Construction of FTAs in the fictional world of *Gilmore Girls*

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan amerikkalaista televisiosarjaa Gilmoren tytöt (engl. *Gilmore Girls*), joka kuvaa yksinhuoltajaäidin ja tämän tyttären elämää idyllisessä pikkukaupungissa. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tarkastella strategista vuorovaikutusta sarjan henkilöhahmojen kesken keskittyen pääsääntöisesti Brownin ja Levinsonin kohteliaisuusteoriaan sekä Gilmore-ismeinä tunnettuihin puhekielen viittauksiin. Tutkimuskysymyksen asettelu on kaksiosainen: 1. Kuinka Gilmore-ismit vaikuttavat strategiseen kanssakäymiseen ja kuinka ne ilmenevät kohteliaisuusteorian yhteydessä, ja 2. Miten hyvin Gilmore-ismejä pystytään kuvaamaan pragmatiikan keinoin.

Tutkimuksen pohjana ovat pragmatiikan peruskäsitteet sekä kohteliaisuuden tarkastelu. Päämetodina käytetään Brownin ja Levinsonin teorian soveltamista sarjan englanninkielisten ilmausten ja Gilmore-ismien analysoimiseen. Tutkimuksessa pyritään vertaamaan puhujan verbaalista viestiä sen motiiviin ja vaikutukseen kuulijassa, ja näin ollen todistamaan että Gilmore-ismit ovat tärkeä osa kohteliaisuuden edistämistä keskustelussa. Huomiota kiinnitetään myös osittain Culpeperin epäkohteliaisuusteoriaan, joka nähdään kohteliaisuusteorian luonnollisena jatkeena.

Päätuloksista voidaan päätellä, että Gilmore-ismejä käytetään tarkoituksellisesti edistämään kohteliaisuutta ja joskus myös epäkohteliaisuutta. Niiden luonne ja vaikutusaste vaihtelevat puhujan motiivin ja käytetyn kohteliaisuusstrategian mukaan siten, että ne useimmiten joko vahvistavat tai heikentävät ilmauksen tarkoitusta.

Säilytyspaikka – Depository Kielten laitos

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1 INTRODUCTION

As the part of linguistics that focuses on the reasoning behind utterances, pragmatics aims at finding out the difference between what is said and what is meant. Moreover, it investigates how verbal messages are constructed intentionally as convenient entities to serve a particular function in conversation. Within the prospect politeness is seen as something to contribute to the meaningful interaction, since it is often used knowingly in order to affect the way one is being perceived by others. In general, politeness is a universally studied phenomenon, yet only little has been done for its exploration in fictional settings.

It is a basic assumption of any human communication that participants of conversation have the want or need to be polite. In pragmatic contexts politeness is considered a strategy by which to achieve conversational goals, and one of the most prominent theories is that of Brown and Levinson (1987). Within the model people are expected to make an effort to maintain harmonious relations and protect the face of other by using different kinds of on-record and off-record strategies. The aim of the present study is to review how it can be used as the basis of investigating the dialogues of the television series *Gilmore Girls*. The main idea is to be able to identify its characteristics within the series by thus making an extensive connection between fiction and real-life speech events.

Gilmore Girls is a television series beyond comparison due to its fast-paced dialogues and descriptive language use. Even though it belongs to the genre of drama/comedy, it is not like any other show broadcast in the United States during the twenty-first century. In fact, what has made it famous is not only the fascinating set of colorful characters but their witty repartees. The interaction is so cleverly fabricated that it challenges the viewer to constant vigilance: references to history, literature and pop culture are embedded into conversations non-stop so that one is really forced to interpret their additional meanings. Thus far *Gilmore Girls* has been an unexplored object of linguistic research. What makes it particularly interesting is its ambiguously built utterances that seem to contribute to strategic usage of language. Hence, the best way to approach the lively expressions of the series is via pragmatics and politeness.

The research problem is to find out how such utterances that are liable to damage the face of other, *face-threatening acts* (FTAs), are performed by the characters of *Gilmore Girls.* Moreover, the main target of investigation are *Gilmore-isms* (i.e. the descriptive references) and their function in the strategic interaction of the series. In addition, pragmatics is evaluated as the starting point of the analysis of Gilmore-isms and contextual speaker intention. The objectives of the study are to firstly, interpret Gilmore-isms in a way that their implications within the dialogues are revealed and secondly, to demonstrate that politeness is purposefully promoted by the linguistic realizations of the show in order to minimize or maximize the imposition of an utterance.

The method of investigation was to systematically analyze those dialogues of *Gilmore Girls* that include a face-threat by detecting the motives of the speaker. The data collection comprised of a particular set of utterances in which Gilmore-isms could be construed as having a significant effect on the degree of politeness. Within the analysis FTAs were categorized by the level of redressive action and placing them within the politeness model of Brown and Levinson (1987). Since the purpose was to determine the justification behind utterances that are context-dependently more or less direct (i.e. they were interpreted by their motive and function towards the face of other), the section was organized in terms of the four progressive super-strategies of politeness: bald-on-record politeness, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record politeness, and their substrategies.

The paper is centralized to shed light on strategic usage of politeness from a pragmatic perspective, and therefore, it approaches the problem systematically. What will be discussed first (in chapter 2) are the basic concepts and theories of conversational pragmatics. The purpose is to give an overview on how language users come to a certain conclusion about the words they are about to utter; what kind of phenomena are there to affect the overall process. In chapter 3 different views of politeness are introduced and speculated for two reasons: to create a sense of its generally acknowledged motive-derived purposes and to justify the primary focus on Brown and Levinson's theory (1987). Chapter 4 is to connect pragmatics and politeness to fictional settings in order to exemplify how they can be investigated in literature, drama and television. Chapter 5 aims at presenting the study objectives including a full explanation of the data and methods used and description of the research problems and hypotheses. It is followed by

the analysis of Gilmore-isms (chapter 6) in which the motives of the speakers are reconciled with the strategies of Brown and Levinson. Lastly, in chapter 7 the major findings are interpreted and evaluated more closely in terms of the objectives of the study and the point of view.

2 PRAGMATICS AND DISCOURSE

Conversations and utterances are never constructed randomly, since there is always a reason for human communication. In general language functions as a means to pass on meaningful information and its usage can be investigated from many divergent angles within the linguistic sector, such as syntax, semantics and discourse analysis. However, there is a specific branch that explicates motives of the speaker by locating itself deep inside the conversational aims, *pragmatics*. This chapter is centered around the pragmatic perspective on the level of discourse and introduces utterance-building as a lot more ambiguous process than it is often perceived. In fact, it is crucial to understand that what people communicate is rarely what they truly want to convey.

2.1 Basic concepts and principles

There is no other field of study that has its primary focus on the language user instead of language itself, which makes pragmatics a significant strand of linguistics. In addition, as a science modern pragmatics aims to explain the process of producing language in social contexts of daily communication. As proposed by Mey (2001:10), linguistic messages are never just signals, since they are meant to appeal to other users and function on multiple aspects of interaction. Hence, one could say that a pragmatic approach provides a deeper insight on the hidden levels of human language behavior than for instance grammar. More specifically, it emphasizes the multifaceted and ambiguous nature of linguistic structures, and examines how people use and interpret language that conveys information which is not always encoded by generally accepted conventions (Cummings 2005:2-3). As the closest neighboring discipline, semantics is similarly interested in hidden meanings of words and phrases, yet it fails to capture the dynamics in functioning of language. In other words, pragmatics explores the process of "getting there" with words, whereas semantics merely explains the end-product. Although during the past forty years

pragmatics has developed into an independent branch of linguistics, its recognition and accidental discovery was actually due to philosophers. Surprisingly, some of those early logic-derived observations remain as the core of pragmatic concepts and theories even today (e.g. Grice's Cooperative Principle and Austin's speech act theory).

Even though pragmatics started off as the "waste-basket" of linguistic research (i.e. where the unwanted and unexplained problems were placed) (Mey 2001:19-21), its unresolved questions have been gradually answered and formed the theoretical basis of the discipline. As other parts of the study of language, like semantics, syntax and grammar, consider *rules* central in constructing understandable utterances, pragmatics prefers *principles* as conversational guidelines. According to Leech (1983:24-30), rules are fundamentally conventional in a sense that they are always the same, while principles are fundamentally non-conventional, thus motivated by the situation. Principles are what people are supposed to acknowledge before entering a conversation, although they are not assigned to restrict the free flow of utterances. Instead, they promote what is expected of both the speaker and hearer to make interaction smooth and flowing. Since the purpose of pragmatics is to investigate *why* people say something, its principles consist of generally accepted explanations of linguistic behavior.

When considering even the simplest form of interaction, the main idea is that one always has "the intention to communicate something to somebody" (Mey 2001:68). Generally this is introduced as the Communicative Principle in which the focus is not on following a set of rules or guidelines. Instead, it consists of two analogous premises: firstly, it is a human necessity to make contact with other people and secondly, people communicate what they *must* and *can* due to what is expected of them. However, the Communicative Principle is not sufficient on its own to explain the pattern of a meaningful conversation, since it ignores the importance of actual words uttered. As Sperber and Wilson (1986:46-50) suggest, the Principle of Relevance is needed in order to keep communication orderly and clear. The basic assumption is that everything that is said is relevant because interpretations rely on contextual messages which are not usually expected to be extracted from the situation. In accordance with both principles a brief illustration is in order:

(1)   Harry: Hey, mate! How are you? I'm having a little get-together tonight. You should come too.

Bill: Oh, man. My mother is in town for, at least, a couple of days.

What can be stated about this extract in pragmatic terms is that Harry is obviously fulfilling the need to communicate; i.e. like one usually does when running into a friend or an acquaintance. In addition, he is performing in a way that is expected of him as a friend of Bill. The presumption of linguistic relevance helps Harry to make the correct deduction about the reply he gets from Bill. Although the idea of *informative intention* is the core of producing contextually understandable utterances (Sperber and Wilson 1986:29-31), it lacks an explanation on how conversations are constructed successfully in practice. Therefore, despite being an important feature of communication relevance alone cannot be treated as the basis of the whole multi-phased utterance-building process.

The fact that we engage ourselves to conversations to purposefully communicate with others leads to the assumption of mutual agreement to *cooperate* under the given context. Hence, the Cooperative Principle (CP) of Grice and its maxims are the cornerstone of conversational pragmatics:

Quantity: Make your contribution as informative as is required. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality: Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant.

Manner: Avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity. Be brief and orderly.

(Grice 1975:45-6)

Unlike one might mistakenly interpret from the model, the purpose of the Gricean CP is not to instruct how to behave, yet according to Thomas (1995:62), it functions more like an example of the learned rules we expect everyone to obey unless indicated otherwise. However, observing the maxims is not always possible or even preferable because of situational impediments. For instance, asking for direction (e.g. *Excuse me, where is the nearest ATM?*) usually requires an explanation instead of a simple answer (e.g. *Perry Street*). Naturally, the maxim of quantity is expected to be intentionally violated here, since it is clear that one actually wants to *go* to the ATM without being interested in its mere location. Generally, though, the effect of the CP in everyday communication is prevailing, and as noted by Mey (2001:72-79), its absence would make interaction very

difficult or even fall apart. As it is with all pragmatic principles and theories, the CP is still only meant to show the tendency of linguistic processes without requiring a real commitment in its usage.

2.2 From speech acts to pragmatic acts

Within the pragmatic theory individuals are seen as agents who actively "generate meaning" in their every-day contexts (Verschueren 1999:147). This means not only that utterances are always intentional efforts of conveying a certain image but that one makes linguistic choices purposefully depending on the circumstantial goals. Speech acts refer to the usage of specific verbs within the notion of wanting to perform a specific action, and pragmatic acts can be nothing but implied identifications of actions. While speech acts traditionally embody the conventionalized functioning of particular words or phrases, pragmatic acts represent the whole range of linguistic expressions that promote a specific contextual meaning (i.e. the implicit meanings). In fact, a speech act is always also a pragmatic act, whereas a pragmatic act does not necessarily have to do with words at all. Even though the investigation of speech acts is no longer essential in pragmatics, it holds a significant position in its developmental history.

The term 'speech act' means 'doing things with words' and it was actually originated under truth conditional semantics. Austin (1974:13) introduced the constative-performative hypothesis as the core of meaningful communication: what is said can be evaluated by its dimension of truth or that of felicity. In other words, constative utterances refer to statements which can be either true or false, while performance utterances are used to propose an action in terms of given conditions. Based on the work of Austin, Searle (1975) categorized speech acts in the following manner: assertives (e.g. statements), directives (e.g. requests), commissives (e.g. promises), expressives (e.g. apologies) and declarations (e.g. baptizing). Similarly, Verschueren (1980:3-5) suggests that in every language there is a set of verbs that describe the different types of actions (i.e. speech act verbs).

Although Austin later came to abandon the original speech act theory, the implications of the investigation were fundamental to the development of pragmatics. In addition, his substitutive theory about the three-fold distinction between *locution, illocution* and

perlocution has laid the ground for meaningful utterance formation: locution is the words uttered, illocution the force or intention behind the words and perlocution the effect of the illocution on the hearer (Thomas 1995:49). For example, in the case of stopping a passer-by on the street to ask for direction locution is the actual utterance (*Excuse me, where is the nearest ATM?*) and illocution the meaning (e.g. *I'm out of cash*). In fact, Austin (1962:98) noted that "to perform a locutionary act is... to perform an illocutionary act" because there is always an illocutionary force behind a pragmatic end-product (i.e. the illocutionary act). In addition, since communication is always interactive and dynamic (Verschueren 1999:157), the perlocutionary effect is a reciprocal manifestation of "getting the message". In this case, it would be the response given by the other person (e.g. showing the shortest route to the ATM).

By systematizing the concepts and ideas of Austin, Searle (1974:39) first suggested that "the illocutionary act [speech act] is the minimal unit of linguistic communication". However, later on also Searle (1992:7-11) came to realize that the speech act theory itself is, in fact, too limited to encompass real situations: i.e. it focuses mainly on direct forms of speech without recognizing that people do not always say what they mean or, alternatively, mean what they say. This lead to the discovery of indirect speech acts which are based on "the mismatch between the expressed meaning and the implied meaning" (Thomas 1995:119). In accordance with an example of Searle (1974:143) an indirect speech act actually includes two acts:

> (2) A man to a woman who is standing on his foot in a crowded bus: "Madam, you are standing on my foot."

The utterance holds an assertion about the woman standing on the man's foot but also a request to get off the foot. The reason for using the indirect form is that it would seem rude to directly ask someone one does not know to do something. Nevertheless, Searle (1974:144-145) points out that both the explicit and implicit information are relevant in order to recognize the illocutionary force behind the utterance.

Today speech acts can be categorized as being either direct or indirect, yet they are not linked to any specific verbs or forms of speech. Instead, they refer to all utterances that hold a situational meaning: whenever people use language. Therefore, speech acting

simply means 'to communicate' or 'have a conversation' without regulating the choice of words in its execution. The problem with the early speech act theories was not only in the disconnectedness of linguistic expressions and their natural surroundings but also in the fallacious aims to find meaning inside words instead of individuals. As Mey (2001:125) suggests, all acts of speaking have an illocutionary character and should, therefore, be investigated as they occur in the world. Hence, that is what modern pragmatics and pragmatic acts are all about. After establishing multiple theories and principles that guide one to form any types of acts of speech, now it is significant to focus on the other side of the issue; i.e. how are linguistic messages interpreted, and more importantly, how can one *expect* the other one to understand what is meant.

2.3 Inference and implicatures

There are some phenomena and regularities that cannot be determined by unambiguous rules or guiding principles (Mey 2001:45). Since in pragmatics the focus is on *speaker's meaning* and motivation, it becomes equally important to recognize the potential effect an utterance might have on the hearer. Therefore, in order to communicate successfully one has to predict the hearer's abilities to comprehend the forthcoming message. The process of *inference* is influenced by implicit conversational factors, such as context, background knowledge (of both S and H) and presupposition. In addition, when the information is merely implied by using conventional and conversational implicatures, the interpretation relies solely on extralinguistic aspects. According to Leech (1983:30), deductions are more like 'hypothesis formations' based on subjective evaluations of the illocutionary force than proof against scrutiny.

Conversation always requires a setting for its execution: i.e. physical and social surroundings with a given set of participants involved. The role of context is significant in understanding people's linguistic behavior because it is the source of variety of information: physical conditions, conversational rules, formality, social settings and expectations. As proposed by Mey (2001:135), one needs to be knowledgeable of the whole language scene in order to make inferences beyond the level of words and utterances. The following example illustrates clearly that it is a matter of context how to come to a certain conclusion:

(3)   Lisa: It's rather cold in here, isn't it?
        Peter walks up to his wife and gives her a blanket.

Even though Lisa simply states that she is feeling cold, Peter assumes that she wants him to do something to make it better. Other possible inferences based on the single utterance might have been turning on the radiator or closing the window etc. However, in this case the logic behind the perlocutionary action derives from that particular situational context (i.e. the window is not open and the radiator is already on). It is evident that utterances by themselves tell us very little, which is exactly the reason they cannot be analyzed properly without their setting (Cutting 2002:4).

The expectations and background knowledge of both speaker and hearer are tightly connected to one another because of their similar contribution in reaching an understanding. On the one hand, the speaker makes utterances based on the assumption of shared background knowledge, but on the other, the hearer also expects them to be built on issues that are familiar at least to some extent. According to Verschueren (1999:26-7), information can never be fully explicit in a way that mutual knowledge ('common ground') of interaction becomes inessential. Instead, one must always be aware of the fact that what is self-evident to some is not that to others. Therefore, Cutting (2002:5-7) suggests that there are two types of knowledge by which incoming messages are interpreted: cultural knowledge and interpersonal knowledge. The former relates to presumptions and evaluations of different areas of life (i.e. general knowledge about the environment, society and culture) and the latter to more personal specific kind of knowledge that one has gathered from experiences with other people (i.e. information about the speaker and their ways to communicate). Hence, background knowledge is the source of determining conversational relevance.

