

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing

A case study of House of Cards (2013) to create a framework of manipulative language

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Introduction

Language. What is “language”? Is it the words we speak to each other in a conversation? Can it be defined as “simple” as the semantic values of these words or is it the meaning in between the words; the actual message. When asking something as simple as “Could you pass me the salt?”, am I really asking whether you are capable of handing over the salt or am I telling you to do so? This example might be an obvious one where I am politely *telling* you to hand over the salt but are all language constructions this obvious; this clear; this conventionalised? I expect that the ordinary listener easily understands most language constructions but that the true intention behind the utterance might not always be as forthcoming.

This reading between the lines, the meaning that goes beyond just words and semantics, is what the field of Pragmatics is interested in. The context of the communicative action becomes important; a specific string of words can mean something completely different when uttered under different circumstances. Something as simple as making a bet becomes more intense and more important depending on the audience of the bet. Imagine telling your friend Paul that you bet you could run to the store and back in under five minutes but you end up returning in a little over five minutes. This means that you failed to deliver on what you were expected to do but the only person that you “lose face” to is Paul. Now imagine this exact same bet but done on national television. You make the run in exactly the same time and instead of just one person that now knows that you failed to deliver on your bet it might be your entire social group commenting on it the next day. The utterance in both situations is exactly the same yet the consequences are completely different.

Communicating is something that comes natural to almost everyone. We talk to each other on the street, in stores, in classrooms and so on. All these different conversations occur to bring across information. This information can be of any nature inherent to the conversation at hand. Most of these conversations are so-called successful cooperative communicative actions where both parties work together towards achieving a common goal. This concept, of successful cooperative communicative actions, has been extensively studied by various scholars who have each defined what cooperation and success really mean in various social situations. However,

as I've said above, "most of these conversations are successful cooperative actions," but what about those which are not successful or, even better, not cooperative?

This thesis is interested in that "uncooperativeness" and how this might lead to manipulation, where speakers are not as forthcoming as is required and where they might even force the listener to do and/or say something against their will. These problems then lead to the following questions:

- What is a basic definition of linguistic manipulation?
 - How does the concept of non-cooperation tie in with linguistic manipulation?
 - How does the concept of power tie in with linguistic manipulation?
 - How does a speaker use words to push certain goals through so-called *covert perlocutionary non-cooperative* acts?
 - Are there different kinds of linguistic manipulation—such as different strategies?
 - Are there specific strategies for certain linguistic manipulative acts that make them more desirable, or successful, in certain situations?

To answer these questions I will use the first season of the scripted show *House of Cards* (2013) as my case study. *House of Cards* offers an insight into a scripted world of politics where most, if not all, is achieved through nothing but words. The series provides a very specific addition to scholars because the protagonist explains most of his actions to the viewer. This provides details about intention which are necessary in a study about manipulation. In a setting such as *House of Cards*—politicians speaking to other politicians—everything uttered becomes important. Furthermore, it is not just what they say but also how they say it, to whom and at what time. When Frank Underwood (the protagonist played by Kevin Spacey) states that something is *interesting* does he really mean that it is interesting or does it have different implications on various levels?

When analysing language there are numerous different viable approaches to take and for this thesis I will use a combination of established theories in order to look at the same piece of text from different angles. Steve Oswald (2010), in his doctoral thesis, has

written a lot about the concept of manipulation in particular, using an Austinian-Gricean approach while at the same time addressing other scholars in the field, noting different opinions, definitions and interests of the same conundrum. In defining manipulation I will use his definition of manipulation (“covert perlocutionary non-cooperation”) as a starting point to which I can add and subtract nuances which I deem that should or shouldn’t be in the definition.

As an addition to Oswald’s definition of manipulation I will operate under the belief that successful linguistic manipulation is a two-layered concept that has both an inner requirement and an external requirement. Therefore, this thesis will first diverge on what linguistic manipulation is in Chapter I, followed by an investigation into the “internal requirement” and its consequent conclusions. Afterwards, I will delve into the “external requirement” of linguistic manipulation to see how certain presentational devices affect manipulation. This part will begin with an exploration of Brown & Levinson’s Politeness Theory with an addition from Watts followed by an exploration of Lakoff & Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the Pragglejaz Group’s Metaphor Identification Procedure and the various purposes of metaphors as Charteris-Black explains them in *Critical Metaphor Analysis*. The first Chapter will then conclude with a summary of the initial findings that can be concluded from the theoretical background.

In the second Chapter I will explain the methodology; which will first diverge on the text type of scripted television and whether this can be used as a research tool. To do so I will first touch upon Stephanie Dose’s study of CATS (Corpus of American Television Series) followed by an explanation of how I approached *House of Cards* to find viable excerpts to study. This includes a plotline of the first season; important character information and background, and a brief explanation of the thirteen fragments that ended up being part of the thorough analysis. To conclude the second Chapter I will provide a sample analysis of one of the thirteen fragments to elaborate on the manner in which I have approached the fragments.

The third Chapter will show the results of the study. The actual excerpts of the fragments can be found in the Appendix because they would have been too much of an intrusion in this Chapter. Therefore, the chapter will instead use a three-layered structure where I will first explain the internal requirement as found in the fragments (while dividing the fragments in four different sections; subordinates, equals, higher ups and those with no direct power relation to the protagonist). Subsequently I will focus on

the politeness strategies and power relations in the external requirements, using the same division of sections while ending the chapter with an exploration of metaphors. The exploration of metaphors will take a slightly different approach from the abovementioned “internal requirement” and “politeness strategies” because I will first determine whether the metaphors used in *House of Cards* are in line with those expected in political discourse. Afterwards, I will determine the various purposes of the metaphors in *House of Cards* and explain why these specific purposes occur and why they are useful for linguistic manipulation.

Chapter IV, the final chapter of this thesis, will show the conclusion that I came to after analysing the outcome of the results. This will include a short summary of linguistic manipulation, possible strategies for certain situations and inherent problems of the concept. After outlining the different problems I will explain how one could extend this study of manipulation in determining other factors that can influence a successful linguistic manipulative act.

Chapter I: Theoretical Background

I.0. Introduction

This chapter will deal with the theoretical background necessary for an evaluation of manipulation in a case study. It will start with a most basic explanation of manipulation as it is presented in a dictionary, following with Steve Oswald's (2010) work on the necessities to make linguistic manipulation work. I have rephrased his work to be the internal requirement of linguistic manipulation which really explains the bare minimum that is necessary in order to linguistically manipulate. After having explained the internal requirement, using Oswald's work, Austin's Speech Act Theory and Grice's Cooperative Principle I will move on to the external requirement of manipulation. This is the concept that—as I will explain—is the outer layer around the internal basic necessity (as a sort of wrapper). This outer shell is the presentational device that makes manipulation presentable, influential and convincing. To explain this concept I will delve into strategies of Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory and the functions of metaphors as they are explained in Lakoff & Johnson's *Conceptual Metaphor Studies* and Charteris-Black's *Critical Metaphor Analysis* to show how certain phrasings can be used as linguistic manipulation and how they operate 'around' and with the aforementioned internal requirements.

I.1. The Internal Requirement of Linguistic Manipulation

I.1.0. Overview

As the concept of manipulation lay at foundation of this thesis it is important to carefully diverge and explain the different interpretations of what manipulation is, what it can be and what I deem it to be for this thesis. From a dictionary point of view it can be seen as something extremely broad, as its relevant OED entry shows:

4. The action or an act of managing or directing a person, etc., esp. in a skilful manner; the exercise of subtle, underhand, or devious influence or control over a person, organization, etc.; interference, tampering.

However, to explain the internal requirement of what I will call Linguistic Manipulation we have to delve deeper into Steve Oswald's work, his explanations and examples, and question the consequences of his conclusion. Therefore in this part of the Theoretical

Background I will begin to explain Steve Oswald's work until the point where it starts to deal with cooperation in communication. From there on I will continue with Speech Act Theory and Grice's Cooperative Principle in order to explain the concepts that Oswald has coined CC (Communicative Cooperation), IC (Informative Cooperation) and PC (Perlocutionary Cooperation). Finally, I will conclude the internal requirement with Steve Oswald's conclusion of "covert perlocutionary non-cooperation is manipulation" where I will attempt to question this statement and its immediate consequences.

1.1.1. The Meaning of Manipulation

As the OED entry showed, the concept of manipulation is very broad but at its core lay the functions of i) managing or directing a person, ii) subtle, underhand or devious influence or control over a person and iii) interference, tampering. These three qualities are important whether you are manipulating someone through language or by any other means. Steve Oswald's working definition of manipulation adds nuances to this OED entry, namely (Oswald 2010, p. 123):

A working definition of manipulation:

An utterance is manipulative if it is intentionally used as a means to attain a perlocutionary goal the speaker is covertly pursuing

Corollary:

Covert perlocutionary non-cooperation is manipulation.

Oswald here shows that in order for something to be manipulation it has to be intentionally used and the so-called "perlocutionary goal" has to be covert, i.e. unknown to the hearer. An example to explain this concept can be seen in (1) as opposed to (2):

(1) You're on your way to go and have a drink with some of your friends but, when arriving at the bar, you notice that you have accidentally forgotten your wallet. You immediately say so to your friends but they do not really mind and end up paying for your entire evening.

(2) Same as (1) except this time you leave your wallet at home on purpose, knowing that because you are such good friends anyway they will not mind paying for your evening this once.

Since (1) is not intentional it does not fall under the definition of manipulation as Oswald presents it whereas (2) does and I share this requirement of intentionality. However, this is simply out of necessity because of the negative connotation inherent with the concept of manipulation. If manipulation is more so seen as influence, good or bad, the effect of (1) and (2) can be seen as the same. To me it seems instead that the intentionality requirement is a requirement that is often there in manipulative acts and is necessary to establish a working model to identify manipulation. However, when this framework, or definition, of manipulation is created we can entertain ourselves with the notion of leaving the intentionality requirement out. After all, it is not impossible to think of a situation where you do not intend to manipulate but end up manipulating to a certain extent, either in a negative or positive manner—for instance when asking a colleague whether it is okay to swap partners before a test which is supposed to be done in pairs (1, if your partner says “no,” the partnership is tainted because this might leave you upset and 2, if she says yes, she might do so only because of (1)). No matter your intention or her (miss-)interpretation of the question it can still be felt as being manipulative to the hearer who can perceive it as being intentional without a real viable option for an answer. This could be seen as function i) of the OED entry: managing or directing a person. Another possibility here is that we have to differentiate between the act of manipulating and the feeling of being manipulated which although seemingly connected might differ to some extent.

However, for the purpose of this thesis I will begin by looking at manipulation as requiring intentionality as well simply because you need a starting point from which you can diverge and because, given the case study, intentionality *is* available in most, if not all, manipulative acts. Furthermore, I will also—for now—include Oswald’s requirement of covertness even though I do not strictly agree with this being a necessity (with for instance certain forms of blackmail when used from a function of power, which is, or at least can be, manipulative in my eyes) which I will elaborate on in the conclusion of the internal requirement of linguistic manipulation and in Chapter III: Results.

1.1.2. “Covert Perlocutionary Non-cooperation is Manipulation”

Steve Oswald’s definition, although inherently clear, does require some thought and information. Simply said, what exactly does he mean with this definition? In my opinion a clear explanation of the covertness that Oswald means is provided by the so-called

“Kansas City Shuffle” as it is used in the film *Lucky Number Slevin* where Mr Goodkat (played by Bruce Willis) defines it as “They look right... ..and you... go left” (at which point he breaks someone’s neck). The hearer, in this case the victim, is led to believe that he knows what is asked of him, or said to him, which forces him to look or act in a certain way. While this goes on, at the same time, the speaker does something else on the other side—which the hearer is unaware of. This explanation means that manipulation includes an act of diverting the attention of the listener, like a magician using sleight of hand to mesmerize and divert the attention of an audience. This covertness refers to the non-cooperativeness of the intentional perlocutionary act of the conversation because at every point of the conversation the hearer should be led to believe that you are working towards a common goal. Once this non-cooperativeness stops being hidden the hearer is likely to take offense and react in a negative manner.

The perlocutionary act of manipulation has to do with Austin’s concept of perlocution, or rather; the intentional extra-linguistic effect that an utterance has on the hearer. If the hearer is not inclined to act in accordance to the utterance, for instance agreeing with a request or passing over the salt when asked to do so, then the perlocutionary action is unsuccessful. This holds up for the concept of manipulation as well. No manipulation takes place if the hearer doesn’t feel the need to come into action—which is a logical necessity. However, even if a manipulative act fails, the phrasing and conversation can be analysed in order to identify the internal structure that led to the manipulative act. Oswald continues to explain his concept of manipulation by bringing in another necessity called “non-cooperation.”

To explain what “non-cooperation” is I first have to delve into what Oswald explains as the “minimal (functional) cooperation as a shared goal” which has four basic necessities (Oswald 2010, p. 18-19):

- A speaker who is willing to engage in communication can be said to have the goal of having whatever (s)he utters understood by the hearer.
- A hearer who is willing to engage in communication can be said to have the goal of understanding whatever the speaker has uttered.
- Accordingly, each of them will make cognitive efforts in order to achieve this goal: the speaker by formulating an utterance which, under rational standards, is interpretable; the hearer by processing and interpreting the utterance, with the expectation that the speaker

observed rational standards of communication in making her utterance.

- Communication, minimally construed as the transmission of meaning can only take place if the above conditions are met.

Simply said the concept of “non-cooperation” in terms of manipulation refers to the speaker again where he is untruthful in one of these four necessities in relation to perlocution—most often the goal that the hearer tries to interpret and understand. In language and communication most scholars take the stance of human communication being cooperative—both speakers working towards a common goal. However, if the hearer of a manipulative conversational act does or says what the act requires of him only he is cooperative since the speaker leaves out the intention of the act—he hides the true aim of the utterance. This vital information can be the goal of the act. To clarify this we can take a look at (2) again, this time rewritten in full to include its manipulative action.

- (3) You are on your way to go and have a drink with friends but do not want to spend any money. You intentionally leave your wallet at home knowing that your friends will not mind paying if you had forgotten it. You arrive at the bar and tell your friends that you “sadly” just noticed that you forgot your wallet at home. They offer to pay for your night out.

In (3) we can now see the full manipulative act in action. The covertness here is the fact that you forgot the wallet intentionally and your subsequent “act” of discovery of having forgotten the wallet is non-cooperative because your friends do not expect you to lie about something like this. In fact, your friends, as being the hearers, are working to communicate and to understand what you have uttered in full cooperation where they work with you to come to a possible solution. The perlocutionary act asks of your friends to pay the night out for you (this can be explicitly asked or not—i.e. you can ask “do you mind paying for me” or leave it in the middle meaning that your friends have to come to the conclusion on their own) and can be seen as a consequence of the covert uncooperativeness. In short, your friends expect you to be honest and forthcoming and act accordingly (being cooperative) while in truth you had the intention of not paying for anything in the first place and only feigned cooperation.

1.1.3. Oswald's CC, IC & PC

Oswald introduces three different terms in his first Chapter conclusion on the difference between successful communication and unsuccessful communication: CC (Communicative Cooperation), IC (Informative Cooperation) and PC (Perlocutionary Cooperation). These three terms turn out to be a great tool to, at first glance, identify possible manipulation. To explain what exactly they mean I will use Oswald's definitions in the order as he presents them. CC is what could be explained as the possibility to communicate or, as Oswald explains in more detail (Oswald 2010, p22-23):

- The speaker must be willing to communicate something to the hearer.
- The hearer must be ready and disposed to listen to the speaker and interpret her utterance.
- The speaker's utterance must be interpretable (i.e. rationally designed)
- The hearer must assume that the speaker's utterance is interpretable

Without CC it seems that there is there no utterance at all and Hurford explains this with a little more simplicity by stating, "to be communicatively cooperative is simply to use the same communicative code as one's interlocutor" (Hurford 2007, p. 305-306). This means that if a speaker wants to communicate with someone else he will not make cat noises in order to try to make something clear to the hearer. Instead, the speaker will use the same communicative structure—human language—as the hearer. This brings with it certain conclusions such as the triviality of the cooperative factor in CC. In Lumsden's (2008) example of a suspect refusing to answer an interrogator, it can be seen as CC cooperative because the hearer (suspect) communicates in a way that is understood by the initial speaker (interrogator). In other words, as Oswald explains, "if CC is not observed, communication cannot and will not take place" (Oswald 2010, p. 24).

IC on the other hand, refers to the comprehension of the message that comes across; whether it is understandable to the hearer; whether he is able to place it in the language spectrum and able to give a relevant reply to the utterance—in short it is about a cooperativeness of both sides wherein they are willing to phrase the utterance in an understandable manner and replying relevantly. Oswald explains IC as follows (Oswald 2010, p. 29):

- A speaker who observes CC must have the goal of wanting the hearer to entertain a specific set of representations which is similar to the one she intends to communicate.
- A hearer who observes CC must have the goal of retrieving a specific set of representations, which is similar to the speaker's intended meaning (i.e., the set of representations she intended to communicate).
- Accordingly, their shared goal is fulfilled only when both interlocutors share a similar representation.
- The fulfilment of this goal is possible because comprehension follows specific rational standards of information-processing (both on the production and reception end).

In a way CC ensures that there is a possibility to communicate a certain meaning whereas the goal of IC is as Oswald states, "to ensure that a specific meaning gets across" (Oswald 2010, p. 29).

Lastly, the concept of PC can be explained using Oswald's words as "build[ing] on the idea that communication is a means by which human beings can satisfy goals which go beyond the linguistic exchange as is shown in the example [A: I am out of petrol and B: There is a garage round the corner], PC is about i) acknowledging and adopting the speaker's extra linguistic goal and ii) making one's contribution helpful (relevant, appropriate) with regard to the extra-linguistic goal" (Oswald 2010, p. 32). In short, PC is about understanding what the speaker wants and giving a reply relevant to the conversation at hand. When you are baking a cake simply stating that "the next step is to add three eggs" asks for a relevant action or utterance of the hearer concerning the eggs, not the milk in the fridge or the party on coming Friday.

To conclude, in a question like "Could you pass me the salt?", CC can be seen as the actual utterance and a relevant hearer in the vicinity who is available to listen to you and will do so (the cooperative part being that the hearer is willing to listen). IC can be seen as the way it's said, for instance the same language as the hearer so he can make sense of it and a relevant context so the hearer knows what you mean with the question and a situation where the hearer will invest his or her attention to the utterance (the cooperative part being that the hearer is investing into understanding what is said and forming a relevant reply). PC is the extra-linguistic action that is called into effect, in this case the passing of the salt to the speaker (the cooperative part being that both parties know what the "action" is and act accordingly).

Since these explanations of CC, IC and PC build on concepts of Speech Act Theory, such as locution as well as concepts of Grice's Cooperative Principle, the following part

will be an explanation of these concepts which are necessary to fully comprehend Oswald's necessities of linguistic manipulation.

