wordplays. In our example and during the election campaign 2001, Haider employed all these devices for different politicians and, most importantly for our case-study, for the president of the Austrian Jewish community. The different realizations have various distinct pragmatic functions, as will be shown below.

4.   The Vienna Election 2001

In 2001, during the election campaign for the city of Vienna, the capital city of Austria with a social democratic majority, the Freedom Party FPÖ (a right wing extremist party, similar to Le Pen's party in France), with its former leader, Dr. Jörg Haider, began a campaign that stimulated anti-Semitic beliefs and prejudices (see

Möhring 2001; Rosenberger 2001; Pelinka and Wodak 2002; examples (1), (2)). Traditional stereotypes were used as political weapons. Specifically, this campaign was characterized by vehement attacks on the president of the Jewish Community, Dr. Ariel Muzicant.

On Ash Wednesday, 28th February 2001, Dr. Jörg Haider made a speech in Ried im Innkreis, Upper Austria, in which he insulted Dr. Ariel Muzicant, along with a number of other opposition politicians (see example (3)). The remarks that were broadcast many times on the television, ultimately world-wide, set off a new, very heated debate on anti-Semitism in Austria.

In this paper, I will focus only on the three utterances quoted above, while summarizing the immediate context of Haider's speech; a survey of a number of characteristic quotations from the Vienna election campaign, which illustrate, on the one hand, the anti-Semitic discourse, and on the other hand, the unequal debate about 'freedom of opinion' and 'criticism' that evolved out of it, can be found elsewhere (Wodak 2002; Wodak and Reisigl 2002).

4.1 The immediate co-text of the incriminated utterance on 28th February 2001 in Ried: The 'textual chain of abuse'

Below, I list some of the macro topics Jörg Haider addressed in the Ried speech:

– The topics of the BSE crisis and EU agricultural policy — these topics illustrate the EU-sceptical position of the FPÖ. In this context he characterized the then Austrian EU commissioner Franz Fischler as a political *Rübezahl*[14] suffering from an outburst of rage in the European agricultural policy.
– The topic of the introduction and stability of the Euro — thus repeating EU skepticism by linking this to unemployment and raising living costs.
– The topic of the presumed high salaries of SPÖ politicians, thus hinting at and alluding to corruption and privileges of politicians. In this context he refers on one occasion to the leader of the SPÖ, Alfred Gusenbauer, as *Gruselbauer*.[15]
– The topic of the 'EU-14 sanctions against Austria', which had caused a huge shift to the right in the year 2000 when the right wing government had overcome the center-left grand coalition. The sanctions of the 14 EU member states immediately after the take over of the new government had proved to be counter-productive: they triggered a chauvinistic discourse of 'Austria against the EU' which swept all oppositional voices under the carpet and allowed labelling opposition politicians as 'traitors' and as 'non-patriotic' (see Möhring 2001).
– Dr. Ariel Muzicant is attacked by Dr. Jörg Haider in the course of discussing the 'EU-sanctions', of which the speaker claims that they had their origin in

Austria and thus presupposes that Muzicant might have been part of a 'conspiracy' which started or at least supported these sanctions. Then Haider stated explicitly that the 'Austrian socialists' and 'the left' had asked their 'friends abroad' for the sanctions and that Dr. Ariel Muzicant had made a contribution to this.

If one compares the wordplays with the names of Fischler, Gusenbauer and Muzicant, significant pragmatic differences immediately become apparent. In the first two cases, irony is used and only small changes in the names are suggested or comparisons are hinted at, none of which derogate the person viciously. In the case of Muzicant, the wordplay alludes to seemingly inherent negative characteristics of the 'Jew'.

After his verbal attack, in which Dr. Jörg Haider accuses Dr. Ariel Muzicant of being a Jew hostile to Austria, and with a lot of 'dirty linen' (i.e., being criminal), Haider, governor of Carinthia, in the remainder of his speech, moved on to abusing other political opponents from Austria, France and Germany. Thus, the abuse of Dr. Ariel Muzicant in Haider's speech in Ried fits into a series of abusive remarks, some of which Dr. Jörg Haider made before or later. If one looks at this series of insults one is struck by the fact that Dr. Ariel Muzicant is the only non-politician (in the narrower sense of professional politician) among those selected and subjected to verbal attack. So, whereas Dr. Jörg Haider attacks political opponents inside and outside Austria, he insults Dr. Ariel Muzicant personally and in his function as president of the Jewish community in Austria.