In general pragmatic *references* are used to promote smoothness in conversations, yet sometimes they withhold important information about the motives and intentions of the speaker. In addition, implied messages always convey presuppositions about the situation including expectations, propositional attitudes, beliefs and mutual knowledge. The distinction between conventional and conversational implicatures is that the former relates to a set of fixed expressions that always hold the same implication (e.g. verbs like 'desire', conjunctions like 'but'), and the latter to an unspecified amount of cues that

contextually represent *the unsaid*. According to Grice (1981:185), conversational implicatures coincide with violations of conversational maxims, since they deviate explicitly from the expected informational content. However, pragmatic presuppositions function as the scarlet thread of communication because hardly ever *everything* that is meant is uttered. For instance, in the case of asking for direction to the nearest ATM, by receiving an adequate answer one presupposes that the ATM truly is nearby and in order (i.e. money can be drawn from it). Then again, implicatures can also be used descriptively within *the pragmatic thesis* so that a person or an object is referred to by their condition (Bontly 2005:1-2):

(4)   James: That exam was insane. I'll never pass, or graduate for that matter…
          Timothy: Come on. It's not as if you're on Titanic or anything.

In the extract James is clearly worried about his future and goes to a friend for comfort. Instead of directly telling his friend to cheer up Timothy implies that things could be a lot worse by referring the current situation to the kind of disaster one would not necessarily survive. The shared presupposition is that the state of James is not death serious. Moreover, despite the conventionalized meaning that Titanic holds semantically, it is the motif-derived purpose of the implication that makes it a part of a pragmatic analysis.

Inference is admittedly a sum of many things that are individually determined by one's personal history. However, it is the context and presuppositions that channel the associations of different conventions by making it easier to come to a correct conclusion. According to Thomas (1995:16-21), misunderstandings occur when the hearer fails to realize the connection between utterance meaning and speaker meaning (i.e. Austinian locution and illocution). Therefore, implicit messages and implicatures are always risky by being at least somewhat ambiguous. In this chapter section pragmatics has been firmly situated inside the formation of meaningful conversations by thus far focusing on the basic issues of utterance-construction and interpretation. What will be discussed next is how the pragmatic-derived reasoning relates to strategic interaction, and more specifically to the occurrence of politeness.

3 POLITENESS AS A MODE OF STRATEGIC INTERACTION

Since pragmatics is based on the conception that all utterances derive from a specific motive, it is only natural to consider politeness as one of its most considerable and profound aspects. Moreover, it can be argued that using politeness in any kind of situation is about resorting to a conversational instrument. Thus one can try to manipulate the course of the on-going interaction by simultaneously promoting one's personal agenda. The purpose of the chapter is to examine the usage of politeness by focusing particularly on the notable work of Brown and Levinson (1987).

3.1 Defining linguistic politeness

Politeness is a universal phenomenon studied not only within pragmatics and sociolinguistics but also within intercultural and cross-cultural communication. At the same time, its manifestation is highly culture-specific, since polite behavior is perceived differently in different parts of the world. Among pragmatists the general view is that politeness is used to soften direct utterances by thus focusing on maintaining harmonious relationships. In addition, being polite is often considered a virtue that enhances the cooperative atmosphere of human communication. However, Goffman (1969:85-145) points out that face-to-face interaction is always strategic in a way that one has to carefully consider *the best moves* for achieving a particular goal. Thereby, politeness should be seen as a conversational strategy with context-based illocutions of its own and not as an inherent trait of personality or culture.

Politeness can be mediated in numerous ways within the pragmatic framework. According to Watts et al. (2005:7), indirect speech acts are almost invariably considered polite while direct speech acts are interpreted as polite only in some rare occasions. Then again, Leech (1983:133-142) points out that politeness is also conveyed via conversational behavior; i.e. speaking at the right time and being silent at the right time. Polite utterances can be categorized as either formulaic or semi-formulaic in which the former refers to conventional forms, like honorifics (e.g. 'Sir') or rituals (e.g. thanking) and the latter to more context-dependent features, like hedges (e.g. 'I *think*') or solidarity markers (e.g. 'You know'). In addition, there are non-linguistic expressions that propose a particular value of politeness, such as the 'ohs' and the 'mms'. Even though also Leech

(1983:83-4) states that there are some utterances and illocutions that are either polite or impolite by nature, it matters more *how* one utilizes them in their situational context than what they stand for semantically. After all, politeness is a dynamic interpersonal activity (Janney and Arndt 2005:22) that derives from the motives of the speakers.

When trying to successfully establish the relation between sense and force (i.e. what is said and why) Leech (1983:81) introduces the Politeness Principle (PP) in the following manner:

Minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs; Maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs.

The PP is actually complementary to the Gricean CP by offering a higher regulative functioning in a conversation: that of keeping up the social equilibrium. According to Leech (1983:80), the CP alone fails to explain the reasons for conveying indirect messages and the deflection from conversational maxims. Therefore, the purpose of the PP is to partially make sense of conversational implicatures, which are seen merely as forms of indirectness. Leech (1983:132) also suggests that there are distinct evaluative scales of politeness that can be divided into six maxims (or recommendations):

Tact maxim: Minimize cost to other.
Generosity maxim: Minimize benefit to self.
Approbation maxim: Minimize dispraise of other.
Modesty maxim: Minimize praise of self.
Agreement maxim: Minimize disagreement between self and other.
Sympathy maxim: Minimize antipathy between self and other.

Although calculating conversational costs and benefits within the system of recommendations clearly indicates towards a strategic usage of linguistic politeness, it represents the social goals of the speaker instead of actual illocutionary goals (i.e. the *wants*). In addition, as Thomas (1995:167-8) suggests, the number of maxims is difficult to control, since it is possible to invent a new maxim for all regularities of language. For instance, Leech (1983:147) later in his work creates The Pollyanna Principle (the maxim of optimism) to determine the ideal tone of politeness. However, by detaching maxims of politeness from the Gricean approach they could be seen as a set of social-psychological

factors that affect the degree of indirectness and not as inelegant and invalid rules of behavior (Thomas 1995:168).

Even before Leech the first one to connect politeness with conversational maxims was actually Robin Lakoff (1979) who gave two rules for *pragmatic competence*:

1. Be clear.
2. Be polite.

The purpose of the model is to reformulate Grice's work and shift the focus from conversational level to general pragmatics. However, Fraser (1990) sees the first rule to cover the CP, yet adds three sub-rules to the second one:

1. Don't impose.
2. Give options.
3. Make A feel good.

Basically the emphasis in all of the pragmatic rules above is on the fact that one always has the *choice* to not obey them. Therefore, what Lakoff (1979:63) suggests is that in order to become a competent user of language one must consciously make the right kind of communicative decisions.

Watts et al. (2005:50) make a division between *politic verbal behavior* and linguistic politeness, as there seem to be two ways of being polite in verbal interaction. The first one is to be merely politic in a sense that one aims to be relevant and sufficient with the linguistic contributions in a highly correct manner. The second refers to behavior that is socio-culturally evaluated as being more than politic; i.e. "to make other people have a better opinion of oneself" (Watts et al. 2005:51). In the light of the categorization, the use of honorifics and other conventionalized expressions, like greetings, is considered more likely politic than polite. However, in cross-cultural comparison it is impossible to make such generalizations due to the fact that all implications of language use are always socially and culturally interpreted. For instance, in Finland honorifics is not used nearly as much as it is used in Japan, which inevitably reflects its universally altering value as means of conveying politeness.

It is important to recognize that there is a considerable overlap of different fields of study when it comes to investigating politeness. As Watts et al. (2005:6-7) point out, pragmatic principles are not sufficient enough to cover for the whole process of social interaction to which politeness is confined so tightly. Furthermore, it is a matter of specific socio-cultural conventions and sociolinguistic features how polite behavior is determined and arbitrated. Although many linguistic theories attempt to explain the regularities in its usage by defining rules and formulas, it is evident that politeness derives from social surroundings and contextual illocutions that are difficult to predict or restrict.

3.2 The concept of face and facework

Kasper & Kellerman (1997:346-9) suggest that politeness functions as a solution to one's conflicting intrapersonal and interpersonal goals of which the former refer to actional (i.e. illocutionary and perlocutionary) and latter to relational goals. The implication, therefore, is that politeness can be used either as a strategy of achieving a situational goal (e.g. getting someone to do something) or that of self-enhancement (i.e. promoting a positive image of self). Nevertheless, what makes people behave politely is the underlying realization of *face*; one's own and that of the hearer, and the need to cooperatively maintain face, i.e. *facework*. In general, face is connected with individual identities and their representation to others and facework to actions done to preserve those images.

There are many definitions of face established by different scholars in linguistics and sociolinguistics. Goffman (1967:5) introduces face as the public image of self determined by ritual behavior within social interaction. Furthermore, face is *the positive social value* one holds in the eyes of others. Based on the perceptions of Goffman, Brown and Levinson (1987:61) state that face is always emotionally invested in, in a sense that it can be lost or maintained by thus making people vulnerable whenever opening or entering a conversation. In addition, face can be divided into two aspects by which it is claimed: negative face which refers to freedom of action and positive face which is the consistent 'personality' of the individual. Brown and Levinson (1987:61) also make an assumption of cooperation in maintaining face in interaction, since posing a threat to the other one's face means posing a threat to oneself. After all, when being offended one is expected to defend oneself by similar means. The main difference between Goffman's definition and

that of Brown and Levinson is that the former sees face as a loan from the society and the latter as a steady self-image that only needs to be upheld.

Facework is required every time when communicative action is oriented toward one's own face or the face of the hearer (Lim 1994:211-2). Furthermore, Penman (1994:19-21) suggests that it is like a constant process that cannot be avoided, since *all* commenting and interacting is actually negotiating our identities and relationships with others. Goffman (1967:12-15) points out, though, that facework is a specific kind of counteract to implications that threaten face, yet it can be characterized also as tact or social skill (i.e. diplomacy). In other words, the purpose of facework is to compensate for utterances that might have caused a potential damage to the face of other. Within the notions of strategic interaction facework can be either supportive or problematic referring to the smoothness of conversation and mutual understanding. In addition, Watts (2003) claims that linguistic politeness is nearly always required. However, despite the fact that facework is generally connected with subsequent acts to statements that have already been made, there are theories that focus on preventing potential face threats. The most influential work is the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson which is also the topic of further discussion.

3.3 Politeness theory of Brown and Levinson

With their work Brown and Levinson (1987) aim to show the universality of the politeness phenomenon within the framework of strategic usage of language. The core of the politeness theory is to generate ways to affect the degree of politeness by emphasizing the interrelationship between face wants and face threats. What is known as *a face-threatening act* (FTA) is a linguistic act that intrinsically threatens (i.e. is liable to damage) face (Brown and Levinson 1987:60). Therefore, parameters are needed to calculate the size of the potential threat and strategies to prevent or minimize the situational effects of FTAs.

In the model of Brown and Levinson (1987) all adult users of language are expected to have both positive face wants and negative face wants which can be represented in the following manner:

Negative face: The want to be socially independent and unimpeded by others.

Positive face: The want to be desired, accepted and respected by others.

As negative face is strongly related to formal politeness (i.e. Watts' politic verbal behavior) and the need to remain distant, positive face is seen as a set of requirements that affirm one's sense of belonging to a certain society or community. In other words, the want to be approved of, liked, admired and understood derives from the inner want of social acceptance. Furthermore, the positive face wants are always directed towards particular others and derive from specific values, like love and liberty, actions, like sports and achievements, and possessions (material and non-material). It means that they are also always highly culture- or group-specific, although deriving from mutually acknowledged and humanly desires. It is essential to realize that one's positive face functions directly toward one's personality, which makes other people's approval significant in the construction of positive self-image.

Similarly to traditional speech act theory (see section 2.2) Brown and Levinson (1987:65-68) claim that there are some utterances or expressions that hold an inherent intention to *do something*. Moreover, within the politeness theory they are seen as contrary to the face wants of the addressee or the speaker by, therefore, causing a face threat. FTAs are potentially damaging to either one's negative face or positive face and they can put both of the participants in the immediate jeopardy to lose face. Firstly, negative-face threats of the addressee comprise of impeding the freedom of action and placing a pressure that somehow refrains a future act (e.g. orders, requests, offers). Secondly, positive-face threats of the addressee derive from indications that the speaker does not care about one's feelings or wants (e.g. criticism, non-cooperation, insults). Thirdly, acts that offend the negative face of the speaker are about showing humbleness and vulnerability (e.g. expressing thanks, accepting apology or making unwilling promises). Fourthly, acts that damage the positive face of the speaker reveal feelings of regret and insecurity of oneself (e.g. apologies, accepting compliments, self-humiliation and breakdown of physical control, like stumbling). The primary focus of the multi-layered model of politeness strategies is, however, on FTAs caused by the speaker. (Brown and Levinson 1987)

According to Brown and Levinson (1987:74-8), in natural conversations people seem to make assessments about the potential FTAs they are about to make. In fact, they calculate

the weightiness of the threat and the degree of redressive action needed to minimize the negative perlocutionary effect. The parameters of distance (D), power (P) and ranking of imposition (R) are essential in the evaluation process, although their purpose is not to show any universal patterns of communication. Instead, the mutual knowledge of the speakers about these sociological variables is the interest in their usage. Therefore, what is meant by D is the *social distance* referring to a symmetric relation, P for the relative *power* as an asymmetric relation, and R for the absolute *ranking of impositions* in the particular culture. D is a social dimension of similarity or difference by which one estimates the need and means to approach either the positive or negative face of the addressee (i.e. by being either formally polite and distant or informally friendly). By recognizing P one is able to assess the degree to which impose one's own plans and self-evaluation without doing it at the expense of the plans and self-evaluations of the other participant. A great P differential is usually seen in the use of deference (honorifics). Lastly, R is always culturally and situationally bound to general perceptions about the degrees of given impositions as interfering with positive and negative face wants. Similarly to Leech's maxims (see section 3.1) R takes into account of the social costs and benefits of FTAs: expenditure of services and goods and the amount of "pain" given to the face of the other. As noted by Brown and Levinson (1987:78-80), what applies to all three aspects of computing the size of a forthcoming face threat is that even though they are context-dependent, they hold specific cultural values that influence the choice of politeness strategies.

Brown and Levinson (1987) introduce altogether four super-strategies of doing FTAs including bald-on-record politeness, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record politeness (Fig. 1). The first three categories are called *on-record* strategies, since FTAs are performed explicitly with or without redressive action. Within the fourth strategy one goes *off record* and performs an FTA implicitly. Excluding bald-on-record politeness, the super-strategies include two or more mechanisms in their usage which actually represent the major guidelines of the group (i.e. what to pursuit). Within the formula of Brown and Levinson (1987), a fifth point is made about not performing an FTA (withholding FTAs), since in terms of the politeness theory it is important to recognize occasions when being quiet is the most profitable option. All aspects and their linguistic strategies will be discussed in detail in the following sections.
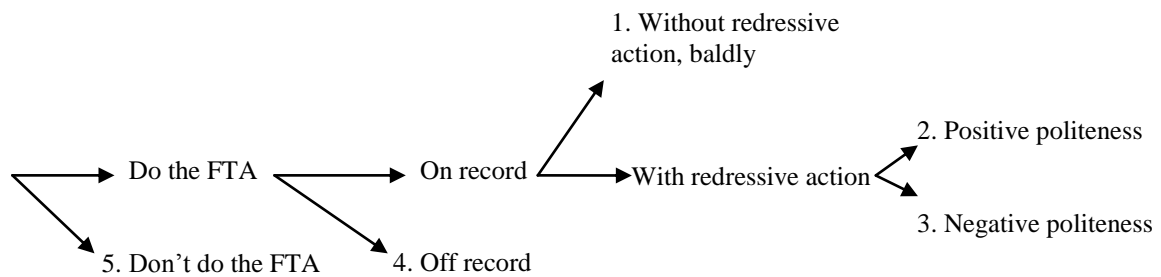
Figure 1. Super-strategies for doing FTAs (Brown and Levinson 1987:69)

3.3.1 Bald-on-record politeness

When performing an FTA directly without any redress at all one is complying with the bald-on-record strategy. It functions in conformity with the Gricean maxims in situations where maximum efficiency of an utterance is pursued. In addition, there are two types of usages of the strategy depending on the circumstances. Firstly, there are cases of non-minimization of threat due to face irrelevance, face ignorance, urgency, communication difficulty and hearer's best interest. For example, social power at work place often makes one's face irrelevant in a sense that direct commands do not need to be softened, since the weightiness of an FTA is considered small. Situations where face is ignored can relate to joking:

(5)   After hearing that a female colleague got a pastry for free in the cafeteria.

Harold: Go on, gloat a bit!

Urgency of action often refers to utterances, like 'watch out' or 'help', that require immediate attention, whereas problems with communication derive from physical inconvenience, like channel noise or bad telephone connection. By performing FTAs having the interest of the addressee in mind requires no redressive action because they express sympathetic advice or warnings:

(6)   Your tie is crooked.

(7)   Careful with that!

Secondly, there are cases in which bald-on-record usage is oriented toward FTAs. The reason for such incidents is that sometimes being bluntly direct is the most polite way to

address someone in a particular situation. For instance, welcomings, farewells and offers are always in the shape of imperatives, since indirectness would only be a marker of dishonesty or uncertainty.

(8)   Come in, don't be shy!
(9)   Have fun!
(10)   You must stay for coffee.
(11)   Don't worry, I'll clean it up.