1.1.4. Speech Act Theory

1.1.4.0. Overview

Searle and Austin's Speech Act Theory (SAT) and its inherent concepts, such as locution, lay at the foundation of Oswald's Communicative Cooperation (CC), Informative Cooperation (IC) and Perlocutionary Cooperation (PC). In this chapter I will first explain what Speech Acts are, followed by an explanation of the theory. However, I will continue with the terms "speaker" and "hearer" during this explanation simply because switching between "addressee" and "hearer" between theories is confusing and the terms are not very far apart in meaning.

1.1.4.1. Explanation of SAT in Regards to the Thesis Topic

The most basic definition of speech acts is simply by stating the attempt or possibility to do something by speaking alone. It is not hard to think of the many things that are possible with speech, such as requesting, questioning, promising, threatening and so on and in essence all of these actions are speech acts. Speech acts are actions that are performed by speakers and the hypothesis of SAT is that we perform these actions according to certain underlying "constitutive rules (Searle, 1969, p. 37)." For some speech acts we can further question whether the speech act in question is true or false while for others this is simply not necessary as is shown in the following example:

1) Could you grab me a beer?

In this utterance it has no extra value to ask whether it is true or false. It is a possibility that there is no beer to grab but this does not add or subtract from the true-ness or false-ness of the question at hand.

More often than not however, instead of talking about the true-ness or false-ness of an utterance with speech acts we speak of felicity conditions, felicities and infelicities. These felicity conditions are "the conditions required for a speech act to be successful" (Trask, 2007, p. 267). An oft given example to explain this is the concept of marriage and the related words "I now pronounce you husband and wife" or any variation of it. This

sentence can only be felicitous if the person who says it has the authority to pronounce a couple husband and wife. Another condition is whether it is done in the correct setting and whether the husband and wife first said, “yes, I do” to each other (or a variant of it). To continue in this same example, when these conditions are not met we can speak of the act as being infelicitous. Austin’s own explanation of infelicitous is “the things that can be wrong and go wrong in the occasion of [utterances of] marrying, betting, bequeathing, christening or what not” (Austin, 1962, p.14).

Other than felicity conditions, Austin and consequently Searle distinguished between three different aspects of a speech act (Trask 2007, p. 267):

- 1) the locutionary act: the act of saying something and its basic content
- 2) the illocutionary act: what you’re trying to do by speaking
- 3) the perlocutionary act: the effect of what you say

These three different acts are linked to Oswald’s concepts of CC, IC and PC in the sense that they describe the C (Communication), I (Information) and P (Perlocution) part—the cooperation part is still left out at this point. From these three different acts another term was coined, the so-called “illocutionary force” which is the intended effect of a speech act (Trask 2007, p. 267). To explain this in a bit more detail I will use the earlier given example by Oswald about petrol:

A: I’m out of petrol

B: There is a garage around the corner

When analysing this example we can state that the speakers of these sentences perform at least three different kinds of acts (Searle 1969, p. 22-24):

- 1) Uttering words (morphemes, sentences) = performing *utterance acts*.
- 2) Referring and predicating = performing *propositional acts*.
- 3) Stating, questioning, commanding, promising, etc. = performing *illocutionary acts*

In this example then, we can say that the utterance “I’m out of petrol” has a locutionary act, namely that of uttering the sentence and its semantic value. Then the illocutionary act is the fact that A is speaking in a way that B can understand and is relevant to the situation at hand so he can make sense of it. The perlocutionary effect is the extra-linguistic effect that asks of you to give a relevant reply to the problem at hand. Lastly, the illocutionary force is thus the intended effect of speaker A of getting petrol even though this is not stated in the actual sentence it can be deduced from the utterance by the hearer B who then has the possibility to provide a relevant reply on all levels of the speech act.

The most important aspect when looking at *illocutionary acts* is the above-mentioned concept of *perlocutionary act*, or—simply said—the consequences that these acts have on the hearer(s), because these acts are correlated. What this means is that, for instance, making a request, or threatening a person, brings about certain effects in the hearer; they can, respectively, do something for you or can make you feel intimidated. You could also convince someone in an argument and so on.

These effects and how we can bring them about in a hearer are vital in a linguistic manipulative act. Seeing the effect of an utterance and how it is brought about can give insight into possible strategies for more successful influencing of the hearer or can show what to avoid. Furthermore, they can give insight into the desired effects that professional speakers try to have on hearers by analysing their debates, speeches and so on by, with for instance, Presidents, senators, TV-hosts or even cult-leaders. This of course ties in again with the aim of this thesis in which the utterances of protagonist Frank Underwood are analysed to determine his linguistic manipulative acts on the specific hearers in question.

1.1.5. Cooperative Principle

1.1.5.0. Overview

Because Oswald’s terms of CC, IC & PC are not solely interested in Communication, Information and Perlocution but also build forth on the concept of Cooperation we need to take a look at Grice’s Cooperative Principle and Maxims. These can be used to explain the concept of Cooperation which is not discussed in as much detail in SAT and this concept is a necessity of CC, IC and PC. These concepts are a direct continuation of Speech Act Theory and show the necessary ‘intentions’ of speaker and hearer. Where

Grice's Maxims can be used to point out what happens or what goes wrong in an utterance, his Cooperative Principle explains the underlying workings of a communicative action. It explains how even something that does not seem to be cooperative at first hand can still be accepted in a certain situation. Furthermore, because of the far-reaching consequences of Grice's Cooperative Principle other scholars have interpreted, or reinterpreted, it in order to determine what it really conveys for the concept of cooperation. These different interpretations will also be touched upon during the following part.

I.1.5.1. What it means to be Cooperative

Paul Grice was interested in the philosophical logic inherent to conversation. He began to look at the interactions of people to see how they would behave in a conversation. When a person A made a certain utterance, Grice was interested in the responding utterance by person B and how this linked back to the initial utterance by A—how person B answered questions or how his replies related to the statements given. What he concluded is, as Trask puts it, “that conversational exchanges were governed by an overarching principle” which Grice named the Cooperative Principle (Trask 2007, p. 57).

This principle holds that in a conversation both parties are invested and cooperating and, above all, both parties expect the other to be cooperating as well. This cooperation is towards a certain goal. In short, when a person utters a sentence he expects that the response given by the other person is so-called maximally cooperative and you understand it as being so. We do not expect a person to give a reply that is not related to the conversation at hand nor do we expect a person to hold back relevant information. Trask adds that “this term is not used in an ideological sense: participants in arguments, deliberate deception, lying, fiction, hypothesizing and making errors are still ‘cooperating’ in the pragmatic sense” (Trask 2007, p. 58).

Grice's concept of the Cooperative Principle (CP) also links back to Speech Act Theory in the sense that it is a continuance of the concepts of locution and perlocution. Attardo comments on this that a sentence “requires two ‘passages’ of the CP, a first one to ensure that the intended meaning is decoded at the locutionary level, and a second to ensure that the intended effect is achieved at a perlocutionary level” (Attardo 1997, p. 758). In short, the Cooperative Principle asks of the participants in a conversation to work with each other to understand each other's utterances and the content that they

hold and furthermore expects of the participants to act on the effects of the utterances. This double passage of the CP, as Attardo phrases it, correlates to Oswalds IC and PC where IC is the active engagement of the speakers to understand each other's utterances and the content that they hold and PC correlates to the extra linguistic effect that they expect each other to act on. As the examples regarding the concept of PC show (A: I'm out of petrol and B: There is a garage around the corner) a person producing an utterance does not have to explicitly say what he/she needs as long as the implication is there for the other person to understand. This hearer is then expected to give a reply that can be understood and is relevant to the content of the speaker's utterance and, above all, "fills", or satisfies, the desired effect of the speaker (B's utterance in this example is a way to solve the problem of having no petrol).

I.1.5.2. Conversational Implicatures

As is shown in the petrol example of the previous paragraph, speakers of a language do not expect answers and statements to completely satisfy "logic". A statement that needs a solution does not necessarily require to be phrased as a question as long as the implication is understandable for the hearer. This relates to the Cooperative Principle in the sense that we expect both participants to invest in a conversation and to work together towards a common goal, or to communicate at maximum efficiency.

This Cooperative Principle is then in a certain way responsible for the so-called Conversational Implicatures which are "powerful inferences which are not logically valid but which are derived from the assumption that the other person is cooperating to a maximum extent" (Trask 2007, p. 58). Again looking back at the petrol example (A: I'm out of petrol and B: There is a garage around the corner) we can say that the implication of statement A is that he requires petrol although this is nowhere stated in the sentence. B's reply to A is then an inference that is not explicitly there in the utterance, namely, that there is petrol at that garage, that the garage is open, that the petrol is for sale, etc.

I.1.5.3. Maxims of Conversation

Grice noted that when the Conversational Implicatures and Cooperative Principle are analysed together or, better said, when they are deconstructed further they lead to certain rules or maxims of which four overarching categories can be distinguished:

Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner. Grice explained these categories as having the following maxims (Grice 1975, p. 45-46):

- Quantity
 - Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
 - Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
- Quality
 - Try to make your contribution one that is true.
 - Do not say what you believe to be false.
 - Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
- Relation
 - Be relevant
- Manner
 - Be perspicuous
 - Avoid obscurity of expression
 - Avoid ambiguity
 - Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
 - Be orderly

Together, these four categories contain the maxims required for the cooperative principle. It should be noted, as Grice adds, that these categories and maxims are all relevant in talkative exchanges but are not limited to just utterances. If we, again, take a look at the petrol example given above there is a certain implication and expectation that transcends the words uttered. Grice therefore adds the following analogies to further explain the categories and their maxims (Grice 1975, p. 47):

1. **Quantity.** If you are assisting me to mend a car, I expect your contribution to be neither more nor less than is required; if, for example, at a particular stage I need four screws, I expect you to hand me four, rather than two or six.
2. **Quality.** I expect your contributions to be genuine and not spurious. If I need sugar as an ingredient in the cake you are assisting me to make, I do not expect you to hand me salt; if I need a spoon, I do not expect a trick spoon made of rubber.
3. **Relation.** I expect a partner's contribution to be appropriate to immediate needs at each stage of the transaction; if I am mixing ingredients for a cake, I do not expect to be handed a good book, or even an oven cloth (though this might be an appropriate contribution at a later stage).
4. **Manner.** I expect a partner to make it clear what contribution he is making, and to execute his performance with reasonable dispatch.

When analysing these categories it isn't hard to come up with examples where participants do not hold up to the expected rules and whether this is intentional (flouting) or unintentional (broken) can bring along certain effects. The breaking and flouting of maxims is often used in scripted interactions to achieve irony, humour and drama as can be seen in various papers by for instance Wu & Chen (2010) and Sorea (2011) who looked at humour-strategies and irony respectively.

I.1.5.4. Concluding Remarks Regarding Grice's Theory

As was already explained in the previous paragraph, Grice's maxims and overarching categories are not necessary to be upheld in every conversation and do not embody the concept of Cooperation per se. In fact, breaking or flouting a maxim can still be cooperative to the conversation at hand. It is quite common for instance among friends to answer a "stupid" question with a rhetorical question which automatically flouts the maxim of quantity because the friend could have simply said "yes" or "no." These different ways, or types, of failures to fulfil conversational maxims can be seen in the following excerpt (Grice 1975, p. 49):

- 1) He may quietly and unostentatiously VIOLATE a maxim; if so, in some cases he will be liable to mislead.
- 2) He may OPT OUT from the operation both of the maxim and of the CP; he may say, indicate, or allow it to become plain that he is unwilling to cooperate in the way the maxim requires. He may say, for example, *I cannot say morel my lips are sealed.*
- 3) He may be faced by a CLASH: He may be unable, for example, to fulfil the first maxim of Quantity (Be as informative as is required) without violating the second maxim of Quality (Have adequate evidence for what you say).
- 4) He may FLOUT a maxim; that is, he may BLATANTLY fail to fulfil it. On the assumption that the speaker is able to fulfil the maxim and to do so without violating another maxim (because of a clash), is not option out, and is not, in view of the blatancy of his performance, trying to mislead, the hearer is faced with a minor problem: How can his saying what he did say be reconciled with the supposition that he is observing the overall CP? This situation is one that characteristically gives rise to a conversational implicature; and when a conversational implicature is generated in this way, I shall say that a maxim is being EXPLOITED.

Now when looking at this and keeping in mind the concept of the Cooperation Principle it seems as if any of these four strategies might indicate a certain uncooperativeness but

as Oswald notes this is not necessarily the case (nor did Grice mean this when he wrote it).

Oswald notes that “Grice does not consider maxim observance a necessary condition for cooperativeness; his model indeed includes the possibility of failures to fulfil maxims as overall cooperative conversational moves, which suggest that cooperation is not determined by proper observance of the maxims. Grice rather considers cooperation as a manifestation of communicative rationality” (Oswald 2010, p. 63). In fact Grice distinguishes between different levels of violating a maxim. On the one hand he refers to what is said and on the other hand to what is implicated as is shown in the following passage from Grice’s work, “[...] though some maxim is violated at the level of what is said, the hearer is entitled to assume that that maxim, or at least the overall Cooperative Principle, is observed at what is implicated” (Grice 1989, p. 33).

A straightforward example of this principle is in the use of metaphors where the speaker does not literally mean, for instance when saying Jack is a Bulldozer, that Jack is in fact a monstrous machine capable of repositioning rubble. In fact, depending on context, this could mean any number of things, for instance how Jack destroyed the defence in an American Football match or how he is careless and constantly destroys property. Therefore, although this might be a violation of Quality, it is still cooperative in the sense that all participants of the conversation—that are also familiar with the context—will understand the metaphor without any problems.

1.1.6. Conclusion of Internal Manipulative Requirements

Linguistic manipulation as it is presented above should be seen as Oswald presents it: “covert perlocutionary non-cooperation.” This means that the cooperative action has a hidden perlocutionary notion to the hearer, in short that the speaker is hiding a certain “extra-linguistic” effect. If a manipulative action could be reduced to something as simple as [say] + [neg] to [someone] then the reason why I would want you to disagree with someone could be hidden. I could also hide the entire fact that I want you to do something by phrasing everything in such a way that you yourself come to the conclusion that you should do, or say, something to someone. The fact that there are different approaches of covert perlocution seem to indicate that perlocution has more to it than meets the eye as will be explained more thorough later on.

If we look at the concepts of Communicative Cooperation (CC), Informative Cooperation (IC) and Perlocutionary Cooperation (PC)—that Oswald presented—once more as they are shown in the following excerpts we now get a much clearer picture (Oswald 2010, p. 59-60):

- CC can be expressed as a natural readiness to communicate, a rational disposition to produce and interpret meaningful ostensive stimuli. It is at play the minute the hearer recognises the speaker's communicative intention embedded in the stimulus; furthermore, it expresses the recognition, by the hearer, that the speaker is formulating a relevant utterance which is worth processing. On the speaker's side, it amounts to the mere production of a meaningful stimulus destined to be picked up by an addressee. Overall CC is definitional of communicative exchanges, for its absence would prevent the goal of exchanging information from ever being fulfilled.
- IC describes the way speakers and hearers manage meaningful contents; it is achieved when the hearer has worked out speaker meaning; it is the recognition of the *actual* contextual relevance of the speaker's utterance by the hearer. As such, it supposes that the speaker encodes her informative intention in a way which allows the hearer to work it out, and thus IC expresses the idea that speaker and hearer both make use of the same cognitive mechanisms in order for meaning to be successfully exchanged.
- PC refers to the idea that people cooperate, through communication, towards goals which are beyond the communicative exchange. It is achieved beyond the exchange of relevant information, is unnecessary to the success of a communicative exchange, and supposes further confirmation (verbal or plainly behavioural) on behalf of the hearer.

Manipulation occurs at the level of PC, a Cooperation that is not always necessary and not always present in a conversation. CC can be seen as the possibility to communicate and IC as the communication itself, the utterances, which are presented in a way that the hearer can understand. At the level of PC, the un-cooperativeness can thus be the fact that the entire PC is not directly available in the utterances of the speaker but that through the context the hearer can come to the conclusion to act in a certain way (which would then be the "goal [...] beyond the communicative exchange") or the PC can be hidden in a secondary purpose. This secondary purpose is the actual goal for the speaker which remains hidden throughout the communication. An example of these two manipulative acts can be seen in the following examples taken from *House of Cards* season one, episode two and four. In this first fragment, between Frank Underwood (House Majority Whip) and Donald Blythe (Member of the House of Representatives)

they are talking about the Education Bill which Donald wrote and Frank intentionally leaked to the press. Donald does not know that Frank did this and in this conversation they are contemplating their plan of action. In the second fragment, between David Rasmussen (House Majority Leader) and Frank, they are eating lunch and Frank is trying to approach David to turn on his boss, Bob Birch (Speaker of the House of Representatives), because Bob will not play along with Frank (to get the Education Bill to the House floor):

Fragment One:

Frank: **I told her we cannot do that. I mean, you are vital to this process. I'm up to here with them, Donald—for lying, for turning their back on you. You know, I'm of a mind to say screw it. I'll fall on the grenade myself, just to piss them off. (picks up the phone) "Give me John King at CNN."**

Donald: Wait, Frank. This is not your fault.

Frank: No, we have to protect your reputation.

Donald: But you're the man that needs to get the bill through the house.

Frank: I will (in phone "Hang on"). I will assign it to one of my deputies, quietly manage it, and help guide you through the process.

Donald: I am not comfortable with this.

Frank: **Well, then what do you suggest we do?**

Frank to screen: What a martyr craves more than anything, is a sword to fall on, so you sharpen the blade, hold it at just the right angle, and then 3,2,1—

Donald: ***It should be me. It was my bill.***

Fragment Two:

David: I'm very satisfied where I am.

Frank: Oh, come on.

David: For the time being, yeah.

Frank: Time being never. The only way you become speaker is if Birch loses his district or retires, neither of which is going to happen before you and I have dentures.

David: I'm not happy where this conversation is going, Frank.

Frank: If you want it, and I know you do, there's a way.

David: Okay. Right. I can't...

Frank: All you need is a simple majority...218 votes. We're going to get at least 205 out of the G.O.P., and after that, all you need is 13 Democrats. You and I make two.

David: Are you out of your mind?

Frank: Just consider it for a moment.

David: You want to collude with the Republicans?

Frank: **I don't want to, but I would if you become speaker in the process.**

David: Never been done before.

Frank: There's a first time for everything.

David: This is ridiculous

Frank: **The Republicans would love a chance to knock Bob down a peg or two.**

David: And you want to help them.

In the first fragment Frank does not explicitly say in any way what actions Donald should take. In fact, he offers to take the fall himself because he knows that these actions will make Donald do exactly what Frank wants, as he subsequently explains to the viewers. In the second fragment on the other hand, Frank tells David exactly what he wants to do and why, as he states, "so that you become speaker in the process." The actual reasons behind this are however, completely hidden from David—namely the fact that Bob will not say yes to the Education Bill and that he needs to change this somehow (either by getting David the position or, as will become apparent further on in the episode, by framing David for organising a "coup"). These different forms of linguistic manipulation are important to keep in mind because they have different levels of accountability and risk for the speaker. In the first fragment Frank cannot be held responsible by anyone for the fact that Donald decides to sacrifice himself while in the second fragment it is quite clear what Frank's intentions at face-value are (although the true intention remains hidden).