4.2 Detailed linguistic-pragmatic analysis

The linking of compensation/restitution of war victims and Holocaust survivors in relation to the criminalization of Muzicant began at the New Year meeting on 22nd January 2001 (Examples (1), (2)). In what was expressed there it was said of Muzicant that he had himself piled up debts and that the restitution would partly serve his own interests (those of paying off debts).

At this point, we can zoom in to the pragmatic analysis proper. These first utterances imply many existential *presuppositions*. The properties of the presupposed content (see above) are extensively exploited in our particular case. Below, I list some interesting existential presuppositions at work in Haider's utterances.

First, the utterance presupposes that Muzicant actually makes criminal moves, because he seemingly exploits the interests of the Holocaust survivors for himself and his business. Secondly and simultaneously, a chain of anti-Semitic insinuations and associations are triggered by this presupposition: 'Jews are rich, are all businessmen, etc.' At the same time the topic of restitution is, in general terms,

rhetorically devalued as a not very important 'problem' (euphemism). This first macro topic is pursued at the beginning of the election campaign, when there is an onslaught on the 'East Coast' (a synecdoche; see below), and the apparent influence of the 'East Coast' (this *topos* is related to the Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Michael Häupl, and to the Social-democratic Party [SPÖ], as well as to the restitution negotiations); such an argumentation is a good example of implicature directly connected with the network of presuppositions. The specific implicature related to these insinuations is, on the one hand, that the Jews are treated better than the Sudeten Germans; and that this, on the other hand, is unfair.

Further, the use of the insinuation 'East Coast' goes back at least as far as the 'Waldheim Affair' (1986), where 'the Jewish Lobbies in New York' where alluded to through this synecdoche (Wodak *et al.* 1990; Wodak 2004a). The latent meaning implies that the Socialist Party seems dependent of these 'powerful Jews', thus the traditional stereotype of the 'World Conspiracy' as *topos* is *presupposed*. Moreover, in this speech the extermination of the Jews and the matter of restitution are explicitly set against the expelled Sudeten Germans after 1945 (discursive strategy of equation; *topos*: 'we are all victims').[16]

The criminalization of Muzicant is then pursued in the form of an allusion and word play ("dirty linen") which is, however, removed from its vagueness and clarified in the following quotations (see example (3)). The play on Muzicant's name ("Ariel") which is also the name of a detergent was laughed upon during the speech. The speech was tape-recorded and thus also available for a multimodal analysis and analysis of the intonation structure.

The ambiguity here is twofold: on the one hand, the criminality of Muzicant (and the Jews) is represented; on the other hand, the ancient anti-Semitic stereotype of 'dirty Jews' is alluded to. The intentionality of this utterance can be illustrated through the spontaneous reaction of the audience as well as the shared prejudicial frame of the audience. The following utterance by Haider manifests very clearly that he knew precisely what he was doing: he wanted to provoke Muzicant — and he succeeded. Through this abusive wordplay with the function of an indirect challenge or invitation to a debate (fight), Haider started an interaction with Muzicant who responded the next day and took Haider to court. Historically, such wordplays with Jewish surnames allude to Nazi times where Goebbels used this device when abusing prominent lawyers in Berlin in the 30's (see above).

Hence, this first argumentative pattern can be adequately analyzed with the help of pragmatic concepts, namely through detecting presuppositions, wordplay, implicatures and allusions (many in the form of rhetorical tropes). In this concrete case, the argumentative pattern serves to present Dr. Ariel Muzicant as a criminal, in order to focus sharply on his role in the restitution negotiations. Ultimately, however, what also seems important for Haider is to devalue the restitution claims

of Jewish victims of the Holocaust *per se* and to set the Holocaust as equivalent to the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans.

The second discursive macro strategy concerns the sub-division of Austrian citizens, i.e., the discursive construction of social groups through membership categorization devices (MCD): into those with a 'true Viennese heart' (US) and those who allow themselves to be influenced by the 'East Coast' (i.e., the apparently powerful Jewish lobbies in New York (THEM).