3.3.2 Positive politeness

In positive politeness FTAs are oriented toward one's positive face by thus using redress to satisfy the want to be desired. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:101), the linguistic realizations of positive politeness are simply forms of normal linguistic behavior between people that know each other well. Positive politeness can be expressed via claiming common ground, conveying that speaker and hearer are cooperators or fulfilling specific wants of the hearer. All three mechanisms above include a set of strategies that reflect particular expressions used in every-day communication (Fig. 2).
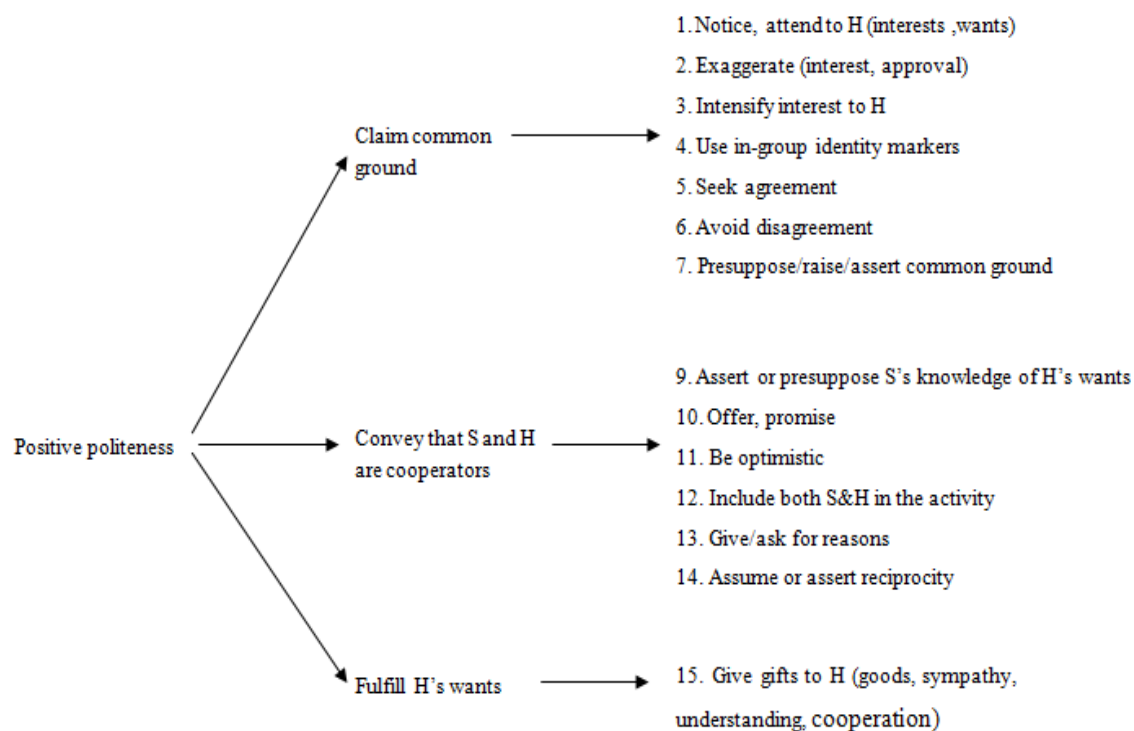

Figure 2. Positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987:102)

The first eight positive politeness strategies are either about showing admiration (i.e. wanting the wants of H) or claiming common membership and point of view. When focusing on one's interests (strategies 1.-3.) redress is placed on conditional aspects or possible changes, as can be seen in the following examples:

(12)   What a beautiful blouse!

(13)   How absolutely marvelous you were on the show!

(14)   One second and I'm finished.

In-group identity markers create a sense of familiarity by thus lessening the risk of causing a face threat. Indicator of social togetherness can be a common dialect or code-switching but also a correct use of address forms, such as those recognized in familial relationships:

(15)   Come here, honey.

(16)   Help me with this, son.

Seeking agreement and avoiding disagreement are established by safe topics of discussion, hedging opinions and ultimately white lies. Presupposing common ground is usually about presupposing some degree of closeness with H and thus, making it possible to perform friendly proposals or requests.

(17)   Wouldn't you care for a piece of cake?

(18)   Do you want to come with me to the art gallery?

Joking relates to mutual shared background knowledge (or the assumption of one) and is a commonly used technique to put H 'at ease', for instance in the following manner:

(19)   How about letting me use this piece of junk for a couple of hours? (H's brand new computer)

The strategies of signaling cooperation (9.-14.) comprise of presuppositions about H's wants as a participant of conversation. As illustrated below (Example 20), asserting knowledge of H's wants shows sensitivity and empathy:

(20)   I know you have work to do on your computer, but couldn't you take a little break though?

Making offers or promises is a demonstration of the good intentions of S, although they might be sometimes false. Contrarily, by being optimistic S assumes that H also wants to please S's wants:

(21)   You'll let me take your car for the weekend, I hope.

Including both S&H in the activity is done by simply using the form 'let's' in a phrase. Similarly, giving or asking for reasons includes the implication of doing something together, like in Example 22.

(22)   Why don't I help you with that.

Assuming reciprocity is about claiming evidence of the rights and obligations of S while satisfying positive face of H, as often seen in requests like the following:

(23)   I'll do this for you if you help me with that.

The last positive politeness strategy (15.) refers to satisfying an actual want of H by giving either a tangible gift or one related to human relations, like sympathy, cooperation and understanding.

The purpose of positive politeness strategies is to indicate approval and respect toward the interests and values of the addressee: to show that *the wants are also wanted by others*. In addition, it is not important whether or not the utterance is actually true (e.g. in exaggerating), since the main idea is to make one *believe* that they are. Therefore, positive politeness is very similar to the last notion of Fraser (see section 3.1): Make A feel good.

3.3.3 Negative politeness

Negative politeness is redressive action oriented toward the negative face of the hearer: the want to be unimpeded and independent from situational hindrance. As positive politeness is based on unconventional expressions of warmth and friendliness, negative politeness represents the formality of linguistic behavior. It is used strategically when wanting to maintain social distance and avoid conflicts. Negative politeness can be

conveyed by being direct, not presuming anything, not coercing H, communicating S's want to not impinge on H and redressing other wants of H. All told there are ten strategies of performing FTAs serving negative face wants (Fig. 3).
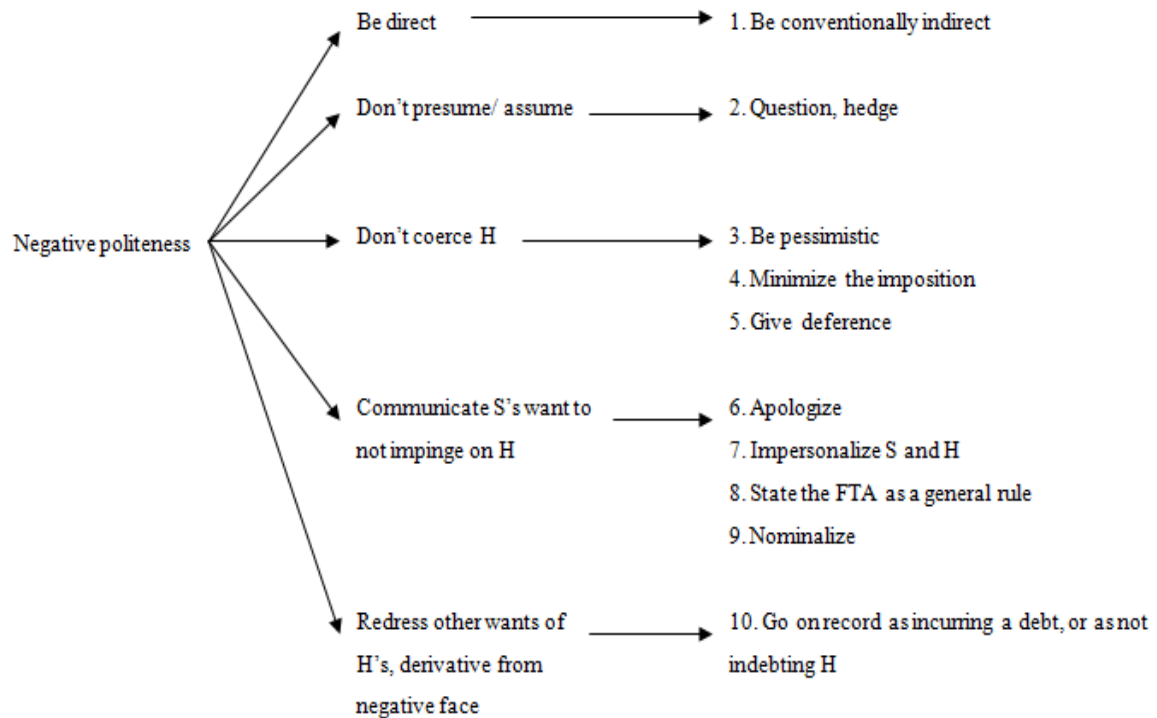
Figure 3. Negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987:131)

By conventional indirectness Brown and Levinson (1987:132) refer to the most common cases of polite behavior where the desire to be direct must be subdued by indirect speech acts.

    (24)   Can you pass the salt?
    (25)   A bottle of coke, please.

In (25) it is not only the word 'please' that creates the polite nature of the utterance, yet it is the imaginary indirect phrase *Could you give me* (i.e. instead of *Give me*) at the very beginning.

Whereas in positive politeness friendly approach is recommended, in negative politeness it is avoided by not making presumptions of H's wants. Therefore, as demonstrated below

with questions and hedges one is to promote ideas of uncertainty within the situation by thus giving H the *choice* to remain free of action and criticism.

(26)   Will you open the door?

(27)   You're *quite* right about that.

(28)   I *suppose* it's true.

By hedging one actually modifies the truth value of an utterance by altering the strength of expression. Furthermore, it can be used as a part of the other negative politeness strategies (1.-5.) depending on the aims of a conversation, as it seems to also support non-coercion of H. Being pessimistic and minimizing imposition are about expressing a degree of humility and uncertainty, and they both include occasional hedges, such as 'maybe' and 'just'.

(29)   Could you (maybe) do this?

(30)   I (just) want to ask you if I can have a minute of your time.

Giving deference is similar to the two strategies above, yet the sense of respect is based on P differential and not the nature of utterance (e.g. request). Deference towards H can be indicated via honorifics (e.g. 'Mr', 'Sir') but there are also expressions that directly belittle the social value of S (i.e. the self, capacities and possessions). For instance, one can use utterances like the following:

(31)   It's not much, but I thought you might like it.

(32)   I must be so stupid for not getting this.

Besides linguistically underrating one's intentions it is also possible to strategically try to negotiate "protection" for H's negative face wants (strategies 6.-9.). Apologizing is actually admitting the future FTA as it is: an impingement. This can be seen clearly in Examples 33 and 34.

(33)   I hate to bother you, but there's something you need to see.

(34)   I hope you'll forgive me for bursting in like this.

Impersonalizing both S and H includes techniques like avoidance of pronouns 'I' and 'you', using passive and circumstantial voices and point-of-view distancing (of place and

time). The basic idea is to dissociate S and H from the imposition so that S alone is not responsible for the FTA and H is not necessarily its (only) addressee.

(35)   This is how it is. (Instead of 'I say it is like this')

(36)   It would be appreciated if the glasses were kept on the top shelf.

(37)   *I have been wondering* whether or not you can help me with something.

Stating an FTA as a general rule means that S is merely passing information to H about social obligations or regulations and therefore, S is not to blame for the inconvenience. This is illustrated with two common instances:

(38)   You will please refrain from behaving violently at our restaurant.

(39)   We don't keep feet on the table, Eric.

By nominalizing one aims to find the most suitable way to syntactically construct an utterance. In fact, a minimal adjustment can have a substantial effect on how something is perceived. Generally speaking, the greater the nouniness the larger the sense of formality.

(40a)   We desperately need your help.

(40b)   Your help is desperately needed.

(40c)   There is a desperate need for your help.

Redressing other wants of H (10.) entail satisfying the core want of negative face: the desire for territorial self-determination and even superiority. Therefore, the last strategy of going on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H is assigned to explicitly demonstrate the gratitude of S.

(41)   I'll never be able to repay you for this.

Contrary to positive politeness, negative politeness contributes to enlarging the social distance of S and H. In addition, by using formal language strategically the power differential becomes more explicit to recognize. The aim of negative politeness is to emphasize the social independence of H and it, therefore, relies greatly in the social value of politeness; i.e. what is generally considered polite and what is not.

3.3.4 Off-record politeness

Off-record politeness means performing FTAs implicitly without an unambiguous communicative intention. In addition, being off record is based on producing indirect utterances that can be understood only within a particular context. The purpose is to leave H with the responsibility of FTA, since S only *implies* something that can also be reversed. Hence, the perlocutionary effect relies on the interpretation of H. There are two ways to convey politeness off record: by inviting conversational implicatures or being vague and ambiguous. The first aspect includes violating the Gricean maxims of relevance, quantity and quality, and the second the maxim of manner (Fig. 4).
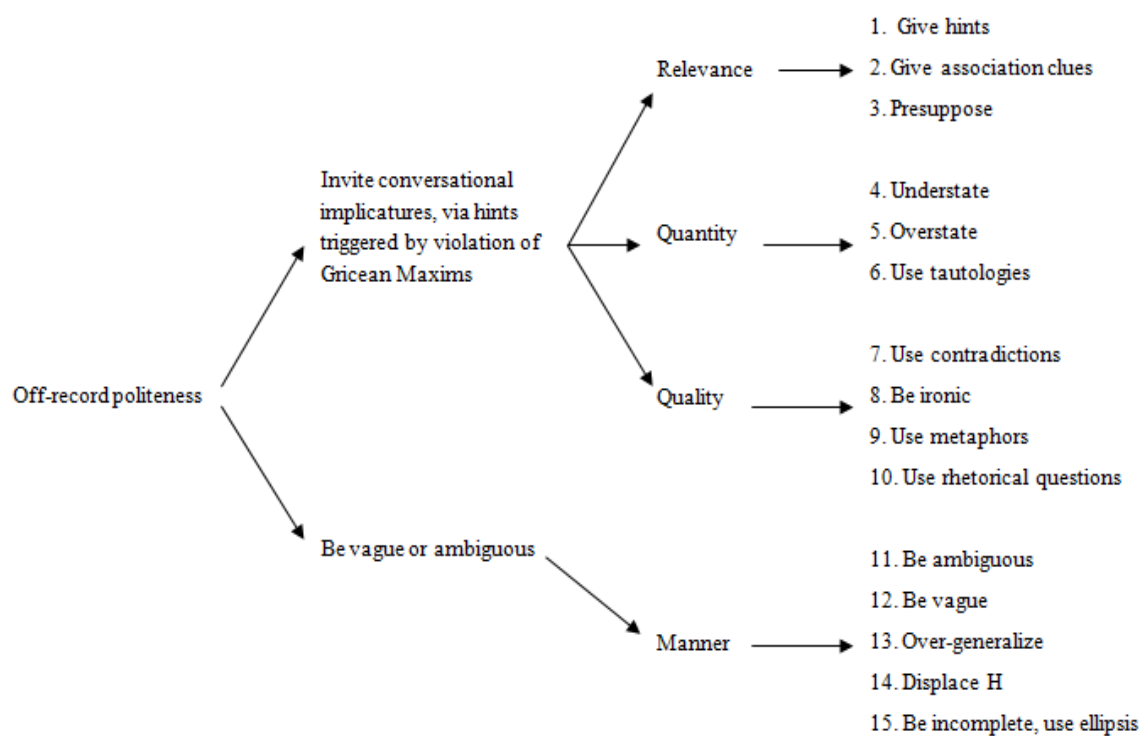
Figure 4. Off-record politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987:214)

Inviting conversational implicatures (strategies 1.-10.) means that one tries to deviate from the expected form of conversation by being intentionally indirect and cryptic. Strategies that are to violate the maxim of relevance comprise of giving hints, giving association clues and presupposing, like in the following utterances.

> (42)   This soup is a little tasteless. (Pass the salt)
> (43)   Are you going to the market tomorrow? (Give me a ride)

(44)   I did the washing up again today. (You didn't wash up)

The maxim of quantity is violated by understating, overstating and using tautologies which are all means to provoke H to consider the illocutionary force. They are all alternately considered in examples 45, 46 and 47.

(45)   That skirt is *quite* nice. (Awful)
(46)   You *never* do laundry. (Not often)
(47)   Boys will be boys.

When wanting to flout the maxim of quality one can use contradictions, be ironic, use metaphors or rhetorical questions. The aim is to make H question the truth-value of the utterance, as illustrated by the following examples.

(48)   I'm upset but then again, who cares.
(49)   Yes, you're a real genius. (You're really stupid)
(50)   He's spiky like a hedgehog.
(51)   How many times do I have to tell you to pick up your socks?

Being vague or ambiguous (11.-15.) leads to violating the manner maxim, since it is produced just for the sake of it: to be non-specific. Moreover, the intent often remains ill-defined because of the lack of a clear communicative goal. General vagueness and ambiguity constitute the first two strategies, yet one can also purposefully over-generalize the message by thus redirecting the FTA. For instance, one can pretend to address the utterance to a specific group of people instead only the H:

(52)   Adults usually know how to do their own laundry.

Displacing H is similarly about retargeting the FTA which is actually performed to a third person(s). Therefore, S merely *hopes* for a favorable result by also having an easy escape from the situation. The last off-record strategy is to be incomplete or use ellipsis by leaving things "hanging".

(53)   Well, if you leave your car unlocked...
(54)   Hey, if that's what you want to do...

When making the decision to go off record, one obviously considers R of FTA too high to perform on record. Furthermore, the strategies of off-record politeness provide with the "safety net" to back out, since conversational implicatures can be explained anew. Then again, it is also difficult to make rationalizations at the maximum level of indirectness (i.e. implying), which means that H similarly has the opportunity to be strategically uncomprehending about S's goals.