Furthermore, although these two examples can be seen as negative forms of manipulation, the concept of linguistic manipulation does not always have to be negative towards the hearer. Oswald gives the example of a surprise party where the speaker comes up with a ruse to get the hearer out of the house in order to set up the event. Another positive example could be when a speaker tells a hearer to invest in a certain stock shares because this would be profitable for the hearer. If the hidden intention here is that the speaker would also benefit from this then the act could still be seen as being manipulative. In fact, in a certain way, the second example from *House of Cards*, as given above, is not necessarily negative towards David at all because he would get ahead in life were he to accept (by replacing his boss, Bob, in the process).

I.2. The External Working of Linguistic Manipulation

I.2.0. Overview

In this part I will explain the external working, shell, wrapper or presentational devices of linguistic manipulation. This is the part of the manipulative act that explains how the internal manipulative act can be convincing. For instance the convincing story, the play on common expectations and the intentional miss-use of intentions. In order to explain the presentational devices of a manipulative act I will analyse Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory and delve into Conceptual Metaphor Theory. These two theories provide, in my opinion, perfect ways to hide, or mask, a linguistic manipulative act. Where Politeness Theory includes the concept of power and provides strategies on how to say something to a hearer, Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides a way to polish those strategies and, above all, allows a speaker to create a certain ambiguity when the situation requires.

I.2.1. Politeness Theory

I.2.1.0. Overview

Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory came as an addition and critical comment on Grice's Cooperative Principle. In this chapter I will deal with what exactly PT entails, how it works and what the basic principle of the theory is explaining the concept of the "model person." Afterwards, I will delve into the strategies that Brown & Levinson came up with to commit so-called "face threatening acts" while distinguishing "positive acts" from "negative acts". I will also comment on the importance of the notion of "power" in Politeness Theory and explain certain critical reflections of the past decade on Politeness Theory, for instance by Richard Watts. Furthermore, I will then tie the importance of power relations to the topic of this thesis to show its relevancy.

I.2.1.1. Politeness Theory: Model Person

Brown & Levinson were interested in the way people interacted with each other in different languages and cultures. In this study of interaction they focused on the concept of linguistic politeness. Linguistic politeness seems to be at the base of many conversations and in these conversations the speakers abide to some sort of hidden rules in order to be "polite". Brown & Levinson explain this theorized concept by speaking of a "model person," who has specific needs.

The model person—or MP—has two specific desires and these are explained by Brown & Levinson as “roughly, the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects” (Brown & Levinson 1987, p.58). They continue by stating that they assume that all able adult members of a society know that they and every other member of the society have certain features (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 61):

- (i) “‘face’, the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two different aspects:
 - (a) Negative Face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.
 - (b) Positive Face: the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.
- (ii) certain rational capacities, in particular consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends.”

When a person threatens either of these two faces of an MP by making him do something or by challenging his “self-image or ‘personality’,” Brown & Levinson speak of face threatening acts, or FTAs—this concept might sound negative because of the negative connotation inherent to the word “threatening” but it is not necessarily meant to be perceived as being so.

From simply having lived we know that these FTAs happen on a regular basis, for instance when you are asked to go the stores or when you are forced to defend a specific point of view that you have. We also know that people generally prefer to be liked as opposed to its alternative: being disliked (this is already apparent when children first start to mingle amongst each other). However, going through life we also know that it is impossible to always abide by the negative or positive face of others. It is simply impossible to claim a thing such as “rights to non-distraction.” Brown & Levinson of course knew this and do not claim this in their book at all. Instead they wondered if there could be certain strategies to make FTAs to different effects; different strategies to soften an FTA and what kind of different factors lay at the foundation of making an FTA. All these different questions and concepts lay at the foundation of their Politeness Theory.

I.2.1.2. Politeness Theory: Explanation of Strategies of Face Threatening Acts

To establish strategies, Brown & Levinson, first looked at the underlying prerequisites of an FTA. Is the FTA necessary or not, do we make the FTA on record or not, with or without redressive action and so forth. All these choices are there to determine which strategy is best to take and they all bring with them a different amount of risk for the speaker. The following figure shows these choices and corresponding estimation of risk of face loss (Brown & Levinson 1987, p.60):

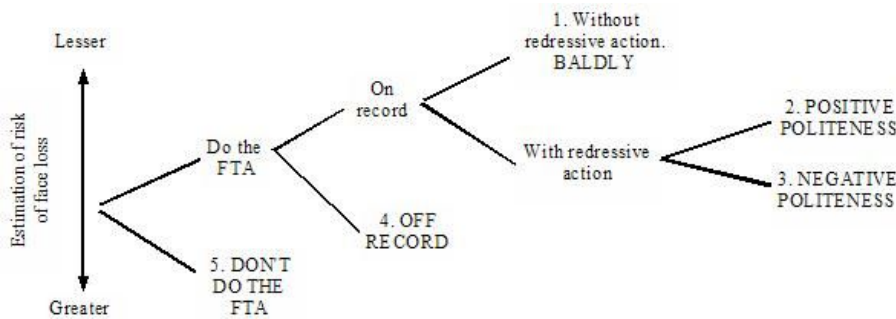


Figure 1. circumstances determining choice of strategy

As the figure shows, the higher the number, the greater the estimated risk of face loss.

In a conversation however, it is never just the speaker (S) or the hearer (H) that is at risk of losing face—in fact often both S and H are at risk. If for instance S would remind H of something that he has not done yet and then expresses thanks for this he humbles himself (negative face) and impedes H's freedom (negative face). This also shows that there is often not just one thing that is going on in a conversation but instead multiple different events might occur at once and when looking at the various strategies that Brown & Levinson provide this is something to be kept in mind. Examples and a clear list of FTA strategies can be found in Richard Watts' *Key Topics in Sociolinguistics: Politeness* (2003, p. 89):

The following fifteen strategies are addressed to hearer's positive face and are thus examples of positive politeness:

- 1) *Notice, attend to H* (her/his interests, wants, needs, goods, etc.): (strategy 1)
Jim, you're really good at solving computer problems --> (FTA) I wonder if you could help me with a little formatting problem I've got.

- 2) *Exaggerate* (interest, approval, sympathy with H): (strategy 2) **Good old Jim. Just the man I wanted to see. I knew I'd find you here.** --> (FTA) Could you spare me a couple of minutes?
- 3) *Intensify interest to the hearer in the speaker's contribution*: (strategy 3) **You'll never guess what Fred told me last night. This is right up your street.** --> (FTA) [beings narrative]
- 4) *Use in-group identity markers in speech*: (strategy 4) **Here's my old mate Fred. How are you doing today, mate?** --> (FTA) Could you give us a hand to get this car to start?
- 5) *Seek agreement in safe topics*: (strategy 5) **I agree. Right. Manchester United played really badly last night, didn't they?** --> (FTA) D'you reckon you could give me a cigarette?
- 6) *Avoid disagreement*: (strategy 6) **Well, in a way, I suppose you're sort of right. But look at it like this.** --> (FTA) Why don't you...?
- 7) *Presuppose, raise, assert common ground*: (strategy 7) **People like me and you, Bill, don't like being pushed around like that, do we?** --> (FTA) Why don't you go and complain?
- 8) *Joke to put the hearer at ease*:
 A: (strategy 8) **Great summer we're having. It's only rained five times a week on average.**
 B: yeah terrible isn't it?
 A: --> (FTA) Could I ask you for a favour?
- 9) *Assert or presuppose knowledge of and concern for hearer's wants*: (strategy 9) **I know you like marshmallows, so I've brought you home a whole box of them** --> (FTA) I wonder if I could ask you for a favour...
- 10) *Offer, promise*: (strategy 10) **I'll take you out to dinner on Saturday** --> (FTA) if you'll cook the dinner this evening.
- 11) *Be optimistic that the hearer wants what the speaker wants, i.e. that the FTA is slight*: (strategy 11) **I know you're always glad to get a tip or two on gardening, Fred,** --> (FTA) so, if I were you, I wouldn't cut your lawn back so short.
- 12) *Include both S and H in the activity*: (strategy 12) I'm feeling really hungry. **Let's stop for a bite.** (FTA = S wants to stop and have something to eat and wants to get H to agree to do this)
- 13) *Give or ask for reasons*: (strategy 13) **I think you've had a bit too much to drink, Jim** --> Why not stay at our place this evening?
- 14) *Assert reciprocal exchange or tit for tat*: (strategy 14) Dad, --> (FTA) if you help me with my maths homework, **I'll mow the lawn after school tomorrow.**
- 15) *Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)*: (strategy 15)
 A: **Have a glass of malt whisky,** Dick
 B: Terrific! Thanks.
 A: Not at all. --> (FTA) I wonder if I could confide in you for a minute or two.

In addition, there are ten sub strategies addressed to the hearer's negative face and are thus examples of negative politeness:

- 16) *Be conventionally indirect*: (strategy 1) **Could you tell me the time,** please?

- 17) *Do not assume willingness to comply*. Question, hedge: (strategy 2) I wonder whether I could **just sort of** ask you for a **little** question.
- 18) *Be pessimistic about ability or willingness to comply. Use the subjunctive*: (strategy 3) **If you had a little** time to **spare** for me this afternoon, I'd like to talk about my paper.
- 19) *Minimise the imposition*: (strategy 4) Could I talk to you **for just a minute**?
- 20) *Give deference*: (strategy 5) (to a police constable) Excuse me, **officer**. I think I might have parked in the wrong place.
- 21) *Apologise*: (strategy 6) **Sorry to bother you**, but...
- 22) *Impersonalise the speaker and the hearer. Avoid the pronouns I and you*: (strategy 7)
 A: **That car's parked in a no-parking area.**
 B: It's mine, officer.
 A: **Well, it'll have to have a parking ticket.**
- 23) *State the FTA as an instance of a general rule*: (strategy 8) **Parking on the double yellow lines is illegal**, so --> (FTA) I'm going to have to give you a fine.
- 24) *Nominalise to distance the actor and add formality*: (strategy 9) **Participation** in an illegal demonstration is punishable by law --> (FTA) Could I have your name and address, madam?
- 25) *Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not incurring H*: (strategy 10) --> (FTA) If you could just sort out a problem I've got with my formatting, **I'll buy you a beer at lunchtime.**

These strategies seem as if they can be used in isolation and like they are clear-cut instructions on how to perform FTAs. However, these strategies are all subject to context and many of these FTAs work in conjunction with each other, and, above all, can be only be seen as being polite if the hearer interprets them as being so. This means that FTAs are in a way subjective and only work if the hearer interprets them as being polite (often, the lack of politeness in a situation is much more apparent). Watts, as a solution to this problem in terminology, came up with two distinctions (Watts 2003, p. 161):

- a) *Politic Behaviour*: this is related to the habitus in Bourdieu's theory of practice in that it accounts for the knowledge of which linguistic structures are expectable in a specific type of interaction in a specific social field. It encompasses the objectified structures pertaining to expectable behaviour as well as the incorporation of those structures into an individual habitus. Behaviour which is not part of the politic behaviour of an interaction type is 'inappropriate' and open to classification as 'impolite'
- b) *Linguistic politeness*: any linguistic behaviour which goes beyond the bounds of politic behaviour is open to potential classification as 'polite'. Which includes potential irony, aggressiveness, abuse, etc. It is thus open to dispute. The imputation of politeness to a linguistic structure, however, does not automatically mean that it will be given a positive evaluation. The opposite

might easily occur. For this reason, utterances perceived as ‘polite’ play a role in the acquisition and exercise of power in the development of emergent networks in a verbal interaction. The theory of emergent networks posits that every utterance conveys a value of some kind and must be responded to by other kinds of value. As long as the exchange proceeds within the framework of politic behaviour, the ‘payment’ will go largely unnoticed, but if it is not ‘paid’ it will almost certainly be noticed. Linguistic ‘payment’ in excess of what is required is open to interpretation as ‘polite’.

An example of what this exactly means can be easily thought of, for instance in the hypothetical situation of talking to the President. The President will expect you to always speak according to decorum and address him as Mr President and this will be seen as the standard—and thus not necessarily “polite.” However, if you were to say, for example, Obama instead of Mr President when you want to address him, this could easily be perceived as being “impolite.” The other way around would be when the President, who is not necessarily dictated to use your title when addressing you, still uses your title when speaking to you. This explanation also shows why the notion of power, or power relations, is important in Politeness Theory.

I.2.1.3. Politeness Theory: Explanation of Power Relations

The reason why Politeness Theory is relevant to this paper and why it is an addition to Oswald’s “covert perlocutionary non-cooperation” in terms of Speech Act Theory and Cooperative Principle is because it involves the notion of power. Power is something that you can get from your function and/or from actions. For instance *gift giving*, positive face strategy 15, gives a certain amount of power to the giver over the receiver. An employer has a certain inherent amount of power over his employees. This power allows a person to use greater FTAs in certain situations. It is perfectly fine for a boss to tell an employee to go and do a certain job whereas the other way around will most probably not be accepted. Furthermore, in this example, the boss is not required to soften his FTA. Brown & Levinson explain these different notions as being inherent to the circumstances: the sociological variables, which include three different factors (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 74):

- (i) the ‘social distance’ (D) of S and H (a symmetric relation)
- (ii) the relative power (P) of S and H (an asymmetric relation)
- (iii) the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in a particular culture.

What these factors show is that social distance and relative power can be very important, especially when determining the “weightiness” of an FTA as the following equation shows: $W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$. This equation shows that the weightiness (W) of a specific FTA (x) is directly affected by the social distance (D), the relative power (P) and the absolute ranking of the imposition (R). Having a high relative power as Speaker (S) compared to the Hearer (H) thus allows you to make greater FTAs (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 76).

This same phenomenon can be seen in House of Cards: Frank Underwood dances around those higher in power using titles, indirectness and ambiguity. This can be seen in the following example of episode four which was also shown earlier, concerning Frank Underwood and David Rasmussen (±11:01–12:54):

Frank (to us): David Rasmussen is the majority leader, which means he’s one step above me and one below Birch, which is akin to being between a very hungry wolf and a very quarrelsome sheep. Let’s see if he stays with the herd or joins the pack.

Frank: **David. You mind if I join you?**

David: Please. A salad, huh?

Frank: Yes, I’m trying to take better care of myself.

David: Good man. Diet?

Frank: Diet, exercise, everything. **You ought to take better care of yourself too.**

David: Well, they should stop serving such good pizza.

Frank: **Oh, I’m not talking about the food. I’m talking about Birch. You are never going to be speaker unless you do something about it.**

David: I’m very satisfied where I am.

Frank: **Oh, come on.**

The bolded phrases show a certain kind of ambiguity, indirectness and humbling of the speaker. Instead of just sitting down he asks “You mind if I join you?”, instead of being clear about his intentions he utters the ambiguous phrase “You ought to take better care of yourself too” and instead of telling his reason for the conversation he plays on David’s pride and self-worth when saying “You are never going to be speaker unless you do something about it” (Frank threatening his own positive face and using a version of positive face strategy 11).

The other side of the spectrum is also apparent in House of Cards, as Frank conveys a certain directness against those beneath him. These structures might still include hedging and can still use politeness strategies to soften a blow but, in essence,

they are far more direct than the above example as is shown in the following excerpt. This fragment includes Frank and Peter Russo: Peter is a subordinate of Frank and at this point has already been forced into the position of being Frank's "errand boy." In this particular fragment we can see how Frank forces Peter to do something for him (episode four ±17:45 – 18:50):

Frank: Cute kids.

Russo: Yeah I like them. Can I get you a drink?

Frank: No, I won't be here long.

Russo: Yeah. Have a seat.

Frank: Oh, thanks. Is that a PS-vita?

Russo: Uh...

Frank: Which games does he have?

Russo: All of them.

Frank: I have a console at home. I play sometimes to relax. I ought to get one of these for the car... — **..So, Peter. We need to close the shipyard in your district. The BRAC hearing is tomorrow. You won't put up your usual fight. You have zero testimony to add.**

Russo: I can't do that.

Frank: **Yes, you can, Peter**

Russo: I spent months on that testimony. I lobbied the commission. My entire office...

Frank: I'm sure you've done splendid work, but unfortunately **it can't come to fruition.**

Russo: Why?

Frank: **Politics. There's forces bigger than either of us at play here.**

Russo: It's 12,000 jobs.

Frank: **I know. It's a shame.**

The blunt directness is immediately apparent in the first command that Frank gives, "You won't put up your usual fight. You have zero testimony to add.", which is followed by his equally direct "Yes, you can, Peter" and "it can't come to fruition." His explanations are outright lies (which Peter doesn't know of course) but they do emphasize the difference in power in the phrase "There's forces bigger than either of us at play here" which makes it seem as if the situation involves a power(s) *even* "bigger" than Frank (and thus incredibly far above Peter—this phrase also makes it seem as if Frank and Peter are in it together by using the pronoun "us"). Peter of course tries to make sense of Frank's words and tries to refute them by asking why and explaining that it concerns 12,000 jobs to which Frank continues with the follow two closing statements (episode 4 ±18:50 – 19:40):

Russo: Keeping that shipyard open is what got me elected. Those people are my friends.

Frank: **I'm not here to debate this, Peter. The base will close. The only question is, will you make it a swift death or a painful one?**

Russo: No way. I won't sit on my hands.

Frank: I sympathize that this is gonna be difficult for you. And I don't know how yet, but I will make it up to you, Peter. **I'm a powerful friend to have right now, perhaps your only friend, so don't defy me.**

Frank to screen: Love of family. Most politicians are permanently chained to that slogan... Family values. But when you cosy up to hookers and I find out, **I will make that hypocrisy hurt.**

The statement "I'm not here to debate this" again underlines that Peter does not have a choice in the matter, it *will* happen and there is nothing you can do. The question that Frank then utters, "will you make it a swift death or a painful one?" suggests that keeping those 12,000 people with a job is a painful death, as if closing the shipyard is the merciful thing to do at this point. Frank's final line "I'm a powerful friend to have right now... so don't defy me" is a clear threat towards Peter and he explains to the viewer what he will do if Peter does not comply (could also be interpreted as variant of incurring a debt, negative face strategy 10, since he says that he will make it up to him), "I will make that hypocrisy hurt" (this also shows how Frank abuses his intimate knowledge of Peter—the fragment shows both positive and negative face threatening acts aimed at Peter restricting his freedom and hurting his self worth).

These fragments show the importance of the concept of power in communication. It forces us to be on our toes in certain situations while at the same time allowing us to be able to force others to do things for us in other situations. The notion of power usually comes from context (titles) and exchanges (gifts) but, as is shown above, it can also come from more negative surroundings such as a form of blackmail. In linguistic manipulation these different notions are just as important because they allow for different approaches to a specific hearer. To some hearers a speaker might have to reveal a great deal of information to get what he wants while the same speaker may be able to force his way upon another hearer with a single sentence. The second fragment might not be an abundantly clear case of linguistic manipulation when placed in the framework of Chapter I.1. but I will explain later how even a direct approach like this can be accounted for within the framework.