In *profil* of 2nd April 2001 (a liberal progressive weekly), Peter Sichrovsky, then general secretary of the FPÖ, in an interview even provides this interpretation of the allusion used explicitly and thereby contradicts Haider's later justification of 16th March 2001 that 'East Coast' is a 'purely geographical description', the literal semantic meaning as opposed to the alluded and shared synecdoche.

This categorization concerns, on the one hand, the electoral debate in Vienna; Stanley Greenberg, the adviser to the mayor of Vienna, is presented as, among other things, a Jew who is now working for the Social-democratic Party (SPÖ) as a 'spin doctor'. The singular characterization of a person in his quality as a 'Jew' serves exclusively to arouse anti-Semitic attitudes, because this attribution was — of course — totally unimportant for Greenberg's work. Jews are thus juxtaposed to and contrasted with 'real' Austrians. The *topos* of the *real Austrian* is also not new. This *topos* was already used in the 1970's when Bruno Kreisky, later chancellor of Austria, a social democrat of Jewish origin, campaigned against the People's Party (ÖVP). The use of 'real Austrians' appeared again in the national election campaign 1999 (in which Haider presents himself as a 'real' Austrian) and alludes to the belief that Jews or other Austrians from other ethnic origin are not to be considered 'on the same level', even if they have Austrian citizenship. The Austrian-ness (or citizenship) of Austrian Jews is thereby implicitly denied. There are of course many more examples of pragmatic and grammatical/rhetorical devices in the whole textual chain which have to be left aside here due to space restrictions.

5. Final remarks

The precise textual and pragmatic analysis, embedded in the contextual analysis of discourses and discourse strands demonstrates why such strategies can be cognitively and emotionally effective, given the contents of the various levels of contextual and co-textual assumptions and the subtle pragmatic devices involved.[17] In this particular case, it demonstrates the extent to which Jörg Haider has used anti-Jewish stereotypes since the FPÖ New Year's meeting in 2001. The fallacious linking of the Vienna election campaign with the restitution negotiations becomes equally clear.

What is relevant for our theoretical discussion is the evidence that the analysis of such discourses needs a very precise definition of differing layers of context and of theoretical and methodological input of neighbouring disciplines.

Moreover, the intricate and complex relationship between grammatical means, pragmatic devices and discourse analysis becomes apparent, a relationship proposed by other researchers as well. Already Heiko Hausendorf (2000) has argued in his important book *Zugehörigkeit durch Sprache. Eine linguistische Studie am Beispiel der deutschen Wiedervereinigung,* that important links between grammar and Pragmatics exist, which he demonstrates using conversational analysis and MCD in studying TV debates on latent conflicts between former East Germans and former West Germans immediately after the reunification of Germany. In another paper by Ruth Wodak and Rick Iedema (2005), we illustrate the relationship between grammar (in the Hallidayan sense) and interdisciplinary CDA when analyzing a TV interview in the Austrian television between Haider and the anchorman of the evening news. In this interview, Haider managed to divert the explicit questions on the FPÖ's xenophobic programme again by implicit pragmatic devices and by typical fallacies and *topoi.*

Within other trends of pragmatics there are also relevant insights about what a hearer does when constructing an *ad hoc* contextualisation when processing an utterance, starting from a 'context' in the broad sense and narrowing it down into a set of supposedly useful assumptions. Such an approach is, I believe, another good starting point for further relating Pragmatics with CDA, though it does not take into account discourses as complex and contextualized speech events but aims at explaining micro phenomena at the level of the sequential interpretation of utterances.[18]

Following the assumptions in the first section of this paper, I hope to have made it clear that pragmatic devices, such as insinuations, wordplays and presuppositions, all relevant characteristics of 'coded discourses of silence and justification', are only to be analyzed explicitly and systematically in constant dialogue of pragmatic and discourse-analytical approaches with the extra-linguistic contexts and other non-linguistic theories.

Notes

1. See Wodak *et al.* 1990; Mitten 1992, 1997, 2000; Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Wodak and Reisigl 2002; Wodak 2004a; Martin and Wodak 2003; Benke and Wodak 2003a, 2003b; Heer *et al.* 2003.