3.3.5 Withholding FTAs vs. unwanted perlocutions

As the theory of Brown and Levinson is *a production model* of linguistic politeness (Watts 2003:85), deductions can be made about the other side of the issue: the non-production. It is evident that FTAs are not performed if the payoffs are estimated too low comparing to the risk of damaging someone's face. In other words, by restraining from doing the FTA one sees the want to communicate the content of FTA smaller than the want to maintain the face of the other. However, in some circumstances it is impossible to suppress the need to say something although realizing the potential face threat (e.g. momentary emotional instability). Taking action against one's own assessments entails a conscious risk of ending up with an unfavorable perlocutionary effect; i.e. either not being understood or coming off as being *impolite*. Therefore, it is important to discuss the reasons for unsuccessful FTAs and the occasional appearance of impoliteness.

Because of the fact that inferences rely heavily on contextual aspects, it becomes possible to over-utilize and exploit the politeness strategies. Depending too much on the extralinguistic clues by going too far off record (e.g. being too vague) might sometimes leave the hearer completely puzzled by the conversational intention. Similarly, positive and negative face can be addressed too much in conversations; being too admiring and complementing would instantly seem dubious, whereas excessive formal politeness would be considered phony. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:228-230), misuse of the strategies is due to miscalculation of the degree of redressive action needed and the fact that the speaker intentionally attempts to re-rank one of the variables P, D and R. The level of social distance D can be manipulated via negative and positive politeness by presuming a certain degree of intimacy: i.e. whichever suits the purpose best. In addition, one can pretend to have power P by using bald-on-record commands (e.g. with house

guests), yet actually being less powerful than the addressee. In re-ranking of imposition R one might deliberately act as if the face-threat is smaller than it really is:

(55)   Andy: How about if I took your new Caddy for a little spin down town?

In any case, the outcome of these exploitations is determined by the hearer: i.e. whether or not one goes along with it. Naturally, the risk is getting caught of incorrect behavior and disrupting the interactional balance (Brown and Levinson 1987:231).

Even though it is also recognized within the politeness model that a non-expected politeness strategy can be used for insult, Culpeper (1996:355) introduces a whole range of *impoliteness strategies* that are used purposefully to cause disharmony and attack the face of H (i.e. maximizing R values). It is actually based on the work of Brown and Levinson (1987) including bald-on-record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness, sarcasm or mock politeness and withholding politeness, which are all to operate contrastively to strategies of politeness: they are to damage either the positive or negative face wants of the addressee. Within the theory of Culpeper (1996) each strategy has its own counterpoint in the actual politeness model, yet interestingly the antithesis of off-record politeness, sarcasm or mock politeness, can be anything but indirect. In fact, name-calling quite often promotes the usage of implicatures by making it an off-record strategy. When defining impoliteness Culpeper (1996:358) reverses Leech's Politeness Principle by claiming that "…being impolite is to minimize the expression of polite beliefs and maximize the expression of impolite beliefs". Nevertheless, the significance of the model is in realizing the fact that not all communication is expected to function in cooperative terms, since in confrontations maintaining the face of the other becomes inessential.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), withholding FTAs is sometimes the only solution to avoiding unwanted perlocutionary effects (i.e. someone being offended). However, the risk of promoting impoliteness is higher in occasions where one tries to intentionally manipulate one of the variables or the general atmosphere is somehow sinister and hostile. Therefore, in practice it is impossible to always apply the rules of politeness to every situation where face threats ought to be minimized. As Culpeper

(1996:354) points out, one is unlikely to behave in a way that is favorable to the addressee only at the expense of one's own interest.

Politeness is apparently a manifestation of altruistic goals (i.e. oriented toward others), yet Watts et al. (2005:47) points out that the ultimate purpose is to actually please oneself by achieving egoistic goals. It can also be seen in the politeness model of Brown and Levinson (1987) that even though the main focus is on maintaining the face of others, the purpose is to fulfill one's own wants and needs at the process. This chapter has led up to describing the politeness phenomenon in a general level of communication yet also in greater detail via different demonstrative theories and practices. Next the attention is being shifted to the investigation of pragmatics in more unnatural settings. Moreover, the emphasis will be on the strategic usage of politeness within fictional dialogues and on previous research that can be set against the present study.

4 PRAGMATICS OF FICTIONAL DIALOGUES

Conversations in the world of fiction can never be interpreted as they would appear in the real world setting because of the mere fact that they are feigned. However, whenever engaging with a book or any type of imaginary surrounding one agrees to accept the existence of multidimensional storytelling and is able to believe that what is said is produced spontaneously. In addition, linguistic realizations of fictional environments are rarely so far off actual every-day human communication that they could not be examined via different patterns of language use. Even though there is some studies conducted on pragmatics in literary works, politeness research is very rare in the area. This chapter aims to firstly, decipher how pragmatics should be regarded in fictional settings, and secondly, introduce how politeness has been investigated before.

4.1 Literary pragmatics

It is important to realize that whenever people enter the fictional world of films or books, they immediately start to evaluate the credibility of the surroundings and happenings. According to Mey (2001:247), one's perceptions are conditioned by pragmatic presuppositions of the real world which means that in order to find something believable

one must be able to relate imaginary language scenes to natural occurrences of conversation. Thus, when conducting an analysis of fictional dialogues the importance relies on mechanisms of understanding not only the narrative but also the pragmatic content: i.e. how illocutions are constructed within the particular set-up of the context.

As pointed out by Ang (1985:206-7), the viewers depend on the truth-value of what is called *the realistic illusion* because of the fact that a text is always expected to be a reflection of the real world. It also means that the conversations in it are instinctively seen natural and the same dialogic principles (e.g. cooperation, relevance and politeness) are assumed to apply despite the fictitious environment. Within that specific notion different events of discourse have been widely studied in both literature and drama texts. However, Short (1989:139-143) states that detecting pragmatic phenomena is done best by observing performances because they are based on hidden meanings of words (illocutions). Moreover, illocutions cannot always be read "between the lines", since pragmatic acts are more than just utterances; they are verbal and non-verbal implications that need to be interpreted within their intended environments or realities. Similarly to illocutions, perlocutions are difficult to comprehend without being able to concretely see the faces of addressees. On the other hand, though, Mey (2001:256) suggests that in written texts other pragmatic techniques are emphasized in order to promote understanding, such as presupposition and context.

Like in all investigation of pragmatics, fictional dialogues must be analyzed in terms of the whole language scene and its participants (i.e. the set-up). While conducting a pragmatic analysis of dramatic discourse Short (1989:154) felicitously marks that explication of social relations of characters is actually as relevant as the study of the different theories and their applications. Furthermore, it would be impossible to make sense of the endless set of presuppositions and implicatures if one did not recognize the communicative intentions deriving from the subtext. According to Birch (1989:262), meanings are not even located on the page (or stage), yet they are created in the mind of the subjective viewer. Hence, interpretations about on-set relationships and their effect on what is said are always biased as they are perceived in terms of one's personal experiences.

Since the language used in fiction is generally paralleled with natural conversations, its analysis should not be conducted any differently. However, an interpretation of a written text is more restricting than that of performance, as it relies heavily on the narrator and the choice of words. Then again, on stage potential illocutions of single utterances are easier to detect because of other pragmatic acts (e.g. gestures) (Short 1989:140). All in all, pragmatic analysis of any type of dialogue would become unfeasible without its set-up.

4.2 FTAs in drama and popular fiction

Politeness and impoliteness have been both studied in fiction by promoting different aspects of the storytelling or the characters. The ultimate purpose has naturally been in proving that discourse models can be usefully employed for the analysis of fictional dialogues. Nevertheless, the pioneering work of Brown and Levinson (1987) is close to being the sole starting point of all the published investigations. Thus, the focus of exploring FTAs within fictional dialogues has been on the interconnection between language and social relationships, and more specifically on the sociological variables of power and distance.

The politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson (1987) are often investigated in the light of analyzing people's power relationships. Ermida (2006) conducted a research on the political novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell, and attempted to demonstrate how power and hierarchy can be linguistically determined. To be exact, she made a comparison out of two very different types of relationships in terms of the politeness strategies used in the dialogues. The results of Ermida (2006:860) surprisingly indicate that asymmetric relations are not necessarily able to explain the level of politeness, since sometimes the less powerful interactant is not the one being more polite.

In order to show the embedded nature of drama discourse Simpson (1989) carried out a politeness research out of the dialogues of the dramatic one-act play of Ionesco, *The Lesson* in which the plot is simple: a professor giving a private lesson to a pupil. Justification for the employment of Brown and Levinsonian politeness strategies is to reflect the changes in the linguistic behavior of the professor and the pupil as the play proceeds. Furthermore, what Simpson (1989) aims at is to prove the shift in both power

relations and distance, since towards the end the professor becomes more impolite and aggressive and the pupil more passive and silent. Simpson (1989:172) suggests that, in fact, it depends on the type of discourse situation whether or not the politeness model can be utilized.

According to Culpeper (1998:84), dramatic points of the story often occur when there is an interactional conflict, which is also the reason why impoliteness in drama should be studied. As his source material Culpeper (1998) uses a film called *Scent of a Woman* by which to indicate how strategies of (im)politeness can be used for characterization through message manipulations. Similarly to Simpson (1989), the secondary goal of Culpeper (1998) is to show how shifts in character are also seen in shifts in linguistic behavior. However, another investigation on impoliteness was conducted by Rudanko (2006) who focuses on speaker intention in the dialogues of Shakespeare's tragedy *Timon of Athens*. His aim is more technique-based, as he considers the recognition of impoliteness strategies supplementing the impolite behavior and not the other way around.

The purpose of FTAs in fiction is equivalent to that in real life conversation, yet they hold even a stronger strategic function within the context of meaningfully constructed utterances. Furthermore, fiction can easily utilize a variety of means to promote carefully considered illocutions to affect the on-going interaction and character-setting. As other aspects of pragmatics and linguistics, politeness can be viewed from many different angles and not all evaluations have similar results.

5 SET-UP OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The starting point of the present study was to connect the theoretical framework of pragmatics and politeness to fictional settings. More specifically, the aim was to investigate the construction of FTAs in the television series *Gilmore Girls* by focusing on the creative usage of Gilmore-isms. Therefore, this chapter includes an introduction to the series and Gilmore-isms, a brief outlook on the orientation of the study, and an explanation and justification of the data and methods used along with the analysis.

5.1 *Gilmore Girls* and Gilmore-isms

Gilmore Girls is one of the most successful drama/comedy television series aired in the United States during the early 21st century. It actually represents the Sixties' screwball comedy genre in which humor is based on rapid interaction and picturesque every-day confrontations (Crusie 2007). The success of *Gilmore Girls* is, most of all, due to its astute scriptwriting and apposite character selection. What have become generally known as *Gilmore-isms* are the cleverly constructed shapes of wordplay that appear in the dialogues of the show.

The lead characters of the show are Lorelai (Lauren Graham) and Rory Gilmore (Alexis Bledel), a single mother and her daughter, who live in a small town close to Hartford, the capital city of the U.S. state of Connecticut. Lorelai had Rory only at the age of 16 and could not handle the pressure of living with her parents due to their lifelong quarreling. Therefore, she decided to leave her upper class life in the Hartford society and ended up creating a new life for her and Rory in Stars Hollow. At the beginning of *Gilmore Girls* Lorelai is 32 years old and working at the Independence Inn as the manager. Rory has grown and become a hard-working future-oriented high school student: her eye is set to get in to Harvard University and become a journalist. Even though Lorelai is estranged from her parents, Emily (Kelly Bishop) and Richard Gilmore (Edward Herrmann), she is soon forced to go to them to borrow money for Rory's education in private school, Chilton. Moreover, it is a turning point to the whole family, since as a counterpart Emily wants Lorelai and Rory to start coming over for dinner once a week, every Friday night. Along the way Rory builds up a relationship with her grandparents, which can hardly be characterized as smooth sailing. For a good cause and under obligation Lorelai also manages to put her hatred and bitterness aside, yet the road is about to get rocky every now and then between her and the controlling mother and ignorant father.

Important people in Rory's life are Lane (Keiko Agena); her childhood friend from Stars Hollow, Dean (Jared Padalecki); her first boyfriend who also becomes her friend and boyfriend for the second time, Paris; a girl she meets in Chilton who is alternately a friend and an enemy throughout the series, and eventually her grandparents, Richard and Emily. Luke's diner is a common scene of the series, since it is the place where the Gilmore Girls usually have their breakfasts and feed their addiction to caffeine. Luke has been a part of

their lives for years and is also a very significant person in Lorelai's life, first through friendship and then love affair. Sookie (Melissa McCarthy) is Lorelai's best friend who works with her first as the chef of the Independence Inn and later on in their own business, Dragonfly Inn. Christopher (David Sutcliffe) is Rory's long lost father who appears in the scenes every now and then. Both of the main characters grow through the happenings in their lives: on the threshold of adulthood the conscientious Rory makes many surprising and even irrational decisions including going to Yale instead of Harvard, committing a crime and dropping out of college when being questioned by her talents in journalism, and Lorelai graduates from community college, starts up a business and goes through many failed romances in her search for ever-lasting love.

The appeal of *Gilmore Girls* derives from many aspects of the show. Firstly, the small-town setting and Stars Hollow represent the kind of enviable harmony and warmth that feels like impossible to achieve in the real world communities. It is like entering the wonderland of eternal and unconditional care and love; even the nosy neighbor is your best friend. Secondly, the characters of the show are easy to relate to, since they bring out both the sensible and the senseless side of human nature. For example, Kirk is the peculiar one with quirky moves and strange ideas, Babbette is the snoop with the biggest heart of all and Patsy is the town blabber who never fails to amaze others by her sharp wits and deduction skills. Thirdly, even though the world of *Gilmore Girls* seems so far away, it deals with real-life issues, like friendships, family, generational differences and social class, which are never "out of date". Furthermore, the kind of mother-daughter relationship that Lorelai and Rory have is a direct reflection of modern family values, whereas the one Lorelai has with her mother promotes parenting back in the olden days. Lastly, the dialogue construction of the series is probably the most important feature separating *Gilmore Girls* clearly from other television comedies. The speed of articulation and word-formation is very rapid, and in fact, the amount of dialogues is usually equivalent to hour-long television shows instead of the current forty-two minutes. In addition, *Gilmore Girls* is known for its clever witticisms which derive mostly from American pop culture; literature, music, television and film, yet sometimes the source can be a historical person or incident, or even the Bible.

Generally, the witticisms or cultural references are defined as Gilmore-isms. The term was originally introduced in the "special features" –section of the first DVD box where

there was a collection of the quotes and references made in season one. Subsequently, the word Gilmore-ism has been in common use of different fan sites and blogs. Some would connect the use of Gilmore-isms to all aspects of "speaking Gilmore"; i.e. ready answers, crosstalk and wordplay. However, within the framework of the present study Gilmore-isms are investigated merely as descriptive references that are used quite abstractly in every-day discourse of the characters.

5.2 Orientation of the study

Because of its clever scriptwriting and language use *Gilmore Girls* is a fruitful object of study. The viewer must be constantly awake to the vivid dialogue construction in order to make sense of the endless set of puzzling Gilmore-isms. Since the most common points of view in investigating fiction and television series are discourse and translation, pragmatic approach provides information that is somewhat new and exceptional. Moreover, there is only little linguistic research conducted on both politeness phenomenon in fiction and *Gilmore Girls*.

The purpose of this study is to examine the ways Gilmore-isms are used within the fictional setting of the television series *Gilmore Girls*. Furthermore, the aim is to uncover their functioning in terms of pragmatics and speaker intention. The most emphasis will be on politeness and the notable model of Brown and Levinson which is also the basis of constructing the analysis. A subsidiary role is on the impoliteness theory of Culpeper, since it is seen as complementary to the final notions of Brown and Levinson (i.e. withholding FTAs). The research problem is two-folded: 1) to determine the role of Gilmore-isms in strategic interaction of *Gilmore Girls*, and more specifically find out how they are used in face threatening acts (FTAs) to promote (im)politeness, and 2) to decipher how the pragmatic approach in general can be used as the basis of investigating Gilmore-isms and fictional dialogues. In addition, attention will be paid on the successfulness of those FTAs that include a Gilmore-ism by evaluating the motive of the speaker and the perlocutionary effect.

The research is based on the assumption that all interaction is strategic and that one is always more or less aware of the linguistic choices to be made in the pursuit of conversational goals. Thus, politeness is seen merely as a conversational strategy. The

hypothesis is that although Gilmore-isms have been created to uphold the humorous atmosphere of the show, within the dialogues their purpose is to meaningfully adjust the size of imposition and concurrently serve in the interest of the speaker. In other words, they are implemented into FTAs in order to minimize, or sometimes maximize, the potential face threat.

Because of the fact that politeness and Gilmore-isms are investigated from the point of view of the participants in conversation, all aspects of making pragmatic inferences become significant within the analysis. Hence, the pragmatic context, background knowledge of the speakers and expectations have a similar value as in real-world interaction. However, it is recognized in the analysis that the referential use of Gilmore-isms cannot be entirely paralleled with regular references or implicatures appearing in natural conversations.

5.3 Data and methods

The research design was constructed in a way that it suit the purpose of investigating fictional dialogues best. Moreover, the data and methods were chosen by keeping in mind the comprehensive nature of pragmatics; i.e. one cannot make deductions based solely on a single utterance, yet the linguistic set-up is equally important. Politeness research is not to be thought of any differently, since perlocutions and illocutions rely on aspects that are not necessarily visible in the explicit messages. Therefore, the collection of data was based on whole conversations rather than mere sentences including Gilmore-isms.