1.2.2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

1.2.2.0. Overview

As part of utterances a speaker cannot only make use of speech acts and politeness strategies but one can also “choose” to employ metaphors. This part will first deal with the concept of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff & Johnson which (1980; 1999) claims that metaphors are not just a matter of how we talk but also of how we think and act. Afterwards, I will explain how metaphors can be useful in a study with the concept of linguistic manipulation at its core. Subsequently, I will delve deeper into what CMT entails and how it can be applied, distinguishing the different functions of metaphors and their expected use for manipulative means. Furthermore, I will go into the concept of the Master Metaphor List by Lakoff, Espenson & Goldberg (1989)—in which they attempt to list all underlying conceptual metaphors—with regards to how it is useful and how I will employ it. To conclude, I will introduce the Metaphor Identification Procedure (or MIP, Pragglejaz Group 2007) and Charteris-Black’s Critical Metaphor Analysis (2004) with its various purposes of metaphors and how these purposes tie in with a study about a scripted show on politics such as *House of Cards*.

1.2.2.1. Introduction to Metaphor Theory

For centuries the concept of metaphor has been presented using various different definitions. Trask, in *Language and Linguistics: The Key Concepts* refers to it as “[t]he non-literal use of a linguistic form, designed to draw attention to a perceived resemblance (2007, p. 169).” Beard on the other hand refers to a Metaphor “when a word or a phrase is used which establishes a comparison between one idea and another (2000, p. 19)”, while Lakoff & Johnson refer to it as “[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of things in terms of another (1980, p. 5).” These definitions although sounding similar, portray a slight variation, which means that what one person would call a metaphor and what another person would call a metaphor might differ—Beard speaks of words and phrases for instance whereas Lakoff & Johnson also refer to understanding and experiencing suggesting an approach to metaphor extending beyond just what is uttered. As is explained in the article *Metaphor in usage* by Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal en Krennmayr, “what is metaphorical to some language users does not have to be metaphorical to other language users (2010, p. 767).” Consider the following examples:

- 1) Johnny is a snake.
- 2) The baby has arrived.

Example one can easily be seen as an example of a metaphor. No one will think that Johnny is literally a snake but will instead understand it as something negative (depending on culture)—as Johnny possessing characteristics similar to a snake. Johnny might be devious or untrustworthy for instance. Example two on the other hand, “the baby has arrived” will probably not resonate as a metaphor to most people but is in fact a linguistic realisation of what is called a conceptual metaphor. In this instance Lakoff & Johnson would refer to this specific metaphor as LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

These conceptual metaphors can be defined as “systematic sets of correspondences, or ‘mappings’, across conceptual domains, whereby a ‘target’ domain (e.g. our knowledge about life) is partly structured in terms of a different ‘source’ domain (e.g. our knowledge about journeys)” according to Semino (2008, p.5). These conceptual metaphors are everywhere around us, in the way we think and the way we speak. As Lakoff & Johnson present them in their introduction (1980, p.3),

“[t]hey also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities.”

However, the fact that conceptual metaphors are all around us does not explain what their functions are, or, for the purpose of this thesis, what kind of effect they can bring about. Therefore, at this point the question then becomes: are all metaphors interesting? The answer to this depends on the kind of research that you are doing and if one would desire to do a frequency-based study it might be of interest to see where all the metaphors are in a text. I am, however, more interested in specific metaphors that are used to influence a conversation as is explained in the introduction of the book *Metaphor in Discourse* by Elena Semino (2008). She explains how metaphors can be used to present the same event in a more positive or negative way by referring to an article written about the G8 summit by James Landale in 2005 with the headline “half full or half empty.” The conventional metaphorical expression in the headline shows how “the way in which the same set of decisions is being presented by some as a success and by

others as a failure (Semino 2008, p.3).” She continues on the rhetorical goals for which metaphors can be used, in the same article, by diverging on a quote from the British Prime Minister Tony Blair who said “Politics is about getting things done step by step, this is progress, and we should be proud of it.” Semino explains how the metaphorical expressions such as “pathway to” and “getting things done step by step” can construct the event as both something positive and as a movement forward (Semino 2008, p.3). Furthermore, this short quote also suggests that the negotiations are part of something bigger, a process of some kind that has not be finished yet.

As shown above most linguistic metaphors can be related to underlying conceptual metaphors such as the aforementioned LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Other examples include conceptual metaphors such as ARGUMENT IS WAR and TIME IS MONEY as are shown in the following examples:

- 1) Our defence against their opening statement was strong
- 2) State your business, don't waste my time

Relating arguments to these underlying metaphors can be useful as it shows how metaphors are related to each other and to our perception of the world. In an attempt to show all underlying conceptual metaphorical relations Lakoff, Espenson & Goldberg came up with the Master Metaphor List. In their introduction they stress that “the present list is anything but a finished product” and that the “catalogue is not intended to be definitive in any way” (1981, Title Page). The list is nonetheless an exhaustive work that can be used as an extremely useful reference list in a quantitative study that is interested in the kinds of metaphors used in specific text types.

For this study however, identifying all metaphors and relating them to their underlying concepts seems a fruitless course of action simply because stating that we expect Frank Underwood to use political arguments, probably related to POLITICS IS WAR (or ARGUMENT IS WAR), doesn't offer any extra information. It doesn't tell why a specific metaphor is used instead of others when analysing the topical potential in a conversation. It can show us whether Frank speaks as is expected of him, whether he uses a high frequency of metaphors but it doesn't tell us anything about substance. Instead I chose to use a second approach to complement these findings, Critical Metaphor Analysis, which involves looking at metaphors as part of a phrase in their specific context (Charteris Black, 2014).

The case study in this thesis, *House of Cards*, involves politicians speaking to politicians. The following fragment shows Frank Underwood speaking to David Rasmussen in episode four wherein various metaphors are used. The first metaphor group of interest, that has been bolded, are those used by Frank when speaking to the audience and involve animal metaphors (±11:01–12:54):

Frank (to us): David Rasmussen is the majority leader, which means he's one step above me and one below Birch, which is akin to being between a very **hungry wolf** and a very **quarrelsome sheep**. Let's see if he stays with the **herd or joins the pack**.

Frank: David. You mind if I join you?

David: Please. A salad, huh?

Frank: Yes, I'm trying to take better care of myself.

David: Good man. Diet?

Frank: Diet, exercise, everything. You ought to take better care of yourself too.

David: Well, they should stop serving such good pizza.

Frank: Oh, I'm not talking about the food. I'm talking about Birch. You are never going to be speaker unless you do something about it.

David: I'm very satisfied where I am.

Frank: Oh, come on.

David: For the time being, yeah.

Frank: Time being never. **The only way you become speaker is if Birch loses his district or retires**, neither of which is going to happen before you and I have dentures.

David: I'm not happy where this conversation is going, Frank.

Frank: If you want it, and I know you do, there's a way.

David: Okay. Right. I can't...

Frank: All you need is a simple majority...218 votes. We're going to get at least 205 out of the G.O.P., and after that, all you need is 13 Democrats. You and I make two.

David: Are you out of your mind?

Frank: Just consider it for a moment.

David: You want to collude with the Republicans?

Frank: I don't want to, but I would if you become speaker in the process.

David: Never been done before.

Frank: There's a first time for everything.

David: This is ridiculous

Frank: The Republicans would love a chance to knock Bob down a peg or two.

David: And you want to help them.

Frank: I want to help us. Bob will not play ball with the White House. Now you're a reasonable man, David, and he's not.

David: You know what I am? I'm a discreet man. You're lucky for that. I'm not going to mention this to Bob, but if you ever bring it up again, I won't have a choice.

Frank (to us): **Looks like he opted for the herd.**

When looking at the hungry wolf, the quarrelsome sheep, the herd and the pack we are able to see several things. First and foremost, the differences in power between Frank, David and Birch are explained through the use of a simile, comparing Frank and Birch to similar entities in the animal kingdom. This simile makes use of metaphorical expressions such as “hungry wolf” and “quarrelsome sheep.” We can see what Semino calls “recurrence” (where different realisations of the same source domain are used) of these animal metaphors through the use of sheep and herd, and wolf and pack. Furthermore, when looking at the entire excerpt (or even the entire episode) we can see the animal metaphor used as a so-called extended metaphor: constantly signalling back through the use of sheep, wolves, herds and packs to different people and their corresponding groups (Semino 2008, p. 23-25).

Furthermore, normally, both being a wolf and being a sheep (metaphorically) is considered a negative thing. However, in the so-called “great chain of being” a wild animal, such as a wolf, is seen as being above the domesticated animals, such as the sheep (Lakoff & Turner 1989, p. 167). Furthermore, considering Frank’s desires for power he turns the concept of being a wolf upside down changing it into a positive thing because they possess power whereas sheep do not (after all, he refers to himself as being the hungry wolf). This shows that metaphors are also dependant on social situation and context. An example is how some Christians see the Father as a literal father to mankind while others read this metaphorically.

The controlled use of metaphors and their various effects are the interesting part in a study with Manipulative language at its core and the question instead becomes: how can metaphors be used to strengthen a manipulative act? I believe that in manipulation many of the different aspects of metaphors can come to fruition and can thus be used effectively. This is because they offer a means to, as an example, make clear-cut interactions ambiguous to such a degree that the reasoning of the speaker might more easily sway the hearer. Furthermore, they can be used to persuade, decorate and explain, and all these aspects are helpful when you want a person to do something for you without them finding out your true intentions.

1.2.2.2. Metaphor Identification Procedure

While I explained in Chapter 1.2.2.1. what metaphors are, the question of how to find them effectively in texts still needs to be addressed. In 2007 the group who called

themselves Pragglejaz came up with a method to identify metaphorically used words, or linguistic metaphors, in texts. They developed a four-step procedure (named MIP) to approach a text and to discover whether the so-called 'lexical units' were metaphorically used. The steps of MIP are explained as follows (Pragglejaz Group 2007, p. 3):

1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit
 (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - More concrete [what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste];
 - Related to bodily action;
 - More precise (as opposed to vague);
 - Historically older;
 Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
 (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

When using this four-step procedure it is much easier to determine whether some 'lexical units' are metaphors or not. For instance, in the following example:

- 1) Barack Obama's absence was felt at the G8 summit.

When looking at the lexical unit 'summit' and consulting the Macmillan Dictionary, we are shown three different meanings of the word *summit*:

- 1) **summit** or **summit meeting** a meeting or series of meetings between leaders of two or more countries
- 2) the top of a mountain
- 3) the highest level of achievement in something

Now it could be said that this is not a metaphor since meaning one shows the meaning of the example. However, the idea with the Metaphor Identification Procedure (or MIP, Pragglejaz, 2007), as shown in the four steps, is that you instead look for the most basic meaning of a word from which other definitions are derived. The definitions of *summit*, as given above, show that in definitions one and three *summit* is shown as the top of something, i.e. a meeting between leaders of two or more countries and the highest level of achievement in something, whereas definition two is concrete and concise: the top of a mountain. In fact, definition one and three can be seen as metaphorical derivations of definition two, where both have to do with the top of something (leaders of a country and highest level of achievement). The most basic meaning of *summit* would therefore be definition two and definitions one & three are instead conventionalized metaphorical meanings of the word *summit*. This means that when *summit* is used in a situation where it does not directly correlate to this basic meaning it can be perceived as being metaphorical instead.

However, when looking back at MIP and analysing the four steps it seems that not every step is as useful for *every* study regarding metaphors. When dealing with a case study the size of *House of Cards* going through every line, through every 'lexical unit', is just not an option. This extensive use of MIP of course is not the sole purpose of MIP and so I've chosen to change step two, which is the most time consuming one, for a more general approach. In this approach, while doing step one, I highlighted fragments that seemed of interest and could possibly be analysed as metaphors and above all I restricted the text to analyse to only include certain fragments and certain characters (how these fragments were chosen is explained in the methodology Chapter). Furthermore, I was specifically searching for metaphors used in combination with politeness strategies to see how these were employed as part of a politeness move. After having highlighted these fragments I looked up corresponding basic meanings of the words and/or phrases in the MacMillan Dictionary to determine whether they were actually linguistic metaphors. Then I determined whether these linguistic metaphors could be related to underlying conceptual metaphors using Lakoff & Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Master Metaphor List.

I.2.2.3. Critical Metaphor Analysis

For this study however, identifying all metaphors and relating them to their underlying concepts seems a fruitless course of action simply because stating that we expect Frank Underwood to use political arguments, probably related to POLITICS IS WAR (or ARGUMENT IS WAR), doesn't offer any extra information. It doesn't tell why a specific metaphor is used instead of others when analysing the topical potential in a conversation. It can show us whether Frank speaks as is expected of him, whether he uses a high frequency of metaphors but it doesn't tell us anything about substance. Instead I chose to use a second approach to complement these findings, which involves looking at metaphors as part of a phrase in their specific context.

In this approach I do not look at all metaphors in a text but instead focus on the ones that immediately stand out to me and those that are used in conjunction with other strategies such as Politeness strategies and even more so, in the nature of this paper, strategies that involve "Covert Perlocutionary Non-Cooperative" acts. Once I identify a metaphor using MIP I will look at its use in the specific context using the theory of Critical Metaphor Analysis and its "purposes of metaphor" wherein Metaphors are shown to have seven different persuasive purposes (Charteris-Black 2014, p.201):

- 1) Gaining attention and establishing trust
- 2) Heuristic: Simplifying issues so that they become intelligible and framing issues
- 3) Predicative: Implying positive or negative evaluations of actors and issues in a way that makes an argument
- 4) Empathetic: Arousing feelings that are favourable to the speaker
- 5) Aesthetic: Creating textual coherence and alluding to respect orators and/or history
- 6) Ideological: Representing political actors and issues in a way that reflects, or constitutes, a world view
- 7) Mythic: Framing participants roles so that they contribute to, or create, a political myth

If we now look back at the fragment from the fourth episode of House of Cards (shown in full in I.2.2.1), which was both bolded and italicised above, we can see these purposes and how they work:

Frank: ... The only way you become speaker is *if Birch loses his district* or retires...

David: Are you *out of your mind*?

Frank: I want to help us. ***Bob will not play ball*** with the White House.

The fragment, as shown here, begins with Frank explaining in detail the only possibilities of how David can become speaker and tells David why he will never move up the ladder if he doesn't act ("birch loses his district" where 'loses' is used metaphorically indicating that the 'district' is a possession that can be lost). David uses a negative predicative phrase "are you out of your mind" (where the linguistic metaphor "out of " signals the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A CONTAINER). Frank continues with a heuristic purpose to simplify the reason why he wants David to become speaker, which is also predicative in nature as it shows that Bob will not be a team player ("Bob will not play ball"—a baseball metaphor). Frank's metaphors all work together in an attempt to persuade David to join Frank's cause and are heuristic in the sense that they oversimplify the problem and its possible solution.

1.2.2.4. Language of Politics

House of Cards is framed to be a peek behind the scenes of American politics. It offers the viewer a special insight into and connection with the protagonist, Frank Underwood, who tells us who everyone is, what they do and how they are useful to him. The Language of Politics in general has characteristics that make them atypical when compared to normal speech. A famous example of political speech as taken from history is when former U.S. President Richard Nixon said, "mistakes were made" on several occasions regarding the wrongdoings he and his Administration had done. This sentence is formulated in the passive voice on purpose, so as to deny any direct involvement by his Administration (since it leaves out the vital information of who specifically is to blame).

The Language of Politics generally uses features such as these in a higher frequency than regular discourse (Beard 2000, p. 19). Adrian Beard notes that metaphor and metonymy are also a regular recurrence in its repertoire. Because of these deviations from regular discourse, a scholar of this language—or these texts—should pay extra attention to the underlying structure, or meaning, of what it said. When an event is linked to 'The White House' or denied by 'Buckingham Palace' we have to keep in mind who is actually saying or doing something—both examples of metonymy (Beard 2000, p. 19). Beard continues that politics has two common sources of metaphors,

“sports and war, both of which involve physical contests of some sort (Beard 2000, p. 21).” Examples of USA sports metaphors that Beard gives are (Beard 2000, p.21-22):

- 1) a whole new ball game
- 2) a ball park figure
- 3) to play ball
- 4) back at first base
- 5) spin

Some war metaphors are the following:

- 1) hit the ground running
- 2) damage control
- 3) campaign

Metaphors in politics that differentiate from these metaphors *can* immediately point towards something interesting *or* fail horribly because no one sees the link. Nonetheless, differentiations of the norm should be looked at to see what the desired effect of the speaker was. An example of these deviations is the wolf and sheep metaphor as shown earlier in I.2.2.1.

Furthermore, as is briefly touched upon during the wolf and sheep example, metaphors in politics can be used as a comparison in power. Where it is apparent that the various characters in *House of Cards* have different roles to play, they also possess a different inherent amount of power. When looking at Frank’s use of metaphors we can establish his power as opposed to others (at least compared to his perception of reality). Charteris-Black writes about the importance of power in languages and how Critical analysis is “concerned in particular with the ‘abuse of social power by a social group’ (Charteris-Black 2014, p. 83). This again underlines the importance of Metaphor Theory in a case-study where power is not only important but also constantly portrayed in use between characters and employed as a currency for abuse and influence.

I.3. Conclusion

To conclude, in order to achieve Linguistic Manipulation two concepts, or requirements, have to operate together. The first requirement is the internal requirement which Oswald presented as “Covert Perlocutionary Non-Cooperation.” This requires cooperation on both the levels of CC and IC (thus involving two speakers working

together in a conversation to understand each other and working towards a common goal) and a violation of PC on part of the speaker which is covert to the hearer (an extra-linguistic effect that is hidden from the hearer)—where the idea is that the hearer perceives PC as cooperative. In this internal requirement I have identified two specific different forms of manipulation: the first being a manipulative act where the speaker does not explicitly present a PC and where the hearer thus has to come to the conclusion on his own to act (a safe approach on part of the speaker but more prone to fail when the hearer does not feel the need to act at all). The second form that I have identified is the manipulative action where the speaker diverts the attention of the hearer towards a different PC on which he will try to persuade the hearer to act which has an extra, hidden, effect for the speaker on another PC (thus two different PCs where one has consequences on the other—in this approach the most important PC, for the speaker, is hidden). This second strategy of linguistic manipulation has moderate ‘risks’ for the speaker. When evaluating these two different forms of linguistic manipulation I theorise a third possibility of linguistic manipulation where the speaker presents the desired PC in question but does not diverge on it completely, hiding the ulterior motive/intent—which might be the case with certain forms of blackmail (which I suggest is the most ‘risky’ strategy for the speaker, especially when the hearer is able to find out the true intentions). In short:

3 different types of linguistic manipulation (in order of ‘risk’ for the speaker, 3 being most ‘risky’):

- 1) “Hidden PC” (? > A): where the PC is presented covert and the hearer has to find the course of action him/herself (can easily fail if hearer does not come to the conclusion to act);
- 2) “Presenting a different PC” (A > B): the PC is used as a distraction which can be presented as favourable to the hearer for more success which has an ulterior effect on another—for the hearer hidden—PC (can be very effective if the PC presented to the hearer is positive for them);
- 3) “Incomplete presentation of the PC” (A > A+): the PC is presented to the hearer while not diverging on all the ins and outs of the PC (can be very effective when used from a position of power/authority with the

drawback of having a high probability of the hearer finding out what the motive/intention is behind the PC).