2. An extensive analysis of the whole election campaign is published elsewhere (Wodak and Reisigl 2002).

3. Within argumentation theory, *topoi or loci* can be described as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner 1992: 194).

4. See Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Wodak 2001 for precise definitions of these terms, which are central to CDA.

5. See Wodak and Meyer 2001; Fairclough 2003; Blommaert 2005; Wodak 2004b, 2006 a, b; see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: Chapter 2 for details of the discourse-historical approach employed in this paper.

6. "Context models and event models are mental representations in episodic memory…in which people store their knowledge and opinions about episodes they experience or read/hear about… Context models control the 'pragmatic' part of discourse and event models the 'semantic part" (van Dijk 2001: 112). "We can characterize a [metaphor] 'scenario' as a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about 'typical' aspects of a source situation; f. ex., its participants and their roles, the 'dramatic' storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, permissible or illegitimate, etc. These source-based assumptions are mapped onto the respective target concepts" (Musloff 2006:28). "These highly specific source scenarios… are ubiquitous and constitute an essential feature of metaphor use in public discourse registers. Scenarios appear to dominate public discourse not just in terms of overall frequency but also in that they help to shape the course of public debates and conceptualizations in the respective discourse communities" (*ibid.*: 28).

7. See Chilton 2004; Chilton and Schäffner 2002, 1997; Girnth 2002; Jarren, Sarcinelli, and Saxer 1998; Gruber, Menz, and Panagl 2003; Wilson 1990; Wodak and van Dijk 2000; Billig 2005; Wodak and Chilton 2005.

8. See Reisigl 2004 for a recent discussion of the concepts of 'discourse'.

9. This assumption converges very well with observations made by Sperber and Wilson within cognitive pragmatics (Sperber and Wilson 1986: PAGES 35ff). For them, implicit meanings (in a broad sense which includes what I label here *allusions*, and which I define more precisely with regard to *implicatures* later in this section) are derived by the audience at its own responsibility. The speaker is always able to retract (s/he does not commit himself to the meaning).

10. I do not relate my assumptions here to the notion of *invited inferences* (Geis and Zwicky 1971) but one can not avoid noticing an interesting connection. Geis and Zwicky proved that some types of implicit meanings are best explained in terms of non-logical — or fallacious — but *practical* reasoning. To be invited to make specific connections is of course more than this, but the idea links well to the notion that non standard logical processes might be present in such cases.

11. Referring to this notion of *discourse space* allows for a very interesting pragmatic interface of CDA with works by Fauconnier and Turner on mental spaces and blending (1996), as well as with the framework of metaphor in the line of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1998), Musloff (2006), Koller (2005), Wagner and Wodak (2006), and Chilton (2005). However, in contrast to Chilton's analysis of anti-Semitic utterances, where he neglects all contextual, emotional and historical analysis and argues that CDA has become obsolete, I am convinced that an isolated cognitive linguistic analysis is incapable of addressing and explaining the specific occurrence of such utterances and their impact at certain times with specific audiences (see above and Wodak 2006d). See also Sauer (2006).

12. See detailed analysis below. During carnival, jokes or even distortions of names — Haider states — should be permissible. Interestingly, however, Ash Wednesday is, of course, after the end of carnival; thus, the conventions and rules of carnival should not apply to it.

13. Bering (2002: 178) mentions the most famous case of Bernhard Weiß, the then president of police in Berlin in the 1930s as an example. Goebbels made fun of his name and called him 'Isidor'. Even though Weiß won his case at court, the name 'Isidor' stuck. Other examples are the infamous forced re-naming of Jews with 'Israel'and 'Sara' in the so-called J-passports.

14. *Rübezahl* is the name of a destructive turnip-counting giant-figure in German folklore.

15. This play on words implies 'mess-maker'.

16. The Sudeten Germans were expelled from then Czechoslovakia because the Benes government sought revenge for the collaboration of many Sudeten Germans with the Nazis before and during the occupation in the Second World War.

17. See more on these aspects of 'belief-inculcation' and manufacture of consent through discursive and pragmatic strategies in Allott (2005) and Saussure (2005). See also van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1994) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001) for extensive discussions of argumentation patterns and fallacies.

18. For a discussion, see Saussure (2003, 2004), Carston (2002).

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