The data consists of a selection of dialogues from *Gilmore Girls* which was aired for seven seasons, 2000-2007. The collection comprises solely of those conversations that not only include a Gilmore-ism but are instances of linguistic (im)politeness. The first step of the process was to start watching the episodes one by one in order to gain a clear view on the patterns of language use and the regularity of Gilmore-isms. However, no attention was paid on investigating character-specific linguistic behavior, since the appearance of Gilmore-isms is considered more a general feature of the show than a trait of any fictional personality. The second step was to systematically write down the episode numbers and specific times of occurrence of those utterances that suit the purpose of the research (i.e. examples of politeness or impoliteness) in order to be able to locate them for further

analysis later on. However, since impoliteness was not the primary focus of the research, only few confrontational dialogues were randomly selected from the episodes. What was done third was a general overview on the samples followed by a rough estimate of different strategies used in the dialogues. Furthermore, the point was to establish a clear-cut separation between the degrees of redressive action, and make sure that the amount of data was sufficient. From hundreds of Gilmore-isms altogether 81 were found suitable for the investigation: 75 promoting politeness and 6 impoliteness. The fourth step was to decide which ones to consider in the actual analysis. The dialogues were chosen based on the attempt to introduce as many different strategies as possible, yet also to show versatility within the subgroups: i.e. the various ways that Gilmore-isms can be used in the construction of meaningfully (im)polite utterances. When attaching the examples to the analysis a website of *Gilmore Girls* transcripts (http://www. twitztv.com/scripts/gilmoregirls) was utilized to ease the writing process and prevent misspellings.

The method was to conduct a qualitative analysis of Gilmore-isms that can be identified within the politeness model of Brown and Levinson. Culpeper's theory of impoliteness was a secondary interest, since the purpose was to merely demonstrate how notions of Brown and Levinson can be used as the basis of a contrastive yet complementing framework in cases where the illocution derives from uncooperative terms. Nevertheless, dialogues were investigated in terms of how the Gilmore-isms were meant to affect the positive or negative face of H, or sometimes that of S. The aim was to progress chronologically in compliance with the categorization by starting the investigation with the most direct forms of FTAs (i.e. bald-on-record practices) and shifting gradually to the most indirect ones (i.e. off-record strategies). Lastly, cases of impoliteness were briefly examined. Hence, the most significant aspect was to be able to recognize and clearly separate the different kinds of functions of the Gilmore-isms within the dialogues. There were two major reasons for applying the qualitative method of investigation: first, the best way to solve the purpose of Gilmore-isms was to analyze the whole language scene instead of single phrases or utterances, and second, pragmatics and politeness research is about making context-specific interpretations, thus making quantity a subsidiary issue. In addition, since in the investigation of impoliteness there was no interest in the amount of occurrence, only few instances were recorded in the first place. The chosen perspective came through, since it revealed inconsistencies and ambiguity in the appearance of

Gilmore-isms that could have not been detected without an insight of speaker intention. However, little attention was paid also on the quantitative aspect to discover the most common usages of Gilmore-isms and their distribution within the politeness model.

The lack of previous research on both politeness in fiction and *Gilmore Girls* (and its Gilmore-isms) was both an advantage and disadvantage. On the other hand, it was liberating to not have a point of comparison but on the other, it was occasionally problematic to decipher the speaker intention within a dialogue construction that is so unique and rare in today's television series. In other words, it was difficult to decide how the language of the show should be interpreted: are Gilmore-isms merely implicatures or should they be treated as a part of the *Gilmore Girls* vocabulary (i.e. as ordinary words and utterances). However, since the meaning of some of the various culture-specific expressions was not completely unambiguous, a pragmatic viewpoint turned out to be very useful: by focusing on *why* something is said it became easier to make sense of the Gilmore-isms and recognize their illocutions.

6 (IM)POLITENESS IN "GILMORE STYLE"

The analysis attempts to engage the usage of Gilmore-isms according to the politeness model of Brown and Levinson. It is divided into five sections of which the first four represent the main super-strategies: bald-on-record politeness, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record politeness. Each of them includes a wide range of expressions from *Gilmore Girls* that can be investigated in terms of minimization of potential face threats. The fifth part discusses incidents where withholding FTAs is contrasted with the most probable outcome of performing the actual act: impoliteness. More specifically, it introduces such non-redressed utterances that are meant to promote impoliteness and should have, therefore, been left unsaid. It is partially based on the impoliteness theory of Culpeper which is treated as an extension of the original politeness model. In order to analyze patterns of politeness in *Gilmore Girls* extensively in some cases it is also important to review the content and meaning of the Gilmore-ism more closely.

It is significant to note that in real-life conversations references usually promote indirectness, yet within *Gilmore Girls* they are utilized in a different manner. In fact, quite contrarily they are more likely to function as intensifiers of linguistic messages by making them more direct. It is given that the characters "speak the same language" and generally understand the content of Gilmore-isms, as they never really treat them as other but natural occurrences of speech. Therefore, the politeness phenomenon must be analyzed in terms of the conventions of that specific "language" and its dialogue construction. In those terms especially the role of presupposition and background knowledge becomes irrelevant sometimes.

6.1 Bald-on-record politeness

There are occasions where the speaker S decides to ignore the want to satisfy the face of the hearer H and chooses to be direct and blunt. Although the purpose of the bald-on-record strategy is to be efficient and articulately brief in a highly Gricean manner, it is not that straightforward in the dialogues of *Gilmore Girls*. After all, the characters are advisedly colorful and talkative which must be taken into consideration when making deductions about their linguistic behavior. Therefore, the pragmatic intention of an utterance is used as the primary basis of recognizing strategies of politeness instead of the mere verbal expression. Out of the 75 instances of politeness in *Gilmore Girls* 15 were identified as a part of the first super-strategy and 6 were picked out for a closer follow-up. Furthermore, bald-on-record politeness is served most commonly by adding a Gilmore-ism to a direct command or request, thus emphasizing the motive of the speaker. More specifically, redress is considered needless in two types of occasions: where face is overridden by situational demands and where being direct is actually considered the most polite way to go.

Sometimes S finds the face of H irrelevant because of metaphorical urgency in getting one's attention. There is an episode in *Gilmore Girls* where Lorelai is feeling anxious about her forthcoming wedding with a long-time friend and crush, Luke. She is comforted by Rory who tries to get her to calm down and reclaim the control over her feelings. Hence, the best way is to be succinct and literally tell Lorelai what to do at the very moment. The first example is actually one of the rare occasions where a Gilmore-ism is explained beforehand.

(56)   LORELAI: What if all the signs are saying that things shouldn't be this easy? That I shouldn't get the guy I want? What if it's like that Twilight Zone where the woman on a horse is being chased by another woman on a horse who, it turns out, is older her chasing younger her trying to tell her that she should not run off with the guy she's going to run off with, because it will be a terrible, terrible mistake!
RORY: Okay, King George, take a breath, eat a fry and listen to me. The dress is a good sign. Everything fell into place because it should. It's all right. The dress is right, the date is right, Luke is right. And the snow? Remember the snow? The snow never lies. (6-11)

There are two justifications for Rory using the bald-on-record approach: firstly, the situation is hectic and thus requires maximum efficiency in conveying the message, and secondly, she has her mother's best interest at heart. The illocutionary goal of the imperatives, 'take a breath', 'eat a fry' and "listen to me" is to get Lorelai to focus on those specific actions in order to steady herself and regain emotional stability. Gilmore-ism King George refers to her own comparison to the American television science fiction series *Twilight Zone* and is used by Rory to merely emphasize how she has gone into overdrive with her thoughts. Moreover, its purpose is to specifically intensify the perlocution of an utterance that is already very direct and cannot be misinterpreted.

Some utterances are formulaic and conventionally polite, yet in order to count as a politeness strategy they must be used purposefully to minimize potential face threats. Rory finds herself in a problematic situation with her boyfriend Dean and friend Jess when Jess has outbid Dean for her self-made picnic basket in a town fair. It is included to the playful auction that the person who made the basket will go and enjoy the contents with the person who had the highest bid, which puts Rory in a terrible position between Dean and Jess. For a moment Rory is confused about what she should do and lets the boys quarrel with each other.

(57)   DEAN: She's not going with you.
JESS: Really, is that true?
DEAN: Yes, it's true.
JESS: Excuse me, Edgar Bergen, I think I'd like Charlie McCarthy to answer now. (2-13)

Since Dean is acting very controlling over her girlfriend, Jess wants to make him stop ranting and get an answer from Rory. Therefore, he indicates clearly that Dean should back off. The expression 'excuse me' is considered a direct command being nonetheless

polite because of its conventionalized nature. The Gilmore-isms Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy refer to an American actor and ventriloquist and his dummy, by which Jess implies that Dean is making all of the talking for two people. Even though it could be seen as an insult, it is not taken that way which means that it is another invention of the writers to only clarify the speaker's intention.

There are occasions where FTAs are performed bald on record because of unequal power relations between S and H. In those cases S knows that directness is acceptable and does not see face of H relevant. Lorelai's birthday is coming up and Rory has invented quite an unusual gift for her mother: the world's largest pizza. However, many problems appear in the process and in order to convince her team that it can be done Rory must remind it that she is the boss.

(58)   RORY: No. Now you three listen to me. We agreed that this was going to be the world's largest pizza. That was the concept. Now I realize it can't be the world's largest pizza because that pizza was insane, but it is still going to be large. Very large. Crazy large.
PETE: But we –
RORY: No buts! That was the concept – get back to the concept! This is not Gangs of New York now with Cameron Diaz. This is Gangs of New York twenty years ago with Meryl Streep as Scorsese originally imagined it. Come back, refocus, remember the goal. Am I making myself clear? (3-18)

Even though Rory is typically a kind and sympathetic person, and a democratic leader, the incident alarms her to take a more controlling role. It is not only that she is masterminding the event that gives her P, but the fact that she knows Lorelai and what she wants best. The purpose of the strategy is to put the boys back to their place as workers who have no right to argue with someone in a higher position. Rory articulates frankly and firmly what she wants from them by giving direct commands ('listen', 'get back to the concept', 'come back', 'refocus', 'remember the goal'), and being otherwise blunt with her power (e.g. by interrupting Pete). Within that specific context the kind of conversational behavior by anyone else would instantly have been considered impolite. Even though Rory goes off record by making a reference to a historical film *Gangs of New York*, it is again for emphasis on her point: to keep the plan the way it was and not try to change it. By making a statement like that Rory naturally presumes the mutual knowledge of the Hs (i.e. they have seen or heard about the film).

When it comes to family relations in most cultures there is a clear hierarchy how people should and can treat each other. Usually parents are perceived to have P over their children by giving them the right to command them without any redress. Therefore, there are cases of performing FTAs baldly on record due to intentional face ignorance. Emily is a conservative mother and has always believed in tight discipline, whereas Lorelai represents the new generation that trusts more on the judgment of the children themselves. Hence, on the level of dialogue Emily and Lorelai have very different expectations which makes their communication quite fragmental every so often. The notional P of Emily seems to only irritate Lorelai because her mother does not recognize the face-threatening aspect of her utterances at all.

> (59)   EMILY: Just be here and be on time, and get your hair cut. You looked like the bird lady
>   from Mary Poppins the last time I saw you.
>   LORELAI: Well, Mom, I've been very busy lately.
>   EMILY: I don't care how busy you've been, Lorelai. If your hair looks a mess, it will be my
>   fault, and I don't need that responsibility right now. I'll see you at noon. (4-14)

Emily likes being efficient in every situation and, therefore, she feels directness is the best way to proceed with her conversational goal: in getting her daughter to join her and the dreaded mother-in-law for lunch ('be here', 'be on time'). In addition, telling Lorelai to get a hair cut by referring her to the muzzy-haired bird lady in Mary Poppins is nothing to be embellished by Emily, as she considers it a sympathetic advice (even without the ulterior motive of herself looking better). The interaction of Lorelai and Emily is often problematic, since there is no mutual respect of face due to contradictory conceptions of the prevailing power relations. Furthermore, Emily's attempts to maintain the fallacious level of P also affect the distance D meaning that her relationship with Lorelai will always be more political and formal than warm and informal.

Performing FTAs without any redress at all can have to do with the fact that there is simply no need for it because of equality in P and minimal level of D. Although the ranking of imposition R is highly context-dependent, in friendships there is a lot more room for direct two-way linguistic behavior than, for instance, in professional relationships. Contrarily to her relationship with Emily Lorelai is very close with Rory and they are, in fact, more like best friends than mother and daughter. There is an episode where Lorelai and Rory have planned to throw a surprise baby shower for Sookie, and

they meet up outside the house. Rory has made a last-minute effort of getting some decorations for the party, yet it appears that they are all related to either Easter or New Year's Eve.

> (60)   LORELAI: Oh, that's just sad.
> RORY: Hey, what's with the attitude?
> LORELAI: There's no attitude.
> RORY: You've been Anne Sexton since I pulled up.
> LORELAI: Sorry. I just slept a little funny. All right, come on, let's get up in there while we still have the chance. (5-21)

As Lorelai is being a little moody and does not seem to be too excited about the party, Rory confronts her by asking directly 'what's with the attitude?' When she does not get a straight answer she makes it very clear how she sees the situation. The motive behind the utterances is unambiguous: to enquire the reason for Lorelai's erratic behavior. Furthermore, Anne Sexton was an infamous American poet and writer suffering from long-term depression who eventually after many failed attempts managed to commit a suicide at the age of 45. It is merely due to their close relations that the face-threat is avoided, since Lorelai sees the point Rory is making and gives her an explanation.

When the bald-on-record politeness is seen as the most polite way to address someone it is about foreseeing the actions of H. In addition, the purpose is to protect the negative face of H by not forcing one to ask for something (e.g. an invitation). In the following example Luke and Lorelai have just had their first kiss, yet Sookie has heard it from Kirk instead of either of her friends. She wants a confirmation from Luke who hesitatively admits it and asks Sookie not to mention it to Lorelai yet.

> (61)   LUKE: Do me a favor and keep it to yourself. Let her tell you if she wants to, okay?
> SOOKIE: Sure. Okay. Call me Belinda because my lips are sealed! (5-1)

Although Luke has already made a direct request, Sookie wants to reassure him that the secret is safe with her by using a direct command ('call me Belinda'). It clearly shows that even though the asking has already happened, the motive of the strategy is to prevent H left feeling coercive. Morover, within the situation Sookie could not have been more

polite. The Gilmore-ism refers to Belinda Carlisle, the frontsinger of the Eighties band GoGo's who had a hit song called Our Lips Are Sealed.

6.2 Positive politeness

The purpose of positive politeness strategies is to appeal to the positive face of H, the consistent self-image, by making one feel socially accepted, liked and respected. In addition, D is intentionally minimized for emphasis of the similarities between S and H. Positive politeness comprised the majority of strategies used in the dialogues of *Gilmore Girls* (27/75) of which 8 are examined more closely. The analysis will be divided into three groups based on their function within the utterance: i.e. in what way does S wish to convey the sense of closeness to H. The actual mechanisms are claiming common ground, conveying that S&H are cooperators and fulfilling the wants of H.

6.2.1 Claim common ground

The first of the three mechanisms is about somehow emphasizing that S and H belong to a same group of people and share the same wants (e.g. values). Furthermore, it can be done by either conveying admiration and interest, promoting in-group membership or claiming common perspective.

It is not rare that many strategies are used simultaneously in positive politeness, since quite often the amount of redress needed is not clear. Moreover, especially when the FTA consists of commenting on one's physical appearance or personality, it is difficult to anticipate the perlocution that an utterance might have on H. On the day of Lorelai's graduation from community college Sookie and Jackson have come to watch the ceremony dressed in their finest. In fact, everyone seems to like what others are wearing.

(62)   SOOKIE: There's our little graduate. Oh, my God, look at that gown. You look just like the Statue of Liberty.
LORELAI: Ah, all big and stony?
SOOKIE: No, you look amazing.
LORELAI: Hmm. You look very G.Q.
JACKSON: Oh, thanks to my best new friend Ermenegildo Zegna.

> At the end of the ceremony.
> LORELAI: ... Thanks for coming, Sook, Markus Schenkenberg. (2-21)

Sookie starts off by noticing Lorelai's new looks and complimenting the gown she is wearing. Thus, she is filling Lorelai's need to be approved of and desired by her friends. The reference to Statue of Liberty is meant to be associated with adjectives like 'dignified' and 'sophisticated', however, the joking of Lorelai reveals the ambiguity of the expression. Since it is very unusual for Jackson to be wearing a suit and look that handsome, Lorelai not only positively notices the outfit but exaggerates her approval by her expression 'very G.Q'. Gentleman's Quarterly (G.Q.) is a magazine that focuses mainly on men's fashion, style and culture and within the utterance it is used to indicate how trendy Jackson has suddenly become. In his reply, though, Jackson gives credit to the label of the suit, Ermenegildo Zegna, by decreasing the impact of Lorelai's comment on his positive face. By realizing this self-deprecation Lorelai intentionally makes another over-the-top remark later on by referring Jackson to Markus Schenkenberg, a noted fashion model of Calvin Klein, to restate the admiration he deserves.

Using in-group identity markers is probably the most obvious way to create a sense of togetherness, since it is about indicating how both P and D between S and H are small. Therefore, the utterance itself can be performed relatively directly because of the softening effect of the right kind of address form. When Rory is graduating from high school she is chosen as the valedictorian who must write a speech for the graduation ceremony. As her mother Lorelai could not be more proud and wants to show admiration towards Rory and her achievements.

> (63)   LORELAI: Hey, you know what's weird? A lot of the kids in here are calling you a valedictorian. Is that anything like a dirty skank, 'cause if it is I'll kick their plaid butts up and down the sidewalk. Were you named valedictorian?
> RORY: Yes, and you know what that means? One more stupid speech that I have to write, that I have no time to write, but nevertheless, I have to write.
> LORELAI: Hey, listen, my little Holly Hunter in Broadcast News, I'm gonna let you freak out and study like a mad woman and stress yourself out until finals, but once they're over, we are gonna celebrate big time. . .'cause this is amazing. (3-21)

Rory is overly excited and anxious about the graduation and Lorelai tries to make her stop for a while by telling her to listen. Although she uses the potentially face-threatening

imperative of the word, it is followed by a Gilmore-ism 'my little Holly Hunter in Broadcast News' which is clearly to reduce the impact of the command by making it more like a request. Furthermore, the aim is to show familial closeness but also to make Rory feel good about herself at the same time. Since Rory is not only a talented writer but an efficient organizer, Lorelai refers her to an American actress Holly Hunter who played a successful television producer in the film *Broadcast News*. In general, the generation of movie-related Gilmore-isms between Lorelai and Rory could be interpreted as the strategy of using an in-group language or dialect, since due to their fanaticism they often puzzle other people by their inside comments about films they have seen.