All three of these strategies abide by the rules of “covert perlocutionary non-cooperation” because they all deal with a non-cooperation on perlocutionary level (non-PC) which is covert (to varying extents) to the hearer. However, perlocution is not as straightforward in these examples as it is presented in Austin or Searle’s work. Instead, an extra-linguistic effect seems to be able to happen on various different levels. Strategy 1 where the perlocutionary act could be seen as ? (overt, not really there) leading to A, or ? > A; strategy 2 can be seen as perlocutionary act A leading to B, or A > B, and strategy 3 can be seen as perlocutionary act A leading to A+, or A > A+. This might seem somewhat unclear at this point but it will become more apparent in the case study.

The second requirement for linguistic manipulation is a certain presentational device—much like the pragma-dialectical term “strategic manoeuvring” that deals with topical potential, audience and rhetorical devices. This requirement is the manner in which you present your linguistic manipulation to achieve maximum effectiveness (in comparison to strategic manoeuvring which also has to take into account reasonableness). To acquire a maximum effect, and the highest possible chance of success, the speaker has to take into account preferences of the specific hearer, which include his wants and needs in terms of positive and negative face. The hearer can then present his case using both politeness strategies and metaphors as rhetorical devices to convince the hearer (the audience) with the perfect tailor made approach (topical potential). It is of course warranted to wonder whether this second requirement *is* a requirement or just a manner of presentation but I advocate that without these presentational devices the linguistic manipulation cannot occur or simply has a higher chance to fail—and thus in some cases a higher chance of backfiring. Thinking back to the wallet example where the wish for the speaker is for his friends to pay his evening out without thinking any less of him it is not hard to imagine this strategy failing when repeated with the same audience which suggests diminishing options for a speaker towards a specific hearer after having used a certain presentational device.

Furthermore, since every utterance employs, in a way, specific choices for the specific hearer at hand I feel that it is impossible not to use certain ‘strategical manoeuvres’ when talking to someone (even when these are not used on purpose).

Therefore, when analysing possible strategies that are used more often in successful linguistic manipulation it might be possible to create a framework with specific choices for a specific audience.

So far I have answered five of the six questions raised in the introduction: What is the basic definition of linguistic manipulation?; How does the concept of non-cooperation tie in with linguistic manipulation?; How does the concept of power tie in with linguistic manipulation?; How does a speaker use words to push certain goals through so-called *covert perlocutionary non-cooperative* acts and Are there different kinds of linguistic manipulation? The only question that remains is whether there are specific strategies for certain linguistic manipulative acts that make them more desirable, or successful, in certain situations? To answer this question I will first describe the methodology used in this case study to determine whether *House of Cards* is at all capable of answering this question.

Chapter II: Methodology

II.0. Introduction

In this Chapter I will explain my choices regarding the approach that I've taken to the corpus of *House of Cards*. First I'll explain how the language of television can be viable as a linguistic corpus using Stephanie Dose's research for students in an EFL classroom. I will then delve into *House of Cards* and explain the plotline and the important characters on the show. Subsequently I'll provide an explanation for my decision to analyse certain fragments and I'll explain how I've selected them. To conclude I will provide a thorough analysis of one fragment and give a detailed explanation as to why I've chosen this specific approach.

II.1. Scripted Television

II.1.0. Overview

Scripted Television as a topic of analysis is not anything new. Bierma (2005) looked at *Friends* to see how it reflected speech changes. Wu & Chen (2010) studied Humor Strategies using Grice's Cooperative Principle, and Sorea's (2011) research focuses on Irony and Hyperbole in Sitcoms. However, the work I would like to refer to instead is Stephanie Dose's research (2013) with her Corpus of American Television Series. This work, although limited, touches upon the actual language structure in scripted television and how it can be used to study language, namely whether the language used is more closely related to spoken or written language and whether discrepancies with either can be accounted for.

II.1.1. Dose's CATS

Dose's research started off with a dissatisfaction about the models used in the EFL (English as a Foreign Language) classroom. These models were out of touch with the audience and often used such scripted decorum that made it lack the living nature of spoken language. Other linguistic corpora, which were initially created with something different than education in mind, weren't suitable as a tool for language learning in class either because they were very difficult to handle for both teachers and learners. She continued that "the current status in Germany's EFL classroom is rather disappointing: even advanced students display major shortcomings in idiomatic, spontaneous spoken

language use” which, she argued, most likely has three different reasons (Dose 2013, Introduction):

- a) A lack of exposure to spontaneous spoken language in natural settings.
- b) A lack of instruction about the differences between spoken and written language.
- c) A lack of speaking practice, which hinders the students from turning their knowledge into skills.

With this educational aim in mind the *Corpus of American Television Series* (or CATS) was created at Giessen University, which could offer a great deal of assistance with the above-mentioned problem *B*.

The corpus consisted of around 160,000 words, transcribed from four different American television series: *Gilmore Girls* (Season 4), *Monk* (Season 1), *Six Feet Under* (Season 1) and *Veronica Mars* (Season 1). These shows were chosen in accordance with predefined criteria such as the “language used, the topics of the shows, the format/genre and their popularity on U.S. American and German Television (Dose 2013, Corpus Design).” From each of these shows CATS featured seven consecutive episodes, totalling 28 episodes. This amounted to a different word-total from each show because all four of these shows revolved around a different concept. *Gilmore Girls*, for instance, features some extremely fast-paced dialogues, which characterise the show, whereas *Monk* has a very hesitant and insecure protagonist—resulting in a much slower paced dialogue structure with different features. The reason why these specific shows were chosen is because they “have a limited cast and relatively self-contained plotline in each episodes of 40-50 minutes” (Dose 2013, Corpus Design). All of the chosen shows are so-called ‘dramedies’ which target both an adolescent and an adult audience.

To extract data from the 160,000 words worth of transcription Dose used the program called *WordSmith Tools*. The transcription itself includes all spoken language featured in the shows including speeches and voice-overs. These, although falling outside of the scope of her research in her paper (which focused on dialogues in particular), were still deemed to be useful for EFL learners.

II.1.2. Spoken or Written Language

Using *WordSmith Tools*, Dose tried to analyse whether the language used by the characters in the CATS-corpus was more closely related to spoken language or to

written language. The nature of the beast is of course in the fact that it is written language to be spoken. Before her study it had already been noted that scripted television as a text type was characterized by “a lower frequency of performance phenomena” (Quaglio 2009, p. 3-4) which put into question the authenticity of the language in scripted television and whether it could actually be useful in an EFL classroom.

In a first analysis of certain features of spoken language, such as the fillers *uh* and *uhm*, she showed that scripted speech as it occurred in CATS was situated somewhere between spoken and written language—between “spokenness and writtenness” (Dose 2013, Summary and Conclusion). The following graph shows her findings when looking at CATS as a whole as compared to American English and British English *uh* and *uhm*.

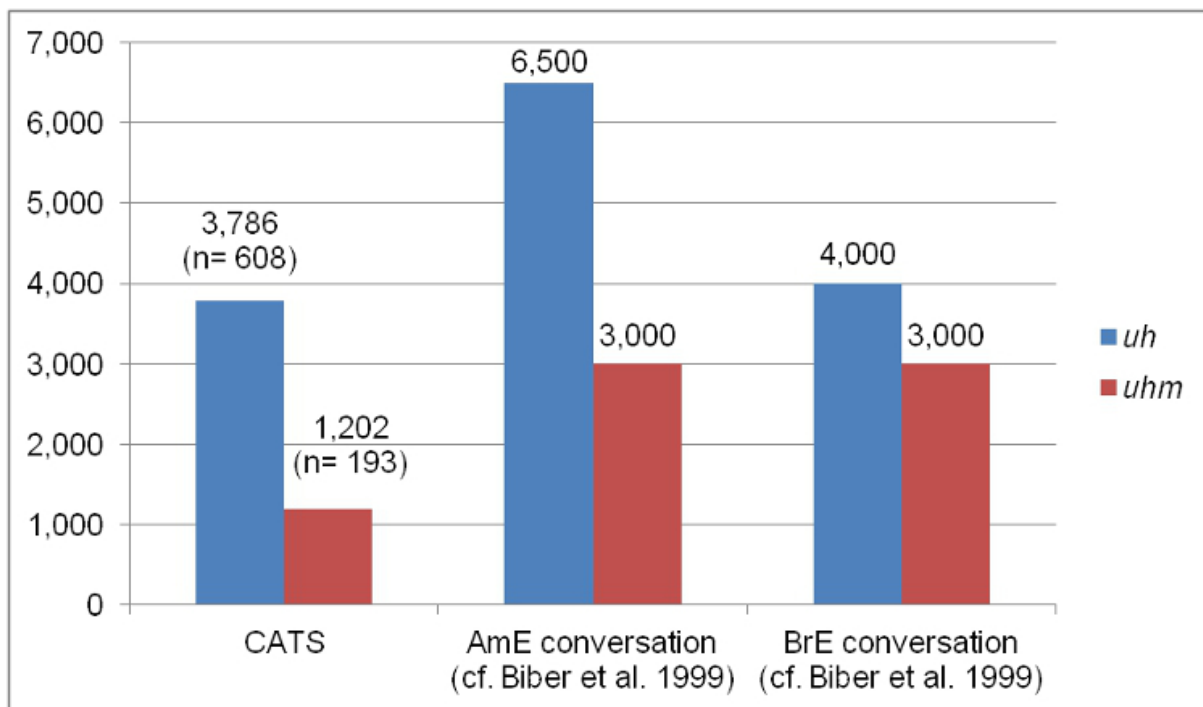


Figure 2. *Uh* and *uhm* in television series (CATS), AmE and BrE conversation (frequency pmw) as taken from *Flipping the script*

As can be seen, the frequency of *uhm* is nowhere near the frequency of either AmE or BrE but *uh* does come closer to BrE. The questions at this point that she asked were of course: what do these differences mean, where do they come from and do they matter (for EFL and linguistic-research based purposes)?

She subsequently argued that for the purpose of an EFL classroom they do not really matter because these features are exactly what could make it difficult for a non-linguist to work with spoken language. Furthermore, since these features were normally added naturally in speech—when, for instance, a pause occurs to formulate a sentence—it seemed unnecessary to teach these features in an EFL classroom. This led Dose to think of CATS as an in-between solution—with natural spoken languages on the one hand and inanimate dialogues as found in textbooks on the other.

However, continuing more on the question where these discrepancies might have come from it became immediately apparent why these “performance phenomena” occurred less in scripted language. It is after all in the nature of scripted television that before the scene is shot everyone knows who is going to say what, to whom, and how long the conversation will take. If you, as a speaker, knew beforehand the conversation that you were going to have and the replies that would be given, the uttering of a sentence would involve a lot less planning and on your feet thinking. The entire process of speaking would thus take a shorter amount of time.

Furthermore, everything the characters say has to be audible and clear to the *actual* addressee of the show: the viewers at home. For these viewers, most of these features (not just *uh* and *uhm* but also features such as hesitations and interruptions) were undesirable when used in high frequency as they could muddle the message that had to come across. In effect, these differences meant that scripted television could be described as a sort of “polished material” where scripted television was indeed a language that is spoken, but is based on written language (the script) and thus has some peculiarities. However, the lack of *uhs* and *uhms* did not make it useless as a basis for Dose’s research.

II.1.3. Transcription or Script

When using scripted television as the basis for a study you have two options to build your corpus (in this case: case study) around: the actual script of the show or the transcription of the performance. Now this may seem logical but there can be an immense discrepancy between them. Dose mentions in her paper that the actors are often required to animate the text as it were, to add the nuances that the written text did not have. This can be as simple as adding specific intonation or as complicated as editing the original script. For this study I chose to use the transcript of the show over the

original script because of this difference, as is shown in the following two excerpts of the opening lines of *House of Cards*, (season one, episode one):

Script	Transcription
<p><i>There are two kinds of pain. Good pain—the sort of pain that motivates, that makes you strong. Then there’s bad pain—useless pain, the sort of pain that’s only suffering. I welcome the former. I have no patience for the latter.</i></p> <p><i>Moments like this require someone like me. Someone who will act. Who will do what no one else has the courage to do. The unpleasant thing. The <u>necessary</u> thing.</i></p> <p><i>There. No more pain.</i></p>	<p><i>There are two kinds of pain. The sort of pain that makes you strong, or useless pain, the sort of pain that’s only suffering. I have no patience for useless things.</i></p> <p><i>Moments like this require someone who will act, who will do the unpleasant thing, the necessary thing.</i></p> <p><i>There. No more pain.</i></p>

As can be seen, the actual transcription is much more fluent and got has removed unnecessary words, such as the comparison of “good” and “bad” pain, which would become apparent from the context anyway. Furthermore, the words “require someone like me” were superfluous since the viewer could see that it was Frank Underwood who would act whereas many of the viewers, were they in his shoes, would probably have not.

II.2. House of Cards

II.2.0. Overview

House of Cards (2013) revolves around the protagonist Frank Underwood (as played by Kevin Spacey) and shows his attempt to climb the ranks in the American Administration. This Chapter will first provide a short plot overview which is necessary to make sense of some of the fragments that are analysed in Chapter III. Continuing, I will delve more into Frank Underwood and what drives him, before moving on to explain other characters of interest that he comes into contact with during the first season.

II.2.1. Plot

Frank is shown in the first episode (or Chapter as they are named in the show) on a festivity for the new Walker-Administration. In this new Administration Frank was promised the position of Secretary of State. However, as becomes apparent soon after, the new Administration had a different idea and nominated Michael Kern for the position instead, saying that they needed Frank's continuing work in Congress. This decision has grave consequences for Frank as he promised his wife Claire Underwood (played by Robin Wright) money for her Clean Water Initiative, a charity non-profit organization, which would have been possible in his new position.

That evening, Frank stays up all night pondering on his next moves and, after he has finally decided on a course of action, the viewer is given a small insight into what the plans are when he speaks to Doug, his Chief of Staff, saying "no, not Kern—look at the bigger picture", where he means that his prior ambition is not satisfactory enough anymore and he now desires even more. It is at first unclear what this "more" means but the further the viewer gets into the season the more it becomes clear that he is after the Vice-Presidency (and maybe even more). To achieve this goal he manipulates people, such as Peter Russo (played by Corey Stoll), Zoe Barnes (played by Kate Mara) and Marty Spinella, (played by Al Sapienza), moving them like chess pieces to further empower his position as 'advisor' to the President. Through these actions he shows the President what he is capable of while at the same time hiding from sight the means how—and his true intentions.

One of the first actions he takes—while stating it is nothing personal—is taking out Kern, which might seem like an obvious move to everyone who might think that Frank is still out for the position of Secretary of State. The viewer at this point already knows that he doesn't want the position anymore and is instead shown that he has other plans for the seat. He uses back channelling and the press to be able to indirectly appoint the next Secretary of State, Catherine Durant (played by Jayne Atkinson). This action removes all suspicions from Frank and is one of the defining actions of the first season, giving him a certain amount of leeway to do what he wants behind the scenes of Congress.

The second major event in the first season is the Education Bill, something that has to define the new Walker Administration. Frank wrestles himself into the position of heading it and making it pass through Congress, and to do so he absolutely destroys

other people. The first victim is Representative Donald Blythe (played by Reed Birney), the second Marty Spinella and the third Representative Peter Russo, who, in the end, has to pay with his life. However, for Frank this Education Bill is everything. It gives him power with, and over, the President and provides a position in the spotlight to show his effectiveness as majority whip in the House of Representatives.

The third major event coincides with the Education Bill. When Frank kills off Peter Russo—making it look like suicide—there is a Governor’s position of Philadelphia to be filled, which coincidentally is the Vice-President Jim Matthew’s (played by Dan Ziskie) previous position. Although it takes some persuading, mainly that of the President, Frank ends up achieving his goal in pushing the Vice-President out to leave the position vacant for him.

II.2.2. Frank Underwood

Frank Underwood is a special kind of protagonist in the sense that he is the only character on the show to break the fourth wall, speaking directly to the viewer. Of course, as is the nature of television, the viewer cannot talk back or influence Frank’s decision but this gives a special kind of access into his wicked mind. When Frank says—right before the first intro theme—“Welcome to Washington” he almost literally means it as a welcome to your new station where you are an observer of everything behind the scenes, almost as if the viewer is the cameraman in a real life soap-like documentary with unlimited access.

Frank *is* evil. He and his wife Claire scheme like a political Bonnie & Clyde power-couple set on a course to rule the world. The carefully thought out phrases they use, such as “I love that woman. I love her more than sharks love blood (episode 1)” and “My husband doesn’t apologize... even to me”, show how wicked they really are, where Claire applauds his vices but does not accept his weaknesses. The way Frank tells a man “Don’t defy me” seeps with power and authority, a role that he is not afraid to play in this first season. His stance on what is important in life is also shown when he talks about Remy Danton (played by Mahershala Ali), saying:

“such a waste of talent. He chose money over power. In this town, a mistake nearly everyone makes. Money is the Mc-mansion in Sarasota that starts falling apart after 10 years. Power is the old stone building that

stands for centuries. I cannot respect someone who doesn't see the difference."

He further adds that "[he's] always loathed the necessity to sleep. Like death, it puts even the most powerful men on their backs."

Furthermore, Frank is the person who will win no matter what the costs as he shows in the quote, "[f]or those of us climbing to the top of the food chain, there can be no mercy. There is but one rule: hunt or be hunted." This is shown in action when his issues with Marty Spinella are at an all-time high. He waits for a police report to come out on the police-scanner—of a kid who died because he was not in school due to the teacher-strike—in order to set up a meeting with Marty. During this meeting he verbally abuses and pushes Marty so severely that Marty loses his temper and strikes at Frank, which seals the fate of the resistance against the Education Bill. This shows that Frank is not afraid to abuse his position of power and knows exactly how to use it efficiently, knowing that because he airs sophistication and cool-headedness no one would believe it if someone were to tell on him, as is shown when Bob Birch (played by Larry Pine) believes Frank over David Rasmussen (played by Michael Siberry) even though David's position of House Majority Leader was in fact higher than Frank's Majority Whip position.

II.3. *House of Cards* Fragments

II.3.0. *Overview*

In this section I will discuss the fragments that I used in my analysis, how I chose them and why I chose them. After this general explanation I will give a very short explanation of each of the chosen fragments accompanied by a title for ease of reference (The actual transcripts of all the fragments can be found in the Appendix). I will conclude this part by providing a sample analysis of one of the fragments.