One way to claim common perspective or point of view is to use the strategy of joking, since it is always based on assumed shared background knowledge. In addition, it usually puts H at ease and takes away the pressure of uncomfortable encounters (e.g. with someone unfamiliar). There are two examples of *Gilmore Girls* included in which joking is exploited to defuse a face threat. The first one is from an episode where Luke and Lorelai go to the wedding of Lorelai's parents as a couple, and Luke realizes how uncomfortable such society events can be for an average guy like himself.

(64)   LUKE: Oh my God, there's dancing?
       LORELAI: Yeah. We're doing the one from Pulp Fiction. Do you want to be Uma, or should I? (5-13)

Lorelai sees that Luke is already nervous about not fitting in the world of Emily and Richard without having to do something he is not very good at (i.e. dancing) and decides to convey him that there is nothing to worry about. Thus, she answers to his anguished comment with a joke that is meant to appeal to his positive face: he is accepted and loved by Lorelai despite his incompatibility with this part of her life. At the same time she intentionally presupposes his knowledge on the American movie, *Pulp Fiction*, in which Uma Thurman is starring together with John Travolta. Nevertheless, both strategies are to release Luke from his feelings of distress deriving from fear of being socially rejected.

In the second example Lorelai is organizing a children's theme birthday party with Sookie being responsible for the Lord of the Rings costumes. She tries to strategically belittle the P brought by the age difference between her and the two boys coming up with their mother.

(65)   LORELAI: Redmond, Riley, nice to meet you. I'm Julie, your cruise director. I'm here to help you with your costumes.

...

[A third boy shows up]

BOY: Lorelai, my hood is loose!

REDMOND: Her name is Julie, stupid.

BOY: No, it's not, retard!

LORELAI: Hey, hey, hey.

RILEY: She just told us her name was Julie. She's our cruise director.

BOY: What's a cruise director?

REDMOND: I don't know, but you fart with your face. (4-3)

What Lorelai wants to do is to find a connection with the boys and make them feel comfortable in a situation where she knows children tend to stiffen up: i.e. forced interaction with unknown adults. Therefore, she jokes about being Julie from *The Love Boat* hoping to convey that although she is a part of the adult personnel of the event, she can be easily approached. The perlocutionary effect is favorable, yet it becomes clear that Lorelai's assumptions of the background knowledge are completely wrong once another boy appears to the scene and things get heated up. Moreover, what is interesting about the scene is that even though the first two boys fail to see the relevance of the utterance they still recognize the strategy.

6.2.2 Convey that S&H are cooperators

The second mechanism derives from the want to convey that S and H are involved with the same activity, by thus sharing the same goals. Recognizing H's wants, claiming reflexivity (i.e. wanting each other's wants) and claiming reciprocity all indicate that S and H are cooperators within the specific circumstances, and can be used as the basis of the middle set of positive-politeness strategies.

By addressing and presupposing the wants of H, S actually aims to show concern and understanding towards H. In order to avoid being too commanding one can pretend to be willing to adjust one's own wants to fit into those of H. When Rory decides to spend an evening alone, all of the sudden first Paris shows up to her door unannounced and then Jess. The tricky part is that she has already told her boyfriend Dean that she will be alone and rejected an invitation to spend some time together. However, Dean surprises Rory by

calling from nearby that he is coming over, which makes Rory to practically throw Jess out to avoid the drama. Unfortunately it is too late, since Dean is already at the front yard. He says nothing but looks like he wants to attack Jess.

(66)   JESS: Okay, I'm going. Look, man, I really was just dropping off some food, so don't get all West Side Story on me, okay? (2-16)

Within the situation Jess tries to keep things calm and not provoke Dean into any kind of violent behavior. Therefore, he not only seeks cooperative agreement with him ('okay?') but he assumes his wants and makes a promise to leave. By giving an explanation for being there Jess also softens the impact of the following FTA ('don't get all West Side Story on me'). By the Gilmore-ism Jess expresses his knowledge of Dean's temper, as West Side Story is an American musical centered on the violent encounters of two New York gangs. Nevertheless, he manages to successfully utilize positive politeness and gets to go peacefully without a more profound confrontation. The kind of operations to minimize disagreement in problematic conversations reflects similarly from Leech's Politeness Principle (PP), since one of the recommendations emphasizes seeking agreement (i.e. Agreement maxim) (see section 3.1).

One way to avoid causing a face threat when pursuing cooperation is giving or asking for reasons. The point is to include H in practical reasoning of S based on the assumption that H wants what S wants. Before getting into the hopeless triangle at her house, Rory has met Dean at Stars Hollow centre and told him about her plans for the night.

(67)   DEAN: Maybe I'd come over.
         RORY: Oh.
         DEAN: What?
         RORY: Actually, I was thinking of pulling kind of a hermit thing tonight.
         DEAN: Why?
         RORY: I don't know. J.D. Salinger seems to dig it. (2-16)

Rory knows that Dean does not understand all of her little peculiarities, yet does not want to demean him. In order to avoid damaging his positive face by making him feel unwanted and rejected she must redress the reason for simply wanting to be alone. Since Dean asks directly why Rory does not want his company, Rory must give an honest reply

and assure him that there is no express purpose of her behavior. Her last utterance corresponds with 'why not' which is difficult to argue with, especially when Rory expects Dean to cooperate and give her the time she wants. The Gilmore-ism, J. D. Salinger, refers to a notable American author who lived his final years reclusively without publicity or new publications. Although the reasoning of Rory is not generally speaking very plausible, between her and Dean it is enough to lessen the impact of the FTA.

When claiming reciprocity one assumes that the right to perform FTAs between S and H is equal and pointing it out within an utterance actually negates a potential face threat. Therefore, it can be used effectively especially in cases where one is about to criticize or complain about someone's behavior. Ever since Luke became the sole provider of his disobedient nephew, Jess, he has had a hard time in the role of parenting. Now he has discovered that Jess is spending a lot of time alone with his new girlfriend and wants to give him a fatherly talk about women.

> (68)   LUKE: Uh, you and I have got to have a little talk.
> JESS: Hey, if you're gonna get all Ward Cleaver on me, I gotta go call Eddie and Lumpy and tell 'em I'm gonna be late. (3-4)

Jess feels awkward about the topic he knows is on Luke's mind and strategically tries to get away with it by showing how groundless and inappropriate it all is. In fact, since he feels Luke is out of line, he can be too. Hence, the aim is to make Luke believe that Jess has the right to insult him and his intentions: 'if you do X... I can do Y'. The Gilmore-ism is based on the Fifties American sitcom, *Leave It to Beaver*, in which Ward Cleaver is a typical suburban father feeling primarily responsible for the moral education of his children. Eddie and Lumpy are friends of the family's teenage son Wally. What Jess is saying is almost like an ultimatum; 'if you give me a lecture, I will call you an idiot', which could be seen as a misuse of the positive-politeness strategy in order to maximize the threat. On the other hand, Jess is merely protecting his own positive face and not wanting to be criticized for his undesired behavior.

6.2.3 Fulfill H's want

Fulfilling a want is the most direct way to address the positive face of H, since it is about indicating that S wants to give H what H wants for oneself. In other words, the primary focus is on letting H get what is needed in terms of the specific situation. Besides concrete things (e.g. presents) one can try to fulfill a need that has to do with one's emotional side. There is an episode where Rory is forced to go to the school psychologist after taking some time off from college. Before going to the meeting her ex-boyfriend, Logan, has showed up to her door asking her to come back to him, which gets Rory off balance. Afterwards, Rory informs her mother on the phone what is going on.

> (69)   RORY: Guess who's crazy?
>
>   LORELAI: Who?
>
>   RORY: Me.
>
>   LORELAI: You? Since when?
>
>   RORY: Since I went all Francis Farmer in my psychologist's evaluation today.
>
>   […]
>
>   LORELAI: Well, don't let them put you on any of those pills. Tom Cruise would be very upset. (6-11)

Rory starts off in a joking manner stating that she is crazy by also referring herself to Francis Farmer, an American actress who became more known for her mental problems than performances on screen. Regardless of her light tone, Rory is bothered about the situation and in desperate need of compassion and encouragement. It is not left undetected by Lorelai who, at first, patiently listens to her daughter's whole story and then indicates that she is not disturbed about any of it. She shows sympathy and understanding by replying to the initial joking of Rory and makes a reference to Tom Cruise whose anti-drug attitude towards prescribed psychiatric medicine has not been left out of headlines. The perlocution of the utterance is obviously a success, since Rory feels relieved and can go back to her studies. All in all, the last mechanism of positive politeness is the one to respond to one's steady self-image (i.e. personality) quite intensely because it functions directly towards the inherent need to be accepted and cared for. Interestingly, it also corresponds rather accurately with The Sympathy maxim of Leech.

6.3 Negative politeness

Whereas in positive politeness closeness between S and H is promoted, the purpose of negative-politeness strategies is to emphasize D between participants of conversation. The main idea is to be careful in not restraining the other person in any way by letting one remain free of situational impediments. Therefore, negative politeness is merely focused on minimization of specific impositions without paying attention to the inner individual needs. From the *Gilmore Girls* dialogues 13 instances were found of which 7 are represented next. The mechanisms of the approach are being direct, not presuming/assuming, not coercing H, communicating S's want to not impinge on H and redressing other wants of H's. Since within the model the first three parts seem to often clash with each other, they are treated as one unit of discussion.

6.3.1 Be direct, don't presume/assume and don't coerce H

Directness actually refers to conventional indirectness which derives from the want to be direct yet by maintaining the atmosphere of formal politeness. There are some expressions that naturally promote politeness and indirectness (e.g. 'can you'), while others are accepted based on their functioning within the context. When it comes to wanting to be indirect, it is also usually followed by the want to not presume any future actions of H and not coerce H in anyway. Thus, in most cases there is a considerable overlap in the usage of the strategies of the three mechanisms.

When it comes to requests or offers it is important to perform the FTA by making minimal assumptions about the wants of H, giving an option to not do the specific act and minimizing the actual threat. Therefore, asking questions might sometimes be the best way to maintain the independence of H. After a day not too successful for Lorelai, she is driven home by Luke when there is a surprise waiting for her on the front yard: an ice rink. It appears that Luke has built it on his own to make Lorelai feel better. He hands out Lorelai's skates who could not be happier to try it out. Even knowing that he is not keen on skating she asks Luke to join her.

(70)   LORELAI: Do you want to be Randy to my Tai?
              LUKE: I'll just watch. (5-11)

Despite the indirect output the intention behind Lorelai's utterance is requesting Luke to do something; i.e. interfering with his freedom of action. Because Lorelai can almost predict the answer, she makes it clear that she is not pressuring Luke to go skating. Moreover, what she does is ask whether or not Luke *wants* to do X by leaving him completely free to give her any kind of answer he chooses. Although she might wish for a different kind of response, she does not make any perceivable assumptions about the forthcoming actions of Luke. Thus, Lorelai focuses explicitly on maintaining his negative face. Randy Gardner and Tai Babilonia were a successful American pair skating couple in the Seventies who Lorelai relevantly refers to.

Indirectness often involves hedging, as it is generally considered softening the impact of FTAs oriented towards the negative face of H. Basically, what is done with hedges is modifying the illocutionary force to appear contextually uncertain and not too pushy. When Lorelai has promised to go fishing with her date, she has untruthfully claimed to actually possess good wilderness skills. In reality she knows nothing and must now quickly learn how to fish. Rory has borrowed an educational book about the topic and Luke catches the two of them reading it at his diner.

(71)   LUKE: And you're gonna learn to fish to fulfill your destiny from a book?
          LORELAI: Yes.
          LUKE: And you sanctioned this?
          RORY: Yes.
          LUKE: Okay, Thelma, Louise, possibly there's another way to learn to fish. (3-12)

Luke is an experienced woodsman and amused about the fact that someone would even believe in learning that kind of things from a book. However, he does not want to be blunt with his thoughts nor coerce the girls to stop what they are doing. Therefore, he redresses the want to be direct by indirectly stating that he *might* be able to help. The hedge 'possibly' is, thus, used strategically to not only weaken the idea of Lorelai and Rory being wrong and Luke being right but indicate that no actions are really required on the basis of that single utterance. The Gilmore-ism is to point out how good ideas might sometimes become disastrous, just like in the American hit film *Thelma and Louise* in which two friends end up committing a suicide together after making many bad decisions starting with killing a man and running away from the police.

Not coercing H can also be done by minimizing the face threat with clarification of the P, D an R values. In other words, one can try to emphasize one of the parameters to make H see how S sees their relationship and current situation. For instance, the strategy of minimizing imposition involves a clear intent to show that R is not great and the seriousness of the FTA becomes diminished. When Luke has been in a bad mood and lashing out on people for many days, Lorelai decides to confront him about it.

> (72)   LORELAI: ... You've been stomping around, barking at people for days.
>   LUKE: I have not.
>   LORELAI: Yes, Cujo, you have.
>   LUKE: I always talk to people like that.
>   LORELAI: No, Benji, you don't.
>   LUKE: I'll be fine tomorrow.
>   LORELAI: Really, Lassie? Why is that? (4-5)

Lorelai cannot directly tell Luke to stop what he has been doing for days, and therefore, she focuses on coming up with utterances that seem less threatening to his negative face. Firstly, she merely makes a statement about Luke's unordinary behavior without appearing too oppressive. Then she is able to cleverly exploit her own sayings by referring to a different fictional dog character every time Luke tries to deny it. Cujo is an obsessed dog in one of Stephen King's novels, whereas Benji and Lassie are seen in warm family adventures. They are all used as an extension to the expression of 'barking at people' in a somewhat relaxed manner so that Luke does not take Lorelai's persistency too seriously. The actions of Lorelai could also be determined as tactful facework or in terms of The Tact maxim (Leech), since she diplomatically attends to minimizing cost to Luke's face.

6.3.2 Communicate S's want to not impinge on H

The fourth mechanism of negative politeness is about indicating that S recognizes the negative-face demands of H. Generally speaking it can be done by apologizing or dissociating S and H from the particular infringement.

In the strategy of impersonalizing S and H the point is to use such expressions that somehow distract H to either think that S is not solely responsible of performing the FTA

or that its target is someone else than H. There is a scene in the very first episode of Gilmore Girls where Sookie is trying to convince Lorelai that borrowing money from her estranged parents is the only way to pay for Rory's private school tuition. However, Lorelai is strongly against the idea and wishes Sookie to stop arguing with her.

(73)   Sookie: You know, you might consider calling...

Lorelai: No.

Sookie: But I don't think you have...

Lorelai: Stop.

Sookie: You can at least go and...

[Lorelai giving Sookie a forewarning grunt to not continue]

Sookie: Okay, can I say one more thing? I think it's your only option.

Lorelai: Sookie, there are several chapters from a Stephen King novel I'd reenact before I'd resort to that option. (1-01)

Since Lorelai does not want to be coerced by her friend, she forms an FTA to protect her own negative face. However, she realizes the potential damage it might do to Sookie's (i.e. disrespecting her independence in forming opinions and impeding her freedom of speech) and ends up utilizing means to dissociate her friend from the utterance. She cleverly disguises the illocution of wanting to make Sookie to 'drop it' by removing the focus on herself and referring the suggestion to the work of one of the most notorious horror fiction authors. Moreover, the command she wants to make is not oriented towards Sookie at all, yet instead it is based on strategic point-of-view distancing and circumstantial voicing. Thus, Sookie finally agrees to let it go without feeling insulted or upset.

Sometimes the best way to dissociate S from the situation is to profess the FTA as a general rule and getting away with. In the scene Lorelai gets caught of having spent the night with Rory's father, Christopher, after a serious dispute with Luke to whom she is still engaged to. She ends up being confronted about it by her daughter who is not happy.

(74)   RORY: Mom, you slept with dad.

LORELAI: For the love of god, will you stop saying that?

RORY: No I can't stop saying it because it happened. And you're trying to pretend like it didn't.

> LORELAI: I'm not perfect, okay? People make mistakes. I mean, Gwyneth Paltrow dyed her hair that dark brown. It was very unflattering. If she's not perfect, how do you expect me to be? (7-02)

What must be recognized is that by her last utterance Lorelai does not aim to maintain the negative face of Rory but her own, since she is the one whose behavior is questioned and interfered with. Therefore, to not make herself seem vulnerable and incline to believe what she is been told, Lorelai leans on to some commonly used expressions to defend herself by making it sound like she is not alone with her flaws (i.e. they are generally accepted). Phrases like 'I'm not perfect' and 'People make mistakes' are intended to remove the attention from Lorelai to other people in order to make Rory believe that they are adequate explanations for her mother's behavior. In addition, the Gilmore-ism about the assumingly beautiful actress, Gwyneth Paltrow, is asserted to demonstrate that, in fact, Lorelai is not the only one acting irrationally.

One way to promote the idea of dissociation is to make the utterance more nominal and thus, making it appear more polite within the given context. It often includes avoiding pronouns 'I' and 'you' and using the passive voice. When Rory has finished college for the year she returns to Stars Hollow for the summer, yet having a strict schedule on mind. However, on the first morning Lorelai has not been able to wake her up due to Rory's sleep deprivation deriving from heavy studying on finals during the past few weeks. They meet up later on at Luke's diner.