II.3.1. *Selected Fragments*

In total I selected thirteen different fragments to analyse completely. These fragments were chosen after careful deliberation and repeated viewing of the first season of the show. I set off watching the first season several times and noted down scenes that were important for the overall plotline of the first season and that seemed to involve some kind of manipulative act by Frank Underwood. This led to a selection of around 60

fragments that were almost all suitable for a more thorough analysis. However, this number seemed rather high at first with regard to the thoroughness of the analysis and the scope of this thesis which is why I made the selection process even more strict (a particular length for instance but also where they occur in the specific episode—it seemed that most vital conversations were either at the beginning or the end of a “Chapter” and everything in the middle was simply a sort of unfolding of events).

After having made the selection I continued to transcribe the specific scenes using a two-layered approach. I downloaded srt-files (subtitles) of the first season which I could open and read using a program called *Aegisub*—both Aegius and the subtitle files are readily available online, for free. I then cross-referenced this with the actual video to see whether or not there were any discrepancies in language which the creator of the srt-file missed. Because both the srt-files and *Aegisub* are accessible online and because they are both free to download, these tools are perfect for any study into scripted language.

II.3.2. Why these Fragments

It is hard to explain exactly why these fragments in particular were chosen as the focus of this study. As Oswald mentions, “manipulative communication is the sort of phenomenon everyone has an intuitive idea about” (Oswald 2010, p. 2) and that was at first exactly how I chose these fragments. Furthermore, due to the nature of *House of Cards* where we, as viewers, are often invited into the underlying schemes of Frank Underwood—either by having seen what happened beforehand or by him telling us his intentions—manipulative communication becomes a little clearer. Since intention is a big part of manipulation (both in disapproving and approving it, since intentions in real life are far from clear in most political situations) this feature of *House of Cards* dealt with a lot of inherent problems of the concept and is one of the main reasons why the show can be extremely useful as a case study. Furthermore, these fragments from *House of Cards* can be divided into three different categories of ‘power’ where there is a group ‘below’ Frank (Donald and Peter), a group ‘equal’ to Frank (Bob and David) and a group ‘above’ Frank (The President). This is especially important when looking at Politeness strategies and metaphor variation. The final ‘group’ that was added was the Master’s family, in a single scene, to analyse how Frank interacts with a group outside of those directly linked to his work place.

II.3.2.1. “Errand-boy Inauguration” (Chapter 1 ±44:25)

In this fragment the viewer can see how Peter Russo is being cornered into becoming Frank’s errand-boy using his vices (substance abuse and solicitation) against him. Peter is invited in a friendly manner, unaware of what is about to happen until it is already too late. Frank makes use of expected frivolities and implicatures to keep Peter in the dark and to herd him exactly where he wants him to be.

II.3.2.2. “Donald’s demise in Education” (Chapter 2 ±9:00)

In this fragment the viewer is shown how Frank sweet-talks Donald into giving himself up as a martyr, which will in turn make Frank responsible for the Education Bill—putting him in a place of power with the president. During the entire fragment Frank never actually tells Donald what to do but as he shares with the viewer, “what a martyr craves more than anything, is a sword to fall on, so you sharpen the blade, hold it at just the right angle, and then 3,2,1—.” This is the only fragment with this type of linguistic manipulation that I could find in *House of Cards* season one for the case study.

II.3.2.3. “Gaffney parents Meeting” (Chapter 3 ±38:35)

During this conversation, instead of telling the parents not to sue, he tells them how something good can come of her death. Furthermore, he again shares something with the viewer, “What you have to understand about my people is that they are a noble people. Humility is their form of pride. It is their strength, it is their weakness, and if you can humble yourself before them, they will do anything you ask.” It is exactly this that the entire conversation revolves around, Frank humbling himself before them asking them to let him work for them and telling them how the opposite choice is a bad one (“involving years of court battles”).

II.3.2.4. “Change the Education-Bill” (Chapter 4 ±3:25)

A conversation involving Linda, The President and Frank which concerns the Education Bill. Linda and the President have lost faith and Frank pushes them to continue a little longer.

II.3.2.5. “Frank’s Suggestion to David” (Chapter 4 ±11:00)

This scene shows Frank’s initial approach of David, how he eases into the conversation at lunch before revealing how he wants to replace Bob with David. Even though the manipulative act fails, because David will not act, this scene shows how Frank tries to manipulate those of almost equal power and what kind of lies he spins to get it done.

II.3.2.6. “Say no to the BRAC-Hearing” (Chapter 4 ±17:00)

This scene shows Frank doing everything to make Peter comfortable, talking about his kids and their PS-vita and then casually saying that “we need to close the shipyard in your district” being intentionally unclear about “we” and continuing that “there’s forces bigger than either of us at play here.” Frank ends the conversation with a sentence that can only be perceived as a threat when saying, “I’m a powerful friend to have right now, *perhaps your only friend, so don’t defy me.*”

II.3.2.7. “Frank telling on David to Bob” (Chapter 4 ±39:45)

Here the viewer is shown clearly how Frank manipulates Bob to get on board for the Education Bill, sacrificing David in the meantime. Even though his intentions are out in the open, everything surrounding these intentions is a lie. David did not do anything and it seems as if the main message is that Terry Womack has to be the next majority leader and the Education Bill is just a small extra. This is exactly how Frank is able to sell this plan, because he is the one who acts instead of David and because he provides a clear problem and a clear solution.

II.3.2.8. “Bob, David and Frank” (Chapter 4 ±41:35)

After David turned down Frank’s idea of opposing Bob using the Black Caucus, he still went ahead and did it anyway. However, before David knew what was going on, Frank had already told Bob of David’s alleged plans to overthrow him, knowing that this would put him at a disadvantage in this conversation. David’s “This was Frank’s idea” has everything similar to conversations that little children have when telling on their siblings to their parents.

II.3.2.9. “Drunken Russo” (Chapter 5 ±45:00)

This conversation might be one of the harshest conversations that Frank has in this season, utterly destroying Peter before building him anew. In it he tells Peter exactly how to commit suicide using a razor. Even though there is truth in some of the things Frank says, most are layered upon lie after lie. This is also an important scene for the season as a whole, because in a way Frank empowers Peter—which enables Peter to stand up to him later on in the season.

II.3.2.10. “Russo for Governor” (Chapter 6 ±27:00)

In a sort of pep-talk Frank tells Peter what to do and shares intimate information about Doug’s alcohol problem. He lays down all the rules of the team and makes it sound as if he is interested in Russo’s “platform-ideas” while mainly pushing his own agenda.

II.3.2.11. “Gut the Education Bill” (Chapter 6 ±29:35)

Another conversation between the President, Linda and Frank. This time the President is telling Frank what to do and Frank manages to persuade him to see it through, Frank’s way. To do this, he has to stand up to the President and disobey his direct orders.

II.3.2.12. “Russo as Candidate” (Chapter 7 ±37:45)

Here the viewer is shown how Frank, once again, coerces the President and Linda to agree with his point of view by letting Peter be a candidate even though he explains that Peter has a history of substance abuse. Frank is shown lying once again, this time about the length of Russo’s sobriety, and exaggerating about all the upsides of this “well thought out game plan”.

II.3.2.13. “Frank for VP” (Chapter 13 ±42.00)

This fragment is again completely built around a lie involving the President. Frank already knows exactly what the meeting is about, yet he feigns ignorance on the matter and humbly accepts to become the new Vice-President, something he has set in motion the moment he got denied his position of Secretary of State.

II.3.3. Example Analysis

II.3.3.1. The Setting of “Errand-boy Inauguration”

Below I will provide an example analysis of II.3.2.1. “Errand-boy Inauguration” in full detail. The scene starts with Peter Russo entering Frank’s office, not knowing exactly what he is been called in for. The viewers at this point know that Peter got into some trouble the night before which landed him at the police station (solicitation and substance abuse). Frank got him out of these problems by having Doug talk to the police commissioner. It is unsure what time of the day it is exactly but the light shows through the window and knowing the previous scene it can be construed as being somewhere in the morning—the fragment mentions that it is “a bit early in the day” for a drink.

Frank: **Drink?**

Russo: Uh, sure! What do you got?

Frank: Whiskey. Blend.

Russo: If you’re offering.

Frank: So... How are things in the city of brotherly love

Russo: We’re getting by

Frank: Oh, good. Good. Oh. I’m sorry—I made that neat. Did you want...

Russo: No, this is perfect.

Frank: So, it seems you’ve been a bit irresponsible.

Russo: What?

Frank: Don’t play dumb with me, Peter. Save it for the ethics committee. Drink up. You could use a little courage right now.

Russo: You’re not having one.

Frank: It’s a bit early in the day for me.

Russo: Is this about the other night? How do you know about that?

Frank: I’m **the whip**. It’s my job to know.

Russo: Look... look, they let me off. There’s... There’s no charges. It’s all taken care of.

Frank: Honestly, Peter. Do you really think these things just **take care of themselves?**

Russo: You... It was just this one time, Frank. I swear to God.

Frank: Then you must hold God in very low esteem, because we both know that’s a lie. “Solicitation, controlled substances, driving under the influence.” Got quite a long list of **hobbies**.

Russo: What is it you want?

Frank: Your absolute, unquestioning loyalty.

Russo: Always.

Frank: Do not misunderstand what I mean by “loyalty.”

Russo: Anything. Name it, Frank.

Frank: You seem far too relaxed.

Russo: I’m not.

Frank: You shouldn’t be. Doug’ll be in touch.

As the fragment shows, it starts of with the usual frivolities—Frank offering him a drink, asking him about “the city of brotherly love”, and ‘accidentally’ making the drink neat (without water or ice)—before moving on to the core of the conversation. The fact that Peter accepted the drink (whether it was because he is an alcoholic or out of politeness) means it is already too late for him and he has already been cornered. With a jest on liquid courage, Frank slowly unveils what actually happened at the police station and that it was him who got Peter out only so that he could force, or blackmail, Peter for his “absolute, unquestioning loyalty.”

II.3.3.2. Oswald’s CC, IC & PC

If we look at the fragment using Oswald’s CC, IC & PC approach we can clearly see which phrases belong to which category. CC and IC happen throughout the entire fragment, since at no point either of the participants backs out or fails to answer and they always seem to understand each other on a basic level. The readiness to communicate and the clarity of the messages are best shown in the first eight lines, which I have italicized and underlined for clarity. The speakers understand each other and build on each other’s utterances. Oswald’s further requirement of PC to be covert or unclear to the hearer are more troublesome because it seems that at first glance the covertness is not there since Frank tells Peter exactly what he wants from him, namely, “[his] absolute, unquestioning loyalty.” However, this phrase does not explain what exactly that means—Frank could require him to go to Starbucks each morning, for instance, or to simply back him up on certain bills that pass through Congress. Instead this shows a double-layered PC approach where Frank presents part of the PC clearly and overtly while leaving the important part of the PC out of the conversation—namely what is required of Peter.

PC in general, however, is harder to put your finger on when compared to CC and IC. Where there is a will to communicate there does not seem to be a will to share the actual goal of the conversation. In this fragment I would argue that there are two covert goals, which I’ve coloured yellow for clarity. The first covert action that Frank does is offering a drink, which doesn’t seem covert at all—he actually does give him a drink after all. However, since the intention behind it is not to simply be polite by offering Peter a drink the actual goal remains covert until he unveils it—namely that he is not having one and this way Peter is trapped as an alcoholic who accepts whiskey this early in the day. Because Frank unveils his goal, this action is difficult to analyse using

Oswald's terminology—because he requires the action to be covert. However, since the actual act of manipulation has already taken place, it can be said that it still lives up to his “Covert-Perlocutionary Non-cooperation”, at the very least at the moment of uttering.

The other yellowed lines, involving loyalty, also seem to be overt at first glance, since they tell exactly what is expected of Peter. However, as said above, these lines are in fact intentionally vague. If Peter had known at this point what he would be asked to do by Frank in the future he might not have agreed so readily and might have instead stepped down from his position, accepting the consequences of his actions. In effect, the “unquestionable loyalty” gives Frank a free pass to ask whatever he wants—and can be construed as blackmail (and consequently, this form of blackmail can be construed as linguistic manipulation).

II.3.3.3. Power Relations

In this fragment it is important to note that Frank is Peter's boss. This means that there are a far greater possible number of questions that Frank can ask of Peter than vice versa. Furthermore, Peter is forced into a role of submission right from the beginning. He is let into Frank's office and gestured to sit down, which is followed by Frank's offer of a drink. At this point it seems unimportant whether or not Peter is an alcoholic or not and he might just accept the drink out of cordiality. The scene portrays Frank's higher power status not only through his social approach and carefully chosen words but also through the scene setting with him standing as opposed to Peter's sitting—literally making him tower over him.

In terms of Linguistic Politeness, Frank uses several different positive politeness strategies to get Peter exactly where he wants him. He attends to his need and interests, he feigns interest in “the city of brotherly love,” uses in-group identity markers when using his first name, he asserts—in a way—a reciprocal exchange (offering covertly to having taken care of his problems in exchange for loyalty) and he gives him a gift in the form of a glass of whiskey. Furthermore, Frank also uses a negative politeness strategy when he is conventionally indirect. He uses all these strategies seemingly in a quasi-positive manner feigning some sort of friendship before telling Peter why he's actually there.

II.3.3.4. Metaphor Usage

The metaphors used in this fragment: bolded and italicised in the fragment above and shown in Table 1 with their corresponding basic meanings, are almost all used to sugar-coat Frank's message.

Table 1. Metaphors and corresponding basic meaning in "Errand-boy Inauguration"

Metaphors	Basic Meaning (MacMillan Dictionary)
The whip	A long thing piece of leather with a handle on one end, used for making horses move faster or for hitting someone
Things just take care of themselves	To do what is necessary to deal with a person or situation (personification)
Hobbies	Something that you enjoy doing when you are not working
Loyalty	Continued use of the products or services of a particular business

Personifying Peter's problems and rhetorically asking whether Peter thinks these just take care of themselves are examples of heuristic and predicative metaphors simplifying the problems and presenting them in a negative way. Continuing this line of inquiry, Frank starts using metaphors to belittle Peter, calling his vices "hobbies" and asking for loyalty (also both negatively predicative)—which as discussed above means a far greater deal than *just* loyalty. Frank is also shown to do what he often does in the first season, using his position as House Majority Whip in the meaning of an actual whip who is seen "whipping" his 'subjects' in line, knowing their every move and weakness and how to exploit these to his benefit. The use of whip could then be read as both metaphorical and literal depending on the realisation of the word in the specific excerpt. I would argue that it is often used in both senses at the same time where he makes sure that the other members vote and do what he says by means of abuse or other forms of influence.

II.3.3.5. Conclusion

Given the nature of the covertness of the PC I would argue that Frank uses the third strategy as is proposed in the conclusion of Chapter I (page 46–47) where he tells Russo the PC at hand but does not diverge on it completely ($A > A+$), hiding his true intentions and thus being non-cooperative in an covert manner. To make this manipulation

successful he employs politeness strategies such as feigning interest in his needs (positive politeness strategy 1) and being conventionally indirect taking his time getting to the conclusion (a form of negative politeness strategy 1). He employs metaphors to simplify issues and to show the negative repercussions of Peter's actions. Throughout all of this the power relations are abundantly clear—Frank *dominates* Peter.

II.4. Chosen Approach

The approach that I've chosen looks at the transcripts from various different perspectives to ensure that all relevant data, for linguistic manipulation, can be acquired. The first part of the analysis is to find the covert PC, if there is one, and to determine under which of the three strategies this falls. The second part is to determine the presentational devices used in order to find out whether certain manipulative strategies are more prone to use certain presentational devices and to determine how metaphors can be of use in this process. The third and final part is to see whether, when looking at multiple fragments, a pattern can be shown in regards to strategies (both of linguistic manipulation and politeness) and power relations.

This approach allows for a broad analysis of the excerpts while simultaneously exploring the possibility whether all linguistic manipulative acts can be placed inside the parameters (i.e. whether they belong to one of the three strategies mentioned on page 46). Secondly, it allows the different theories, such as Politeness Theory and Metaphor Theory, to be shown apart from each other and *if* they seem to work together it will show *how* they work together (what kind of functions metaphors have in politeness strategies for instance). Lastly, as will be shown in the conclusion, this approach is able to pinpoint which linguistic manipulative strategy, which politeness strategy and which metaphors are used and whether there are, for this specific 'text', strategies that are used more often than others and what kind of implications this has.

Chapter III: Results

III.0. Introduction

This Chapter will deal with the results of the analyses of the various fragments from *House of Cards*, presenting those results that stood out and offering insight into the general workings of manipulation. In terms of distribution, this chapter will follow the same structure as is shown in the Theoretical Background, starting with the general inner workings of manipulation and ending with the outer workings of manipulation and how these two concepts work together when used by a speaker.

III.1. The Inner Workings of Linguistic Manipulation

To determine the inner workings of manipulation in *House of Cards* and to show how they work in practice I have divided them into three different categories: meetings between Frank and Peter or Donald (subordinates); meetings between Frank and Bob and/or David (equals); and meetings between Frank and the President (higher ups). This division is to see how Frank deals with people positioned on a lower 'power level' than him, with those who are almost at the same power level and with those who are positioned above him. One extra case is added that operates outside of these parameters, namely the meeting between Frank and the Master's family; this was done to determine where a meeting like this can be placed inside the framework—i.e. what kind of strategies are used.

III.1.1. Category I: Subordinates

In the category of Frank and his subordinates—Peter and Donald—the true intention, or non-cooperation, behind his actions is hidden, as is expected in a manipulative act. Frank wants Donald to take the fall for the leaked Education Bill and plays the conversation so that it seems as if he is willing to take the fall for it himself, which, as he states, is only done to ready the stage for Donald. Frank expects that if he steers the conversation in such a way that the only way out is for one, or both, of them to step forward as being behind the leak that Donald will choose to sacrifice himself. To do so he plays on information that is untrue and only he could know, such as Linda's furiousness towards Donald, to show the seriousness of the problem.

This way of providing information is effective because Donald thinks and expects Frank to be truthful, or cooperative, while we as viewers know that this is not the case. Other values that Frank plays on are, for example, reputation and education as Donald's life's work. As Frank tells the viewers, "What a martyr craves more than anything, is a sword to fall on, so you sharpen the blade, hold it at just the right angle, and then 3,2,1—" This quote shows that the entire conversation is but a ploy to get Donald exactly where he wants him—the sharpening of the blade. In the end, because of Frank's influence, Donald's offer to take the fall and his suggestion that Frank should take on the Education Bill seem to come in such a way as if he came up with them himself, which provides Frank with a way out should he, in the future, be held accountable for this moment.

Frank and Peter's relation does not immediately show Frank's true intentions of Peter's eventual sacrifice but it is clear from the moment that he becomes Frank's "errand boy" that he is in over his head. The phrase "[d]o not misunderstand what I mean by 'loyalty'" hides Frank's true intentions behind a concept that is apparently much more ambiguous than any dictionary might suggest. Asking "how high" when Frank were to say "jump" seems to be his definition of loyalty and you might wonder whether Peter would have ever agreed to this if he had known beforehand.

The individual fragments between Frank and Peter all seem to suggest that Frank is giving away everything to Peter (in terms of information). He tells him exactly what to do and what he expects, but all of these utterances can be said to be strategies to hide the true perlocutionary non-cooperativeness. Suggesting that the shipyard will close no matter what and that there are forces at play bigger than either of them makes it seem as if Peter has no options at all in the matter and that it is not Frank's intention but someone else's, while the viewer of course knows better at this point. You could argue that nothing of what Frank says is, theoretically, a lie by noting that the Education Bill is indeed a force bigger than either of them and that indeed the shipyard will eventually close, but using these arguments like they are inevitabilities and sure facts turns around the entire concept of cause and effect. It is only because Peter lets the shipyard close *now* that the Education Bill becomes a possibility and it is only because of the Education Bill that there are forces bigger than either of them at play.

When shifting our attention to the two fragments that lead up to Peter's running for Governor it seems as if Frank always had the best intentions for Peter, suggesting

that *he* stood up for Peter in the D.N.C. meeting while everyone had already crossed him off the list and by making it appear as if they are in the race together as a team. However, upon closer inspection of what is actually said and seeing the actual D.N.C. meeting reveals that Peter's suggestions are not even taken into account. His "broad strokes" in a setup for a platform are ignored and it is Frank's will that dictates the running and the plan of action.

In short, it is in all five of the fragments that Frank uses a form of perlocutionary non-cooperation that is covert to the hearer (Donald and Peter), and even though Peter seems to fight back at some point, his rebellion is short-lived when Frank plays on his authority. Frank is seen lying to both of them by suggesting bigger forces at play and by paraphrasing other members of the leadership to Donald as if there is a mob with pitchforks and torches outside waiting to lynch him. However, the viewer can take all of these fragments at a certain face value, knowing what is actually happening behind the curtains, having been witness to everything that has actually happened. This knowledge of intention and truth allows us to see what is actually going on in these fragments and shows the deviousness of Frank. Table 2 shows the hidden perlocutionary non-cooperation and the linguistic manipulative strategies as explained in Chapter I (page 46–47), repeated here for clarity:

- 1) "Hidden PC" (? > A): where the PC is presented covert and the hearer has to find the course of action him/herself (can easily fail if hearer does not come to the conclusion to act);
- 2) "Presenting a different PC" (A > B): the PC is used as a distraction which can be presented as favourable to the hearer for more success which has an ulterior effect on another—for the hearer hidden—PC (can be very effective if the PC presented to the hearer is positive for them);
- 3) "Incomplete presentation of the PC" (A > A+): the PC is presented to the hearer while not diverging on all the ins and outs of the PC (can be very effective when used from a position of power/authority with the drawback of having a high probability of the hearer finding out what the motive/intention is behind the PC).

Table 2. Fragments, corresponding PC-uncooperativeness and subsequent manipulative strategy in category: subordinates

Fragment	Covert Non-PC	Strategy
<p>“Errand-Boy Inauguration”</p> <p>Chapter 1 (44:25)</p>	Not forward enough in definition of “loyalty”, hiding the true intentions of what he wants Peter to do and what he needs him for.	3
<p>“Donald’s demise in Education”</p> <p>Chapter 2 (±9:00)</p>	It is Frank’s intention for Donald to take the fall, he lies about the Administration and he lies about his own willingness to take the fall.	1
<p>“Say no to the BRAC Hearing”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±17:00)</p>	Suggesting forces bigger at play and portraying the inevitability of the closing shipyard hide the true intentions for Peter (that Frank needs this to happen for the Education Bill).	3
<p>“Drunken Russo”</p> <p>Chapter 5 (±45:00)</p>	A conversation filled with lies on Frank’s part, suggesting the possibility of Peter becoming Governor and that he is the only one who stood up for him.	2
<p>“Russo for Governor”</p> <p>Chapter 6 (±27:00)</p>	This entire fragment is a way of Frank to “go on record” as being the one who wants Peter’s sobriety whereas he will later use his alcoholism as a weapon against him. Furthermore, it seems as if Peter has a choice in the platform while everything will end up to be exactly as Frank wants it to be.	2

III.1.2. Category II: Equals

The interaction between Frank, David and Bob shows a completely different approach compared to the approach that Frank takes with those who are under him in the chain of command. The initial approach towards David is careful, planned and methodical. It shows how Frank takes his time using small talk to get to the actual intention of the conversation (which in turn is not the reason why Frank wants this). He leads in the actual intention by an ambiguous statement of “You ought to take better care of yourself too”, which at first does not suggest anything serious to David and it is not till David subsequently declines by saying “I’m very satisfied where I am” that Frank comes out by stating that David will never become speaker if he does not act. Frank explains how the coup can be done and says that he only wants to help David as if there is no ulterior motive.

After having swayed Terry Womack and the black caucus to join his cause, Frank goes to Bob to tell him that David is making a play (while we, as viewers, know that this

is of course not the case). He explains to Bob how the plan works and stresses that “This was David’s plan executed by me”, but he does provide Bob with a way out of the situation if he just provides Frank with what he wants: support on getting the Education Bill through the Congress. This fragment, in combination with the previous one, shows how Frank is able to hide the key factors of the conversations at hand while still providing enough information for a normal conversation. At first he hides his true intention to David (the Education Bill) and then he hides the truth (that David is not actually on board) to Bob. However, by being the messenger he is able to manipulate the stream of information in such a way that makes it seem to Bob as if he is telling the truth—why else would you tell your superior a play is being made in which you are involved?

The final fragment involving Frank, Bob and David shows how his work comes to fruition. Bob tells David what he has to do and what he is going to do. David’s only possible reply at this point—since he has not told anyone because he’s “discreet” (as he tells Frank in the first fragment)—is “this was Frank’s idea” and “he’s fucking lying...”. However, because Frank told Bob of the plan and because Womack backed this up, David’s words come out like lies and this shows how even being truthful can hurt you in the end as long as the other person—Frank—is willing to use it against you.

All three fragments show Frank holding back vital information, or simply lying, in such a way that it comes across as convincing to the hearer (Bob) and because he does so before the other person has said anything (in the case of David) there is no reason for Bob to distrust him. When placing these fragments in Oswald’s framework they all contain so-called “covert perlocutionary non-cooperation” and each of them is able to show manipulation at work—even though the first manipulative attempt towards David fails, Frank is still able to use it in the end because of David’s discretion. Table 3 lists the hidden non-cooperation and the linguistic manipulative strategies for these fragments.

Table 3. Fragments, corresponding PC-uncooperativeness and subsequent manipulative strategy in category: equals

Fragment	Covert Non-PC	Strategy
<p>“Frank’s suggestion to David”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±11:00)</p>	<p>In this fragment Frank presents David’s situation and offers a way out, a way to get ahead. This is all part of a bigger ploy to get the Education Bill through Congress and this important part remains hidden from David.</p>	<p>2</p>

<p>“Frank telling on David to Bob”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±39:45)</p>	<p>Frank tells “David’s plan” to Bob (which is actually Frank’s idea to which David said no). Frank goes on to offer a way out to Bob (while there’s really nothing to get out off, since David said no) which Bob accepts. All of this is again done to get the Education Bill through.</p>	<p>3</p>
<p>“Bob, David and Frank”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±41:35)</p>	<p>Pointing out the obvious PC that is broken in this fragment can be difficult. However, this fragment does show the effects of the above two other fragments. Furthermore, it again involves Frank lying to Bob since it was his plan after all (thus the lie itself could be seen as the Covert Non-PC where he hides the truth and the intention from Bob).</p>	<p>X (3)</p>

III.1.3. Category III: Higher Ups

The first striking difference between interactions with the President and interactions with others is the length of the conversation. Frank always seems to be the one passing through, invited in to say his words and then sent off again with a new directive. In these short interactions, titles and tiptoeing around seem to be the general course of action. The use of “Mr President” and excessive hedging allow Frank to indirectly state his case and non-communication on part of the President seems to be understood as cooperative interaction (where silence can be understood as “yes”).

The first fragment involves the President, Linda and Frank where Frank is called in to “strike the anti-collective bargaining provision from the bill”, something that Frank suggested to Linda before but which she opposed at first. Frank, because of pride or ego, will not agree to this course of action and offers reason after reason to try and persuade the President by stating “Makes us appear weak” and “establish your supremacy, seize it.” In the end Frank manages to persuade the President, who says to him “All right, Frank. Show me what you can do.”

Frank’s mission, to get the Education Bill to the floor, is not an easy one, as is shown in the unfolding of the first season, and as such the President loses his patience and trust in Frank’s capacities, which is shown in the second fragment when he says, “I want it over. As soon as possible. Gut the bill, Frank. Do whatever’s necessary to end this.” Frank, who needs this Education Bill to work, thus has to persuade the President in any way he can ending with the words “respectfully sir, you’re allowing fear to cloud yours [judgement].” This is, of course, not the reason why Frank wants the Education Bill to stay on track as is, nor is it the reason why he won’t give in: Frank needs to be

able to show what he can do; he needs to show the power that he has in order to succeed and become Vice President.

The third fragment shows the importance of the Education Bill. It has given him leeway with the President and bought him a great deal of good faith. Normally, suggesting a “recovering alcoholic with a history of drug abuse” as a runner for Governor would be shut down right away but Frank explains it as a “well thought out game plan” and it is only due to his success with the Education Bill that he is allowed to continue (“thinking outside the box” got them the Education Bill after all).

The final fragment is one between the President, Raymond Tusk and Frank. This is the conversation that the entire season has been working towards, where Frank will be asked to take on the role as the new Vice President. Frank feigns ignorance in the matter while he knows all along what is going to happen since Raymond told him (after Frank’s continuing prodding). Raymond’s words, “both he and the country would be well served by a man as experienced, intelligent, and loyal as you” tell the viewer everything. Frank is not kind, good-hearted or truthful. Instead, these words show the cunningness of Frank and his long history of being so.

All of these fragments involve Frank holding back information on one level or another. From straightforward lying to the President about Peter to actively trying to influence the President to change his mind using false, or simply not thorough enough, information. Throughout all of this, Frank remains respectful in his own way by respecting the Presidency, saying “Mr Tusk” instead of “Raymond”, and by making it seem as if he has only good intentions for the President. Table 4 lists the hidden perlocutionary non-cooperation and the linguistic manipulative strategies for these fragments.

Table 4. Fragments, corresponding PC-uncooperativeness and subsequent manipulative strategy in category: higher ups

Fragment	Covert Non-PC	Strategy
<p>“Change the Education-Bill”</p>	<p>The straightforward goal that Frank wants is more leeway and it seems as if all his reasoning and argumentation is aimed at getting that. However, the underlying reasons or intention why he wants this to remain hidden from the President is that he needs to be able to show his power and what he can do. The only way to achieve this power is by offering argumentation for something else in order to get an</p>	<p>2</p>

Chapter 4 (±3:25)	extension, such as “makes us appear weak” (the Administration) and to “establish your supremacy.”	
“Gut the Education Bill” Chapter 6 (±29:35)	As in the above-mentioned fragment, Frank makes it seem as if he’s doing everything out of interest for the President when his ulterior motive is self-gain: “end this strike on your terms” is just another way for Frank to say “end this strike on my terms” because after all, it is only <i>his</i> terms that matter.	2
“Russo as Candidate” Chapter 7 (±37:45)	In this fragment Frank lies about almost everything: how long Peter has been sober, the fact that Frank and Peter are a “we” where they do everything together, the real “thought out game plan” behind the “thought out game plan” that he’s presenting to the President, and so on.	2
“Frank for VP” Chapter 13 (±42:00)	This final fragment is a borderline-case where there does not seem to be a straightforward PC-goal that Frank is covertly pushing. He feigns ignorance and surprise for the reason why he’s invited there and this seems to be a ploy of continued deceit towards the President.	(2)

III 1.4. Category IV: No Direct Power Relation

This extra category is there to see how a straightforward manipulative act outside of the workplace is constructed. In this episode Frank goes back to his hometown Gaffney because a girl died in a car accident while texting when looking at the giant “peachoid” (a water tower next to the road which looks like a giant peach). At the same time, back in Washington, meetings are going on regarding the Education Bill which Frank has to attend via phone because of these new circumstances. This leaves him at a disadvantage in both situations since he doesn’t want to deal with the Gaffney situation but has to and he wants to deal with the teacher-situation but cannot.

In order to try and settle the problems with the Masters family (the parents of the deceased girl) he seeks contact, which turns out to be troublesome because his primary opponent in the district (Oren) got to them first. Oren has been whispering in the Masters family’s ears how Frank is, in essence, the antagonist and that if it weren’t for Frank their girl would still be alive. To get out from under this situation, Frank talks at the church in order to make contact with the Masters family again and subsequently they are invited into his house in Gaffney to talk about the situation and to offer a possible solution.

Frank’s solution involves humbling himself in a manner that he would normally only do for the President and he knows that this will have effect on “his people” as he

tells the viewer. Furthermore, through a scholarship in her name, guardrails and safety signs, Frank is able to turn her accident into something positive for future generations. In terms of how he manages to persuade them, Frank manages to turn fighting over her death into something negative “avoiding years of court battles.” His actions seem sincere and it really feels like he is trying to help them while in the end it is again mainly Frank who stands to gain from a positive conclusion to this story. Table 5 lists the hidden perlocutionary non-cooperation and the linguistic manipulative strategies for this fragment.

Table 5. Fragments, corresponding PC-uncooperativeness and subsequent manipulative strategy in category: no direct power relation

Fragment	Covert Non-PC	Strategy
<p>“Gaffney parents Meeting”</p> <p>Chapter 3 (±38:35)</p>	<p>He hides his true intent which includes not caring at all about their daughter and just wanting to get this over with as fast as possible using the road of least resistance. All his actions and utterances facilitate this conclusion.</p>	<p>3</p>

III 2. The Outer Workings of Linguistic Manipulation

To determine the outer workings, or external requirement, of linguistic manipulation I will look at the same excerpts as were used before to determine what kind of politeness strategies are used and how metaphors are employed to facilitate these strategies. I will show this by first looking into linguistic politeness and then moving on to the use of metaphors afterwards.

III 2.1. Politeness Strategies

III 2.1.1. Politeness Category I: Subordinates

In the five fragments involving Frank, Peter and Donald it is quite clear that politeness strategies are used. With Donald he is actively engaged in the conversation and stressing the fact that they are in it together when saying things such as “We don’t get a second chance at a first impression” and “Now, look, I’m on your side, but Linda is furious.” These are all forms of politeness strategies to include both “S and H” in the activity. It is not Donald or Frank who has to protect Donald’s reputation but “we”, and it isn’t either of them who has to do anything about the problem but “we”. Somewhere in this conversation Frank and Donald became intertwined as an entity working together to fix

the situation, to stand up against the Administration and to face the consequences together. Of course, as Frank explains to the viewer, this is all but a ruse in order to lure Donald into just the right position with the right circumstances for him to sacrifice himself for the greater good.

The excerpts with Peter are completely different though. They do contain politeness, and excessively so, but it is far less direct than the Siamese twin-like relation shown above between Donald and Frank. Frank establishes himself as “the superior” in the first meeting in the “Errand-Boy Inauguration” but he stays actively invested throughout the first half of the conversation, using in-group identity markers such as questions like “How are things in the city of brotherly love” before starting to list his misbehaviors. Even during Frank’s explanation of Peter’s problems he keeps referring to him as “Peter”, which shows involvement, almost something that can be titled caring for him. He makes it seem like he’s only doing this *because* he’s his superior and because he has to, by using a phrase as “I’m the whip. It’s my job to know.”

When Frank is at Peter’s house to tell him to say no to the BRAC (Base Realignment and Closure) hearing, he takes almost one and a half minute to ask about frivolities such as his children and a PS-vita, which shows that he cares about Peter. He’s tending to his needs, his interests, and asserts some kind of common ground by noting that he has a console at home. Even when he tells him to actually say no, he minces his words and tells him that he’s “sure [that he’s] done splendid work.” The closing statements, right before he indirectly threatens him, even assert a reciprocal exchange by stating “I don’t know how yet, but I will make it up to you.” All of these strategies allow Frank to convince Peter to say no at the BRAC hearing.

In the fragment where Peter arrives at Frank’s house, drunk and filled with anger, Frank allows him to have his tirade even if this clearly threatens his positive face. He accepts the abuse and then turns it around almost like a father by saying, “Are you done now? Get up.” He runs a bath for him and tells him how he stood up for him, how he tended to his needs even in his absence, how he finally got something to make it up to Peter by presenting him as a candidate for the Governor’s race. Never in the entire passage does he really retaliate on Peter’s swearing; instead he remains calm and explains everything clear as day—even how to commit suicide.

The final excerpt, showing Peter right before he’s going to run for Governor, tells a story much like the Donald fragment. Frank finally uses “we” when referring to both of

them in a sentence such as “the first thing **we** need to address is your sobriety”, as if they have to remain sober together. Frank is also actively trying to help Peter, explaining to him how he cannot “white-knuckle [his] recovery” and telling him how the “campaign will be the hardest thing [he’s] ever done in [his] life.” Last but not least, Frank’s closing line, “you’re going to make a great candidate, Peter”, shows a complete turnaround from the “Errand-boy Inauguration” fragment.

As shown above, all of the five fragments involving Frank’s subordinates involve a great deal of politeness on Frank’s side. Table 6 offers an overview of the different politeness strategies that are used in these fragments (the politeness strategies and their respective numbers can be found on page 29–31).