> (75)   RORY: I can't believe you didn't wake me up.
> LORELAI: Me and what army?
> RORY: I only have so much time off. I don't want to waste it all sleeping till noon.
> LORELAI: There was no waking you up. You were completely out of it. We're talking Farrah on "Letterman." (4-22)

Rory accuses her mother of letting her sleep too long, yet Lorelai does not want to directly tell her daughter that it was her own fault. In fact, she has no need to counterattack the negative face of Rory, as she merely tries to explain what happened. Therefore, she intentionally removes the responsibility from herself by shifting on to the passive and not using the pronoun 'I'('there was no waking you up', 'we're talking…'). Furthermore, in order to make her point clear and not blame it on Rory but her lack of sleep Lorelai makes a reference to an American actress and superstar of her time, Farrah

Fawcett, who was interviewed by a talk show host David Letterman in 1997. Fawcett was reportedly talking a lot with her hands from which someone could say that she was slightly disoriented and befuddled.

6.3.3 Redress other wants of H

Sometimes S can offer H a partial compensation for the upcoming FTA by redressing some other negative face wants of H. Because of the narrow band of H's wants that are involved with negative politeness the only way is to appeal to H's presumed desire of being somehow superior to S. The strategy of going on record as incurring a debt is about stressing S's reliance on H. Thus, the point is to minimize the face threat by indicating that H is thought of as possessing more P within the situation than S. Lorelai is finally going to marry the man of her dreams, Luke, yet gets badgered by Sookie who is well aware of her reputation as a runaway bride. She thinks Lorelai and Luke belong together and wants to make sure that no one is backing out this time.

> (76)   SOOKIE: It's sticking?
> LORELAI: Yes, Sookie, it's sticking.
> SOOKIE: Good, good. [Pause.] How about now?
> LORELAI: I'm totally re-evaluating the whole thing.
> SOOKIE: Really?
> LORELAI: No!
> SOOKIE: Well, you've got priors!
> LORELAI: Sookie!
> SOOKIE: You say one thing, but your heart says another.
> LORELAI: Please. Don't give me the whole litany, especially one that sounds so much like a Kenny Chesney song. (6-02)

What happens in the scene is that Lorelai first wants to tease Sookie a little yet then becoming annoyed by her distrustful behavior. In order to defuse the potential FTA Lorelai is about make, she wants to show Sookie that she is owes her if she can be laid off. Hence, in terms of the identification of the illocutionary force 'please' could be paralleled with the utterance 'I beg of you' or 'difficult as it were'. Within the context it is actually a deference to the alleged higher position of Sookie, as it is used by Lorelai to humble herself in the attempts to justify the forthcoming threat; i.e. telling Sookie to not go any further. Since Lorelai does not want to hear more about her failed romances in the

past, she discourages her friend to sound like a love song of a famous American country music singer, Kenny Chesney.

6.4 Off-record politeness

Performing FTAs off record is about promoting ambiguity of utterances in order to leave 'an out' for S just in case the perlocutionary effect is not favorable. Furthermore, since the focus is on the usage of implications, Gricean maxims of relevance, quantity, quality and manner are intentionally violated in the avoidance of conversational responsibility. Because of its highly indirect nature off-record politeness relies strongly on extralinguistic features (e.g. context and background knowledge) that are always evaluated through the individual process of inference. There were altogether 20 instances of out of the 75 Gilmore-isms that were considered a part of the fourth super-strategy and 7 are discussed below. The two fundamental means to convey indirectness include inviting conversational implicatures and being vague or ambiguous.

6.4.1 Invite conversational implicatures

The main idea of using conversational implicatures is to merely allude to the communicative intention, yet keeping the utterance contextually understandable. Contrarily to bald-on-record politeness, the aim is to actually reduce the efficiency of reciprocal interaction between the participants of conversation.

Implicatures addressed to violate the maxim of relevance often include giving hints or association clues and presupposing. Lorelai has recently married Rory's father, Christopher, who has moved to Stars Hollow. Lorelai has persuaded him to make friends with Sookie's husband, Jackson, and now he is dressed and ready to set off. However, Lorelai is concerned about the impression his outfit will give to Jackson.

> (77)   LORELAI: Is that what you're wearing?
> CHRISTOPHER: What, what's wrong with what I'm wearing?
> [...]
> LORELAI: It's very Joaquin Phoenix at the Oscars.
> CHRISTOPHER: I have no clue what that means.

LORELAI: It's very fitted. (7-09)

Since Lorelai thinks that what Cristopher is wearing is too fancy, she also feels that he should go and change. Even though she is not directly passing on judgment, her question 'Is that what you're wearing?' is a clear hint that is not likely to be misunderstood. However, Christopher fails to see the problem, which makes Lorelai to come up with a more vivid association clue, a reference to the Joaquin Phoenix looking very handsome at his best at the Oscar Gala. Surprisingly, though, Christopher becomes even more confused about what he is been told and it is only just the last implication of Lorelai, 'It's very fitted', that makes him get the point and go back upstairs. The reason for Lorelai using off-record approach is that at any point of the conversation she could have had the chance to back out, if it looked too delicate of an issue. In addition, what needs to be noted is that going off record always upraises several potential illocutions of which H must find the one that is right. Within the scene Lorelai might have meant a number of different things with her utterances, yet it is the context that led Christopher to the correct inference.

In off-record politeness the maxim of quantity is commonly violated especially by understating and overstating which both affect the way one perceives the hidden illocution. When Emily and Richard come up with an idea to make a portrait of their granddaughter, Lorelai gets accused of Rory's weakness in posing. It turns out that the set is not very natural considering who Rory really is, and that is why Lorelai wants her mother to reconsider it.

(78)   EMILY: Lorelai, your daughter's being impossible. She won't pose in an appropriate
         manner.
         [...]
         EMILY: I wanted the swan to sit regally aside Rory's throne.
         LORELAI: Swan? Throne?
         EMILY: Oh, now you have a problem with swans and thrones.
         LORELAI: Because swans and thrones scream one thing Mom, Siegfried and Roy.
         EMILY: Who?
         LORELAI: Just make a change Mom. (2-08)

Lorelai does not like the confrontations between herself and Emily, and therefore, she tries to peacefully make her mother a suggestion by going off record. Thus, she overstates

the impression that swans and thrones give within the context by claiming that the *only* thing they represent is an illusion: like the shows created by a German-American magician duo Siegfried and Roy. What she aims at is to make her mother see that she is trying to create an atmosphere that does not match with Rory's personality at all. However, the Gilmore-ism goes too far off because of the insufficient background knowledge of Emily, and Lorelai is forced to go baldly on record and directly reveal the illocutionary force. At the end, Emily gets upset for being shown wrong about her vision and hangs up.

By focusing on flouting the maxim of quality one has to make H question whether or not the utterance is true. It is often done by simply being ironic: saying something but meaning the opposite. In an episode of *Gilmore Girls* Emily has invited Lorelai for dinner, yet having no staff to serve her. Lorelai is surprised to hear that, since it is not common for her mother to be completely without a maid or chef in the kitchen. Therefore, she wants to see it herself and walks around the house having Emily right behind her back.

> (79)   EMILY: Lorelai, please, we don't have a buffer here tonight.
> LORELAI: So who cooked dinner? Ugh, please don't tell me it's you 'cause we can always. . .diet.
> EMILY: Leloni made a roast before she left and I heated it up.
> LORELAI: You did?
> EMILY: I even added a little wine to the pan to keep it from drying out.
> LORELAI: Well, who died and made you Sara Moulton?
> EMILY: Drink this and be quiet. (3-13)

Lorelai is actually impressed about Emily having done something by herself for a change, yet wants to point out that anyone can do what she has done (i.e. use a frying pan). Hence, she is being purely ironic when referring Emily to Sara Moulton, an American chef and cookbook author. Although the witticisms of Lorelai are usually too much for her parents to comprehend, based on the perlocution there is no ambiguity of what she means this time.

Besides irony implicatures that violate the maxim of quality can derive from the usage of metaphors. When Rory starts seeing Logan he is a notorious womanizer; someone who is

not looking for a relationship but instead enjoys casual dating with many girls at once. Therefore, it comes as a surprise to even Rory herself when Logan suggests that he could be exclusively her boyfriend. Rory tells about it to her friend, Paris, later on.

(80)　PARIS: A commitment? With Logan?
　　　RORY: Yep.
　　　PARIS: I don't believe it! You did it, you landed the whale. You're Annette Bening. (5-19)

Within the scene Paris is very surprised about the new turn in Rory's life and reacts spontaneously by saying the first things that come to mind. She uses the expression of Rory "landing the whale" meaning that she did something that no one believed could be done: catching the guy that was out of reach for her. Then she has a sudden epiphany and adds an adequate Gilmore-ism to the metaphor. An American actress, Annette Bening, is being referred to because she did the same thing once: she got an eligible bachelor, Warren Beatty, to settle down and finally marry her.

Yet another important way to form implicatures against the Gricean quality maxim is to use rhetorical questions. Rory has been encouraging Paris to start seeing people, as she have become a loner during their second year in college. Finally Paris seems to come to life again, yet her time to start dating feels strange to Rory.

(81)　RORY: Where are you going?
　　　PARIS: I'm putting myself out there, Rory.
　　　RORY: Now?
　　　PARIS: Yes now.
　　　RORY: It's eleven o'clock at night, who are you hoping to hook up with now,
　　　Spike and Drusilla? (5-10)

Paris does not want to admit that she is going speed dating that is arranged in that particular time of the night, which makes Rory question her plans. Rory finds it too late to go outside and meet new people, yet forms her opinion off record by making a rhetorical question 'who are you hoping to hook up with now?' to which she thinks is only one answer: 'no one'. The Gilmore-ism is a reference to the television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and its characters Spike and Drusilla. Thus, Rory is being also ironic with her implication of vampires being the only ones awake at that hour.

6.4.2 Be vague or ambiguous

FTAs that are performed off record by violating the maxim of manner involve being deliberately vague or ambiguous. Even though vagueness can be attributed to all of the off-record strategies, the difference here is that the clues or implications of an utterance are more difficult to connect with any particular context or intent.

With the strategy of being vague one usually tries to make the object of the FTA or the offence itself somehow non-specific. For instance, criticism is often passed on by vague utterances so that S remains free of having to take the blame for it. Richard and Emily have clandestinely separated when Lorelai and Rory come to their weekly dinner. They have arrived early and noticed that something strange is going on: Richard is there to greet them and making small talk instead of Emily who is nowhere to be seen. After a few minutes, though, she breezes in and seems not only unprepared but alarmed to find the girls already there. Awkwardly she sits down in the living room to join them without even realizing to put away her coat or purse.

> (82)   LORELAI: You gonna let go of that purse, Mom?
> EMILY: What?
> LORELAI: Well, you're holding pretty tightly to your purse there. You look like someone's Tante Flickman.
> EMILY: Oh, well, I, uh, just...there. [She reluctantly sets the purse beside her.] (4-19)

Since the atmosphere feels tensed and uncomfortable, Lorelai wants to indicate to her mother how odd their behavior is by rhetorically asking about her still holding the purse. Emily seems distracted and does not understand the question, which makes Lorelai to go further with her pursuit. She sees it best to stay off record and makes a vague comment 'you're holding pretty tightly to your purse there' which does not really have a clear intent or motive. Furthermore, the Gilmore-ism is used as an ironic remark of Emily being scared of thieves, since Tante Flickman refers to the deceitful Aunt Augusta in the novel and film *Travels With My Aunt*. Nevertheless, it is merely to provoke her to tell Lorelai what is wrong with them. The approach taken by Lorelai is not a very successful one, since even though she is not held responsible for causing a face-threat, she does not get any answers or even a reaction from her mother.

Displacing H is another way to exploit the aspect of being ambiguous, since it focuses on retargeting the FTA. Moreover, the message is conveyed through a third person, which actually leads to H having a good opportunity to pretend to not understand what is being done. The day before Rory's graduation from college Logan has proposed to her and now everyone is excited to hear the answer. Since Lorelai is the one Rory always confides in, she gets hassled about the issue by Emily at the ceremony. After just telling her that she knows nothing Christopher arrives and asks about the same thing.

> (83)   CHRISTOPHER: Any answer from Rory?
> LORELAI: Not yet.
> EMILY: Apparently Lorelai has decided to invoke the "don't ask, don't tell" rule. (7-21)

Emily is annoyed by the fact that Lorelai refuses to say anything, even though she is ought to know something about Rory's feelings or what her answer to Logan might be. She cannot help but to supposedly imply this to her daughter through the vague statement that she gives to Christopher. Thus, by indirectly conveying her disappointment she is meaningfully persuading Lorelai to tell them more. The *don't ask, don't tell* rule refers to the policy mandated by Bill Clinton by which everyone was guaranteed the right to serve in the military regardless of the sexual orientation. In addition, according to the regulation the military applicants can no longer be asked about their group of identification nor do they have to tell if inquired. As can be predicted Lorelai chooses to ignore her mother's comment, since she is not formally even obligated to react to it.

6.5 Impoliteness

When one fails to withhold an FTA or redress an utterance in an appropriate manner, the outcome is usually impoliteness that is either intentional or unintentional. Nevertheless, the strategies of politeness are commonly exploited in impolite utterances so that the face threat gets maximized and not minimized. The focus of analyzing impoliteness in *Gilmore Girls* is on cases where impoliteness derives from re-ranking one (or more) of the variables, P, D and R, or where it simply cannot be avoided. Since impoliteness was not the primary focus of investigation, only 6 samples were randomly chosen for the analysis.

Because of the prevailing egoistic goals in the general usage of politeness manipulations of the power relations between S and H are established usually on the favor of S; by re-ranking S's P greater than that of H's. Thus, one may choose to address the positive or negative face of H in the most direct manner, baldly on record, without a fear of resistance or retaliation. Already in high school Paris is a strongly opinionated leader figure and when she and Rory get assigned to the debate team Paris sees as her responsibility to guide them to victory. Therefore, one evening she barges in to Rory's home insisting that they practice more due to the inadequacies of her pair.

(84)   PARIS: I was listening to the CD I burned of the cassettes I made of our mock debates against the make-believe team and I realized that you were not talking fast enough.
[...]
PARIS: That's slow.
RORY: That's not slow.
PARIS: It's Jimmy Bob slow.
RORY: I talk normally.
PARIS: For the average Willie Nelson roadie, yes, but not for a winning debate team member. (2-14)

What is happening is that even though Paris knows that they are equals and siding with each other in the debate, she wants to take a higher position and prove to have more P than Rory. That is why she feels privileged and even obligated to bluntly tell Rory that her speed of articulation needs improvement. The Gilmore-isms refer to two different musicians who are known for their coyness or slowness on record, punk rock singer Jimmy Bob and country singer Willie Nelson. Even though Rory considers Paris' approach rude and insulting, she lets her keep the false impression about the altered rank of P. After all, it would be more exhausting to continue arguing with her.

In the attempts to re-rank D one can either aim at claiming a smaller or greater degree of intimacy with H than it actually is. For instance, negative politeness can be used to increase the sense of D while positive politeness is to decrease it. When Jess is dating Rory he somehow ends up being attacked by a swan and does not want to admit that to anyone. Everyone, including Rory, assumes that he has gotten into a fight with the ex-boyfriend, Dean, and now that Luke has learned the truth he wants to give Jess some useful advice.

(85) LUKE: Being jealous of Dean is pointless. You're just gonna drive Rory away. You wanna have a relationship with someone, you're gonna have to learn to open up your mouth and say something.
JESS: Give it a rest, Dr. Phil. (3-14)

While Luke assumes sufficient closeness with Jess to guide him, Jess again feels that he has to manipulate the variable D in order to be left free of imposition. Therefore, he takes advantage of Luke's perception of presumed intimacy and uses the bald-on-record strategy by giving Luke a direct command to stop harassing him. Furthermore, the off-record reference to Dr. Phil is to insult Luke by implying that he is no one to put pressure on Jess. Luke ends up backing off once he realizes that the face threat of his own utterance derived from assuming too familial relations with his nephew. Thus, Jess manages to successfully re-rank D between him and Luke despite his unfavorable means.

Manipulations of R are directly connected with mutual assumptions about both P and D, and they are established by making the FTA seem smaller than it actually is. Rory gets into a difficult position when Paris has been chosen as the president of the student body council on the expense of another girl, Francie, losing a part of her social power at school. Now Francie tries to undermine Paris' authority and coerce Rory to secretively cooperate with her in order to get her way with issues dealt in the meetings. Rory, on the other hand, is not keen on the pressure and decides to make it clear to Francie.

(86) RORY: ... I can be just as big a pain in your butt as you are in Paris', capiche?
FRANCIE: You do not wanna be my enemy, Marlo Thomas.
RORY: I think I do, Tina Louise. (3-10)

After Rory has stated how she feels about the situation Francie sees as her responsibility to inform her how she does not like being opposed. She gives Rory a warning, yet disguising it as an advice or a suggestion of Rory's own wants. Nevertheless, it is clearly more of an impolite utterance than a polite one, since instead of letting Rory remain free of impediments she contrarily tries to control her behavior. Marlo Thomas and Tina Louise both played strong female characters in two of the Sixties' sitcoms, *That Girl* and *Gilligan's Island*. Since they both know that Francie is not in the position to command Rory (i.e. they are equal by P) and they are not close, the only thing she can do is to re-rank R in a way that the utterance becomes merely an insinuation. The perlocution is that

Rory answers back with by the same token of politeness by hedging her opinion ('I *think* I do'), yet indicating with the Gilmore-ism that she understood the threat set upon her.

Other occasions of impoliteness derive from intentional maximization of face threats due to provocation to defend one's own face and neglect of tending to the perlocutionary effect (see impoliteness theory of Culpeper in section 3.3.5). Accordingly to the politeness model that kind of situations would require the ability to withhold FTAs, and not give in to the momentary moods experienced by everyone. However, such restraint and control over one's emotions is often unfeasible. Even though the impoliteness theory of Culpeper is not the focus of the present study, it is important to indicate how it can be understood in contrast to the notions of Brown and Levinson. In conclusion of the analysis three examples of meaningfully constructed manifestations of impoliteness in *Gilmore Girls* are dealt in detail. Only one strategy is introduced, sarcasm or mock politeness, as it represents the evocative usage of Gilmore-isms best in confrontational dialogues. In the first case Rory and Paris have been reported of having a strong-worded dispute at one of the meetings of the student body council. They are both invited to the headmaster's office and when Rory arrives to the corridor Paris is already there.

(87)   RORY: … [sits down next to Paris] So what this time, trying to have me deported?
         PARIS: Oh, yeah, like I'm the one who called this meeting.
         RORY: I certainly didn't call this meeting.
         PARIS: Save the act for Sundance, you little snitch.
         RORY: I didn't snitch.
         PARIS: Said the weak-kneed turncoat.
         RORY: Nixon's bad seed.
         PARIS: Daughter of Judas. (3-12)

Since both of them have a clear vision of what has happened, they are on the defensive from the very beginning of yet another unpleasant encounter with each other. Hence, in the surge of emotion the purpose is to attack the face of the other with various insults. It is interesting how the Gilmore-isms are used as off-record implicatures for mock politeness within the dialogue. 'Save the act for Sundance' means that Rory is poorly trying to pretend to not have been the one to complain about Paris, since Sundance is an annual film festival to attract new filmmakers (amateurs). When Rory denies turning her in, Paris throws in another slander 'weak-kneed turncoat' by making Rory to counterattack. By

'Nixon's bad seed' she refers to Paris being a descendant of president Nixon who was once connected to a conspiracy that made him lose his reputation and resign from presidency. Paris' final comment 'Daughter of Judas' similarly connects Rory to the ultimate betrayer of all time: one of the Jesus' apostles, Judas. In the light of the present altercation it can clearly be discovered how off-record politeness can function as the base for maximization of R in Culpeper's model of impoliteness.

Besides mocking someone with implicatures one can be impolite off record by being more comprehensively sarcastic. Luke has found out that Rory's father, Christopher, is still in love with Lorelai and that they have spent some time together as friends behind his back. In the middle of dinner Christopher suddenly calls and leaves a voice mail that makes Luke overreact and confront Lorelai.

(88)   LUKE: I have a right to expect a little honesty from my fiancée!
        LORELAI: Okay, you want honesty? I'll give you honesty! I hate that bedroom set! It's old
        and creepy I hate it!
        [...]
        LUKE: Well, thank you very much for your honesty about my grandmother's furniture!
        Too bad you're not a little more forthcoming about the other men in your life!
        LORELAI: Oh my God! Enjoy Wisteria Lane, you major drama queen! (6-09)

Lorelai makes her final statement intentionally off record and tells Luke to 'enjoy Wisteria Lane'. Despite the conventionally polite nature of farewells in general, it is obvious that Lorelai's utterance is contributing to impoliteness instead of politeness through sarcasm. Furthermore, she deliberately combines the imperative with a reference to *Desperate Housewives*, an American television show that does not lack of every-day female drama. The purpose of the approach is to insult Luke for his paranoia and extravagant behavior in a way that is not direct but could not be left undetected by him. What must be noted is that the other half of the sentence, 'you major drama queen', is actually a device of positive impoliteness, since it is a more explicit attack on Luke's positive face (i.e. trying to make him feel disrespected and disliked).

As the point of off-record politeness is to subtly let someone know that criticism is potentially directed at them, mock politeness aims at a more striking and abrupt outcome. Within the politeness model displacing H includes a third person to whom the message is

indirectly conveyed, yet in impoliteness the illocution is left intentionally undisguised. When the inn run by Lorelai and Sookie has caught a small fire, Sookie is startled more strongly than others. Now she has told many people about the experience by making Michel, their cynical and inherently ill-humored receptionist, very irritated. Lorelai has walked into the room to listen to the story and Michel does not want to lose an opportunity to express his thoughts about the situation.

(89)   SOOKIE: I saw my whole life pass before my eyes. That's how traumatic it was!
             MICHEL: She's been Scarlett O'Hara for two hours. It's sickening. (6-05)

Although Michel directs his words to Lorelai instead of Sookie, it is not because he does not want to offend her. Instead, his intention is to leave no question about who the target of the FTA actually is or what the insult is about. He refers Sookie to Scarlett O'Hara, the main character of the romantic novel and film *Gone with the Wind* who faces more drama in her life than anyone should have to bear. Nevertheless, Michel feels that Sookie overplays her role as having been in any kind of real danger, which leads again to the creation of Gilmore-ism as an implicature to promote impoliteness. In general, it is important to realize that what reveal the intent to insult someone in mock politeness are the given context and tone of the addresser. For instance, Sookie could interpret the reference to Scarlett O´Hara as an compliment, yet it is the time, place and manner that makes it impolite.

Gilmore-isms serve different kinds of purposes in the dialogues of *Gilmore Girls* and in the respect of the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987). During the analysis their strategic usage has been evaluated by focusing on each super-strategy in turn. Out of the 75 samples of politeness 15 were categorized as representatives of bald-on-record politeness, 27 positive politeness, 13 negative politeness and 20 off-record politeness. Additionally, 6 instances of impoliteness were included to demonstrate the natural continuance of the politeness formula. Illocutions were either intensified with Gilmore-isms in cases where facework was seen irrelevant (bald-on-record) or progressively softened in those where one's positive or negative face became threatened. The social variables of P, D and R were considered in the evaluation of potential threats in order to sufficiently analyze the situational face wants.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present study was to investigate how FTAs are constructed in the fictional world of *Gilmore Girls*. Moreover, Gilmore-isms were seen as a significant aspect of the strategic interaction, since they tended to either weaken or strengthen the degree of face-threat in intentionally (im)polite utterances. As the starting point of exploring the usage of politeness Brown and Levinson's formula offered valuable notions on what motivates the speakers of conversations. Thus, it seemed to serve the aims of the research felicitously. However, in order to encompass the non-cooperative function of Gilmore-isms sufficiently Culpeper's theory had to be additionally considered in the analysis. In general, the approach of pragmatics and the politeness model set a solid base for interpreting speaker intention and the outcomes of strategically constructed utterances (i.e. perlocutions). Even so, it is important to note that politeness research on fictional settings is not only rare but highly ambiguous, since interpretations are always affected by individual experiences about how one perceives language, different speech events and the on-scene relationships.

The research problem consisted of two parts: firstly, it was to find out the meaning of Gilmore-isms in respect of the work of Brown and Levinson (1987), and secondly, to discover how they could be interpreted in terms of pragmatics in general. Since politeness was treated as a conversational strategy, it was natural to assume that all Austinian aspects of illocution, locution and perlocution were essential when comparing the motives of the speaker to the actual words uttered and the effect of what is been said. Accordingly to the hypothesis (i.e. Gilmore-isms are used as a part of facework in the dialogues of *Gilmore Girls*) the results show that the cultural references of the series do influence the degree of politeness in the interaction of the characters in cases where a face-threat is attempted to be minimized (or maximized). Furthermore, depending on the speaker intention one tries to purposefully affect the size of imposition with strategies identified within the model of Brown and Levinson (1987). In brief, the greater the liability to threaten face, the more redressive action is performed to prevent the threat. However, in impolite utterances it was noted that the greater the potential face-threat, the less work is done for its prevention, like suggested by Culpeper (1996). When it comes to using the politeness theory and pragmatics for investigating the series, conflicting views occurred along the analysis: on the other hand, it is both useful and significant to focus on the

"why" -factor but on the other, it can lead to too many potential interpretations. These realizations and the major findings of the research are discussed next.

7.1 Strategies of politeness – about the occurrence and nature of Gilmore-isms

In *Gilmore Girls* the strategic interaction is based on descriptive usage of language by which the individual wants and needs are either emphasized or concealed. Moreover, Gilmore-isms are often used for facework in the attempt to maintain face (i.e. that of the hearer or speaker) in a Brown and Levinsonian manner. The most important aspect of connecting Gilmore-isms with the politeness theory is in recognizing their intended function in the dialogue-setting. Thus, within the analysis it was important to focus regularly firstly on illocution and then perlocution in order to see whether or not the strategies used within the context were successful. One of the major findings was that despite the fact that all Gilmore-isms hold an additional meaning, they cannot be unequivocally categorized as implicatures functioning within off-record politeness. Instead, as revealed by the situational speaker intention they are commonly applied to other strategies of politeness as well.

Bald-on-record politeness is perceived as the most direct form of constructing FTAs because of its strive for efficiency and demand of succinctness. In addition, it is generally expected to function similarly to Grice's maxims (i.e. conversational principles of quality, quantity, relevance and manner). However, hardly ever the speech events of *Gilmore Girls* meet with those terms and, in fact; dialogues that were considered instances of the approach include nothing but brief utterances. The results uncover that Gilmore-isms in bald-on-record politeness are mostly to intensify the illocutionary force (e.g. imperative commands), since they make an utterance appear even more direct than it would otherwise be understood within the context. In other words, they tend to strengthen the FTAs in the recognition of the prevailing power relations of S and H despite violating "the rule of brevity". Another interesting observation was that the social variable P is most apparent in the first super-strategy only because it is being intentionally emphasized in the dialogues. Moreover, Emily who has no real P over Lorelai maneuvers her way by being intentionally frank and abrupt, whereas the other types of forthright encounters (e.g. between Lorelai and Rory) are based on symmetrical relationships where redress is not always needed. Although power was not the focus of investigation, on the face of it the

results support those of Ermida (2006) who implied that hierarchy (or equality) can be established through language use (see section 4.2).

Positive politeness is used to address the positive face of H (i.e. making one feel desired) by concurrently minimizing the values of distance D and P. As being the most commonly applied strategy of *Gilmore Girls* it is generally seen in situations where the FTA comprises of passing on criticism about one's personality and wants. Thus, Gilmore-isms are used for self-enhancement as ego boosters and emphasis of togetherness and cooperation. It is particularly detectable in positive politeness how the expectations of shared background knowledge in *Gilmore Girls* deviate from those of real life. Furthermore, the never-ending references in themselves could easily be interpreted as indications of familiarity and thus, functioning towards the positive face of H. Therefore, the implication is that not only the strategic usage of Gilmore-isms in positive politeness depends on D, but the successfulness of the approach is affected by both P and D. For instance, what often makes Lorelai's rare attempts to get closer with her mother fail is Emily's weakness in understanding both the strategy and illocution. Similarly, in example 65 where Lorelai refers herself as Julie, the cruise director in The Love Boat, and gets the boys confused, it is alluded that despite the want to be in friendly terms with someone the best move strategically is not necessarily claiming it so transparently. Instead, it can be a non-verbal pragmatic act (e.g. smiling) (see section 2.2) that conveys the same illocution. Contrarily to positive politeness negative politeness includes a manifestation of greater difference in D, since it is designated to function towards the negative face wants: freedom and situational liberty. Gilmore-isms used for its execution are to minimize the effect of FTA by promoting indirectness and softening the impact of what is being said. In addition, they quite often offer excuses for the face-threats and misguide H from focusing too much on the hidden illocution. However, what can be said about the nature of negative politeness in general in *Gilmore Girls* is that it is not very close to expressing formal politeness or politic verbal behavior (Watts 2003). Moreover, at times it even seems that Gilmore-isms are used in a "positive politeness manner", yet orienting towards the negative face. Thus, there were occasional mismatches between the evaluation of speaker intention and the strategies used. What was thought of as the clincher was actually the perlocution because of the fact that it provides an inner perspective on the on-going conversation; i.e. what cannot be detected by an outsider.

The purpose of off-record politeness is to redress FTAs by being intentionally mystique and vague. It means that conversational implicatures are promoted by concurrently neglecting the Gricean maxims. Within the dialogues of *Gilmore Girls* off-record strategies are clearly applied to avoid the responsibility of performing an FTA by commonly making someone fall "off track" of what is being said. Since Gilmore-isms would normally be considered implicatures due to their ambiguous and metaphoric nature, the main problem in the analysis was to successfully separate the approach from the other ones and be able to give valid explanations. Particularly in the dialogues where Lorelai is addressing Emily it is difficult to define the level of intended indirectness because of the fact that Lorelai gets misunderstood even when not trying to be meaningfully confusing (i.e. her normal speech already entails a great deal of Gilmore-isms). What must be recognized, though, is the significance of pragmatic concepts and principles in exploring the language of *Gilmore Girls*. In fact, presupposing general relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1986) and context-dependency of utterances are sometimes enough to make sense of implicit messages or at least get the hint of a potential face-threat.

Within the present study impoliteness is perceived as the negative outcome of not being able to withhold from performing an FTA that is impossible to redress. Brown and Levinson's framework suggest that impoliteness is often unintentional, since it is considered deriving from an unfortunate miscalculation of the amount of redress needed to avoid the threat. However, by analyzing those utterances of *Gilmore Girls* that were to promote impoliteness instead of politeness, following deductions were made: firstly, despite the fact that impoliteness is merely a perlocution and not an illocution, it cannot be characterized as an unplanned or accidental incident of politeness manipulation, since the word itself, 'manipulation', suggests that one is obviously aware of the potential consequences of the FTA, and secondly, in general Culpeper's approach seem to make more sense in the recognition of illocutionary force in expressions that come off as impolite. Thus, when it comes to trying to re-rank one or more of the P, D and R (ranking of imposition) values, as the basis of investigating speaker intention should be impoliteness strategies and not politeness strategies. This can be also detected in the work of Simpson (1989) (see section 4.2) in which confrontational dialogues are attempted to interpret in terms of politeness. Nevertheless, despite the weakness of applying the formula of Brown and Levinson to instances of impoliteness the results indicate that most

often P is the variable that is being remodeled. Implications of the lucrative yet superficial explorations of Culpeper's theory and the strategy of sarcasm or mock politeness are that face maintenance becomes unessential when being offended and, in fact, Gilmore-isms are used to purposefully strengthen the attack of face.

All in all, the work of Brown and Levinson was applied smoothly in the investigation of strategic interaction of *Gilmore Girls*, and the significance of Gilmore-isms was attested. However, while some results were predictable others turned out very surprising. For instance, the last notion of Brown and Levinson (withholding FTAs) was seen as an unrealistic alternative (or strategy) from the begin with and got discredited by introduction of the supplementary theory of Culpeper. In addition, when thinking about the number of FTAs found to complement each super-strategy, it was unexpected that the one with the fewest instances was negative politeness as the descriptive-like expressions tend to be excluded more likely from bald-on-record practices in real life.

7.2 Reconsidering pragmatics and politeness in fiction

When trying to determine the most suitable point of view for the investigation of Gilmore-isms and their function in the dialogues of *Gilmore Girls*, the objectives of the study had to be examined thoroughly. Since the main argument was that politeness is used as a conversational strategy, it felt only natural to focus on conversational pragmatics and its applications on fiction. In addition, the model of Brown and Levinson offered an extensive set of devices on which to base the investigation. However, other theories must be reconsidered in order to validate the decision.

No matter how fictional the speech event one is expected to perform linguistic acts in a meaningful way, so that the other party is able to trust the truthfulness of the pragmatic presuppositions. Furthermore, as a researcher of on-screen fiction one makes observations about all aspects of character behavior and context. In the analysis it was discovered that in order to fully understand the linguistic realizations one needed to also explicate the social relationships. In fact, it would have been impossible to explore the "language" of *Gilmore Girls* without recognizing the communicative intents deriving from dynamics. Therefore, it was significant to know the subtext well enough to be able to make any kind of deductions about the series. The interpretation of Gilmore-isms relies partially on

similar implications: one cannot know what is meant without knowing the backgrounds of both participants. Even though the focus was not on characterization of fictional personalities, it was surprisingly discovered that the level of politeness and cultivation of Gilmore-isms quite often depend on who is talking. For instance, Lorelai and Rory tend to be more articulately expressive than others, whereas Emily and Richard stick with a more formal approach in their encounters.

It is interesting to notice how all of the major theories and concepts of politeness seem to somehow contribute to the idea of strategic interaction. Lakoff's pragmatic competence, Watt's notions of facework and Leech's politeness principle (PP) represent reasonable explanations for the occurrence of polite behavior. However, even though offering relevant guidelines, none of them seem to elaborate *how* exactly politeness should be conveyed and in what terms. Thus, they function as suggestions (or principles) of polite behavior rather than the kind of formula that could have been sufficiently used in the investigation of the fictional dialogues of *Gilmore Girls*. Moreover, the interpretation of Gilmore-isms would have remained too vague

There were two problems with using pragmatics as the starting point of the study. Firstly, by focusing so heavily on speaker intention, it became occasionally difficult to decide which aspect to consider the most important factor of analysis: illocution, perlocution or evaluations of social relationships and the variables of P and D. It affected the categorization of strategies and sometimes there were more potential conclusions than one. Within that notion, it could have been more practical to define the research question more rigorously (e.g. centralize around specific characters or strategies). Secondly, pragmatics is always an individually built-in set of one's perceptions about language and human relationships. Therefore, within the investigation of fictional dialogues it must be recognized that deductions are at least somewhat biased and one-sided. One the other hand, the study was conducted systematically by following the same pattern of research throughout the analysis. Thus, the results became validly explained within the specific framework.

All in all, the investigation was conclusive in a sense that the research problems got solved: it was clearly demonstrated how Gilmore-isms function within the construction of FTAs and (im)politeness. The significance of pragmatics in analyzing the series was also

determined by using its concepts (e.g. illocution and perlocution) as the basis of constructing the analysis. The present study primarily set the basis of any further investigation of *Gilmore Girls* and its unique verbal features. In general, it encourages for more pragmatic research on the areas of politeness and impoliteness in fiction. Moreover, it proves that both models can be used for investigating on-stage relationships and perceptions of power. Supportively to the study of Culpeper (1998) (see section 4.2), it also indicates that (im)politeness research can be set as the basis of exploring characterization in fictional works.

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