Table 6. Fragments, Politeness Moves and correlating Positive (P) and Negative (N) strategies in category: subordinates

Fragment	Politeness Moves	Strategy
<p>“Errand-Boy Inauguration”</p> <p>Chapter 1 (44:25)</p>	<p>Frank gives Peter whiskey (gift giving) and tends to his needs as representative asking about the “city of brotherly love”. During most of the fragment he remains extremely vague and indirect with phrases such as “So, it seems you’ve been a bit irresponsible” and “don’t play dumb with me, Peter.”</p>	<p>P1, P4, P15, N1</p>
<p>“Donald’s demise in Education”</p> <p>Chapter 2 (±9:00)</p>	<p>Donald and Frank are a team, as is abundantly clear from the repetition of the word “we” by Frank when referring to “what they have to do” and how “they can take a stand.” Furthermore, it seems as if Frank is only concerned with Donald’s needs and values as is shown in phrases such as “No, we have to protect your reputation” and “No. Impossible. Donald, education has been your life’s work.”</p>	<p>P1, P5, P7, P12</p>
<p>“Say no to the BRAC Hearing”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±17:00)</p>	<p>During this scene Frank takes around one and a half minute to set Peter at ease, to show that he’s invested in him and that he cares about his needs and wants, talking about frivolities such as his kids and their PS-vita. Furthermore, even when he starts to tell Peter what to do he airs interest and approval in phrases such as “I’m sure you’ve done splendid work, but unfortunately it can’t come to fruition” and “I know. It’s a shame.”</p>	<p>P1, P5, P10, P12, P14</p>
<p>“Drunken Russo”</p>	<p>Frank accepts the blame directed at him in this fragment without reciprocating on the same level. Instead, he’s in a way looking out for him, attending to his needs and helping him. Here we can see how he’s going to repay Peter for the BRAC Hearing and</p>	<p>P1, P2, P10, P12, P14</p>

Chapter 5 (±45:00)	stating that “[He’s] the only person who believe in [him].”	
Chapter 6 (±27:00)	In one of the first conversations of the “reborn” Peter a difference can be observed in the way Frank and Peter communicate. Frank seems gentler and makes it seem as if they are a team while still tending to his needs. Phrases such as “Good. The first thing <i>we</i> need to address is your sobriety” show an interest and an inclusion of both speakers in the problem.	P1, P2, P12

III 2.1.2. Politeness Category II: Equals

In all three fragments with his equals—or very close superiors—we can see that Frank uses a different approach than when speaking to those below him. In a way he is both more indirect and more direct. He is extremely vague and indirect in his approach to David until he knows it is going to be a hard sell. Phrases such as “I don’t want to, but I would if you become speaker in the process” show an investment in the hearer and a general tending to his needs (even though David apparently doesn’t want them it shows that Frank wants for David to get ahead).

Both conversations involving Bob are direct, to the point, and explain what is going on and what is a possible course of action. The first fragment of Frank telling “David’s plan” can be interpreted as Frank tending Bob’s needs or a tit-for-tat exchange in terms of politeness strategies, where Bob gets out of the messy situation in return for an Education Bill. Frank also indicates that he is part of the evil plan but that it was originally David’s idea and that he is just there for support (a lie of course). This spin allows Frank to actually get something positive out of a failed plan. Furthermore, he manages to spin this loss for Bob into a positive thing by stating “I have to say, appointing the first African-American majority leader... Why that isn’t a bad legacy to have.”

The last fragment including Bob, David and Frank does not involve a lot of talking by Frank and shows how successful his plan was because Bob completely believes him and they act as a unified front. Frank clearly threatens David’s negative face when he threatens him by explaining what will to happen if he does not play along: “the D-triple-C will pour everything it’s got into your primary opponent’s campaign next cycle. We’ll cleave you from the herd and watch you die in the wilderness.” Table 7 lists the politeness strategies used in these fragments.

Table 7. Fragments, Politeness Moves and correlating Positive (P) and Negative (N) strategies in category:
equals

Fragment	Politeness Moves	Strategy
<p>“Frank’s suggestion to David”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±11:00)</p>	<p>Frank starts the conversation of with some conventional indirectness in “You mind if I join you” and he continues to be indirect about his plans throughout the first half of the conversation. He carefully tends to David’s needs and includes them both in the plan which is shown in phrases such as “neither of which is going to happen before you and I have dentures”, “I don’t want to, but if you become speaker in the process” and “I want to help us”</p>	<p>P1, P2, P5, P7, N1</p>
<p>“Frank telling on David to Bob”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±39:45)</p>	<p>In this fragment Frank seems to be tending to Bob’s wants and needs all the way through since he’s only approaching him to offer a way out in exchange for two small things, which is shown in the following three lines: “I can sway Womack either way as long as you make him the next majority leader” followed by Bill’s reply “And... The Education Bill” and finally Frank again, “Now we’re on the same page”</p>	<p>P1, P12, P14</p>
<p>“Bob, David and Frank”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±41:35)</p>	<p>This conversation does not include face saving acts from Frank, instead he threatens David and shows unity with Bob through that by stating “We’ll cleave you from the herd and watch you die in the wilderness.”</p>	<p>P12</p>

III 2.1.3. Politeness Category III: Higher Ups

In all of the fragments that include the President, Frank seems to act out of a sense of duty. His phrases suggest a team-like approach, where he is the extension of the President in conversations with Bob Birch and Marty Spinella. If Frank fails at anything it reflects badly on the entire Administration, as is shown with the teacher’s strike. This means that Frank has to operate on a level of acute awareness with regard to polite forms, on-your-feet thinking and replies that will get the job done. Frank is clearly part of the Administration, as he sees it, which is shown in the “us” and “we” usage when talking to the President.

The first fragment is a clear example of this, where “makes us appear weak” is used as an argument to keep on going on the current course. This phrase shows how it does not just make Frank look weak but it makes the President look weak. Instead, Frank argues, this should be a time where the President has to “establish [his]

supremacy.” The fragment also shows how continuing this path is a bad choice for the President when Frank states “Birch will walk all over you for the next four years.”

The second fragment puts Frank in a more defensive position, where he has to salvage the situation because the President has lost faith in getting the Education Bill to the floor in its current situation. In one sentence Frank tries to show that if they give in now that the President will suffer a “colossal defeat.” In the end he manages to persuade the President for just a little more faith through a very direct positive FTA stating “respectfully, sir, you’re allowing fear to cloud your [judgement]”

After having managed to get the Education Bill on the floor without changing it, Frank manages to get some leeway with the President. He uses this ‘good faith’ to present Peter as candidate for the Governor’s position. This is all a “well thought out game plan”, introducing a “recovering alcoholic with a history of drug abuse” as an “underdog” who will be loved because he “[stood back] up after [he’s] fallen”. These are all extreme exaggerations of the possible power in having Peter run for Governor. Throughout the conversation, Frank, through exaggeration, also presents Peter as something that the President wants, something they need, as is shown in the phrase “I believe Russo is our best chance. This is not a Hail Mary.”

When Frank is asked into the room to be officially asked for the position of Vice President he does not necessarily use a lot of politeness strategies but the conversation does show how, till the end, he stays in character and oozes politeness in forms of address. The excerpt also shows how someone who he is not that familiar with (and maybe even respects) gets the formal “Mr” treatment when he says “Mr Tusk.” Table 8 lists the politeness strategies used in these fragments.

Table 8. Fragments, Politeness Moves and correlating Positive (P) and Negative (N) strategies in category: higher ups

Fragment	Politeness Moves	Strategy
<p>“Change the Education-Bill”</p> <p>Chapter 4 (±3:25)</p>	<p>Frank asserts or presupposes knowledge of what the President wants by saying that he should “establish [his] supremacy. He shows how they are together when he adds “makes us appear weak” and “we should seize it”</p>	<p>P1, P2, P9, P12</p>
<p>“Gut the Education Bill”</p>	<p>This fragment again shows how Frank presupposes the President and him to be together when saying “we give in now” and “we have to end this strike on your terms.” Furthermore, he shows how</p>	<p>P1, P2, P9, P12</p>

Chapter 6 (±29:35)	exaggeration and thinking to know what the President want or doesn't want can be used to his advantage in "the public won't credit you with a victory. Not even a hollow one. They'll chalk it up as a colossal defeat."	
"Russo as Candidate" Chapter 7 (±37:45)	Frank's presentation of Peter as a candidate is full of exaggerations and a true attempt at presenting Peter as something the President wants—or even needs—when he says "I believe Russo is our best chance. "	P1, P2, P9, P12
"Frank for VP" Chapter 13 (±42:00)	The final fragment does not include any real politeness strategies apart from a possible conventionally indirect question: "on what sir, if I may ask?"	(N1)

III 2.1.4. Politeness Category IV: No Direct Power Relation

In the long conversation with the Masters family Frank is truly on his best behaviour. He acts as if he knows what is best for them, using phrases such as "help you avoiding years of court battles" and "we'd like to create a new scholarship in your daughter's name". What is interesting in this particular scene is that Frank never uses "we" or "us" when referring to the Masters family and himself. This, as well as his overall extremely polite behaviour, shows that he's trying to do his utmost in order to resolve this situation and that he has to tread carefully every step of the way.

In terms of politeness strategies it is quite clear that he is threatening his own positive and negative face in such ways as to humble himself before them. This is also his main strategy in the situation as he tells the viewers in the closing lines, "my people [are] a noble people. Humility is their form of pride. It is their strength, it is their weakness, and if you humble yourself before them, they will do anything you ask." Table 9 lists the politeness strategies in this fragment.

Table 9. Fragments, Politeness Moves and correlating Positive (P) and Negative (N) strategies in category: no direct power relation

Fragment	Politeness Moves	Strategy
"Gaffney parents Meeting" Chapter 3 (±38:35)	Frank asks what he can to help while already feigning to know what they want and need. Phrases such as "help you avoiding years of court battles" and "we'd like to create a new scholarship in your daughter's name. If you'd like that" show how he manoeuvres himself in the conversation.	P1, P3, P5, P6

III 2.2. Metaphors

III 2.2.1 Frank's Field of Reference

Adrian Beard wrote that political discourse is famous for its sports and war metaphors and in this case, *House of Cards* is no different. Frank's "I'm on your side" and "I'll fall on this grenade myself" show how serious politics really is and how important alliances are. Plans are spoken of as campaigns: opportunities to establish supremacy should be seized, and getting a bill to the house floor is seen as a victory when successful or as a (colossal) defeat when unsuccessful.

Most sports metaphors in *House of Cards* seem to be taken from boxing, instead of Beard's suggested baseball metaphors (although some occur, but far less frequently). Frank telling Peter not to "put up [his] usual fight" in the BRAC hearing and a remark such as "People love an underdog [...] someone who stands up after they've fallen" (which Frank tells the President and Linda) show the viewer how campaigns and backroom-politics are really seen: as boxing matches. These matches seem to have a crowd-favourite and can be 'fixed' as is the case with Peter and the BRAC hearing.

Frank as a character seems to be operating outside of the 'normal' field of reference as far as metaphors are concerned, for instance when he refers to Bob Birch as "a very quarrelsome sheep" and to David's opportunity to join Frank as "a chance to join the pack" (instead of being part of the herd of sheep). This makes him a true wolf in sheep's-clothing as he walks among them without them noticing. In fact, Frank operates among the sheep but is not afraid to devour them whole or sacrifice them when the need arises (as is shown in his sacrifice of David). By almost literally (as Frank sees it in his metaphors) wearing sheep's clothing no one notices that he is not really part of the herd until it is too late. This is shown in all the wolf and sheep references that he uses in episode 4, as listed in Table 10.

Table 10. Fragments of Frank's references to sheep and wolves (used in reference to David)

"...akin to being between a very hungry wolf (Frank) and a very quarrelsome sheep (Bob)"
"Let's see if he stay with the herd or joins the pack"
"Looks like he opted for the herd"
"We'll cleave you from the herd and watch you die in the wilderness"
"...And just think, he could have been a wolf"

These phrases show two interesting points. First and foremost, both being a wolf and being a sheep would normally be seen as negative as in “the great chain of being” (briefly discussed in Chapter I.2.2.1. on page 40). However, in reference to each other and in combination with Frank’s desire for power he turns this metaphor on its head by showing that being a wolf is something positive (in “the great chain of being” wolves would also be seen as being above sheep because they aren’t domesticated). They are the animals that act, the animals that have power and the ones capable of devouring the sheep. Secondly, the question “let’s see if he stays with the herd or joins the pack” seems to suggest that people can change their form when required or when desired and underlines in a way Frank’s own ability to hide his true colours. He is a wolf according to himself but he works among the sheep and acts similar to them when needed.

III 2.2.2. Metaphor Purposes

The animal references In III 2.2.1. can all be analysed as being metaphorical when using the MIP strategy where they deviate from the basic meaning of the word. As metaphors they can also be processed using Charteris-Black’s Critical Metaphor Analysis to determine function. It is interesting for these specific metaphors that four out of five are used when speaking to the viewer and that these present a sort of Ideological purpose in the sense that they show what Frank really is and how he perceives the world. The only phrase that is used when speaking to another character, “we’ll cleave you from the herd and watch you die in the wilderness”, shows heuristic, predicative and ideological purposes, while it also adds an aesthetic purpose for the viewers, who notice the pattern that is created.

When looking at other instances of metaphors in *House of Cards*, for instance those used by Frank when talking to Peter, we can see how humans can be objectified based on their value to the cause (in this case, Frank’s cause), as is shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Fragments of Frank’s references to a person as currency/investment (in conversations with Peter)

“Maybe you are worthless ”
“The party’s investing in you ”
“I need to make sure you’re investing in yourself ”
“He’ll be your sponsor ”

These metaphors all simplify the issue at hand (heuristic), imply something negative or positive in a way that can make an argument (predicative), and they are ideological in the sense that it shows how ‘runners’ (for Governor) are depicted and portrayed in politics. I would argue that it is mainly these three specific purposes of metaphor that are used in *House of Cards* because they can all be easily used to sway someone to join your cause.

When looking at the metaphors employed by Frank when talking to the President we see a different approach. He uses war metaphors to show that there is no grey area—there is only win or lose and anything in between is a loss in one way or another. Concessions are not to be made under any circumstances because they “[make] us appear weak” and lead to “hollow victor[ies]”, which are undesirable. Instead, every opportunity there is, the President should “seize supremacy” and everything should be done on his terms. Table 12 shows a sample of the war metaphors used in the fragments.

Table 12. Fragments of Frank’s war metaphors (in conversations with the President and Linda)

“Makes us appear weak ”
“There’s an opportunity for you to establish your supremacy ”
“We should seize it ”
“If we give in now, the public won’t credit you with a victory, not even a hollow one ”
“We have to end this strike on your terms ”
“This is a very delicate moment in the campaign ”

The Final excerpt, with the Gaffney parents, shows how Frank uses metaphors to juxtapose two positions. He speaks of suing the town as a bad thing in a phrase such as “No, I mean help you avoiding years of **court battles**” as opposed to the more positive “the city offered a sizable settlement” which deflects blame by personifying the city. Sentences such as these are, as he continues to say later on in the fragment, a way to turn something senseless into something meaningful. He uses metaphors to steer them into the right direction of meaningful by underlining which side is unwanted and negative as in the phrase just mentioned where court is explained in terms of war

(battles) and then continues by humbling himself before them to pull them over to his side.

III.3. Conclusion

III.3.1. PC Strategies

As sections III.1. and III.2. showed, several different strategies are used to manipulate the hearer. In terms of the underlying structure of linguistic manipulation the Tables above in III.1. show that strategy 1, or the “Hidden PC” ($? > A$), is used the least in *House of Cards*: and this probably has to do with the fact that this strategy is extremely difficult to use effectively. A Hearer needs to have a basic desire to act on what you are saying and has to come to this conclusion themselves which, in this case, is not necessarily a desirable one. In the example in Section III.1 on page xx (Table 1: “Donald’s demise in Education”) where Donald sacrifices himself we are shown that it in this case it requires a martyr to be thoroughly effective.

When talking to those higher in power, such as the President, Frank uses strategy 2, or “Presenting a different PC” ($A > B$), on all occasions. This involves the presentation of a goal that is desirable for the President, or for which he can be persuaded, which has another, different, hidden PC that is positive for Frank. In essence, this could be regarded as very effective misdirection where Frank makes a certain course of action seem undesirable to the President whereas in actuality that course of action is mostly undesirable for Frank and his grand scheme. This strategy involves low risk for the speaker and even if unsuccessful will not ‘harm’ the speaker per se.

Strategy number 3, or “Incomplete presentation of the PC” ($A > A+$), is primarily used to those that Frank sees as being beneath him. This strategy is the most dangerous one for the speaker because if the hearer finds out about the true intentions (which are closest to the surface in this strategy) behind the act it could be very harmful for the speaker. However, since Frank is Peter’s superior he can easily use this strategy to force him to do things and if Peter were to speak about the act to someone else it is highly doubtful that anyone would believe him.

III.3.2. Politeness Strategies

The most often recurring strategy used by Frank is tending to the hearer’s needs, which is logical if you want something positive to happen. He is investing his time and effort

into these people in order to get them to do something—whether they know it or not. The “tit for tat” is another politeness strategy that often surfaces when he is able to use it to his own advantage. What is interesting here is that he even uses it without actually providing anything tangible to the hearer (on a covert level), as is the case with Bob. Frank offers Bob an out of the situation with David in exchange for the Education Bill and appointing Terry Womack while in actuality there is nothing to get out of since David already said no to the proposal.

Another recurring strategy that Frank uses, readily apparent in conversations with the President, is exaggeration. He manages to sway the President with some mediocre arguments simply because he exaggerates about the positive and negative sides to the situation they are in. Presenting the recovering alcoholic and drug abuser Peter as a well thought-out “game plan” is one of the many examples of this strategy. These three strategies are seen in all four of the different power relations and seem like excellent ways of presenting an argument or getting a hearer to do what you want them to do.

III.3.3. Metaphors

Metaphors employed in *House of Cards* come from various domains, such as the economy (“maybe you are worthless”), warfare (“I’ll fall on this grenade myself”), sports (“Bob won’t play ball with the White House”) and bodies as containers (“Are you out of your mind?”). What these metaphors have in common is the purpose for which they are used in *House of Cards*, namely, predicative, heuristic and ideological—and on another level, aesthetic to the viewer as well. These three purposes are excellent strategies to persuade a hearer to change his course of action as is shown with the Masters family where he depicts suing the city as something negative and instead tells them to try and make sense of the senseless pain. The metaphors employed by Frank to persuade them tie in directly with the politeness strategies and show how metaphors can be employed to help exaggerate a problem and to provide possible solutions. In this case, statements such as “the city offers” deflect the blame from Frank and “court battles” are portrayed as something undesirable and negative. These arguments all play their part in managing to convince the Masters family to let Frank work *for* them instead.

III.3.4. Inner & Outer Requirement

All of the employed linguistic manipulation strategies make use of politeness strategies or involve FTAs on some level. Metaphors, on the other hand, are used to embellish these strategies, to improve their effectiveness, and to hide the true intentions behind these actions. The examples from *House of Cards* show how the inner and outer requirements interact with each other. The Inner requirement in this sense is a requirement for manipulation to take place at all, whereas the outer requirement is the way in which the inner requirement can be facilitated. Without these presentational devices, chosen specifically for the audience, the inner requirement of manipulation would not have mattered since there would be no reason to get to the conclusion to act. It is in the necessity of language that the outer requirement is as much a requirement as the internal conditions.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

IV.0. Introduction

This Chapter will deal with the general conclusion that can be drawn from the results and the corresponding theories. First I will establish what exactly can be concluded from the research in this thesis before moving on to a presentation of a proposed framework. Afterwards, I will problematize some of these conclusions which directly leads to further research and more question.

IV.1. Conclusion

What I've attempted to show in this thesis is not that Oswald was wrong in any way in his approach to manipulation. In fact, his approach to manipulation as "covert perlocutionary non-cooperation" is at the foundation of this research. However, this does not mean that this is the end-all answer to all linguistic manipulation.

The intentionality requirement that Oswald proposes is in my opinion a necessity to create a framework for linguistic manipulation and a factor that will be, most of the time, apparent in cases of manipulation. However, I also feel that there is a possibility for manipulation to be un-intentional but that this is a case of, almost always, failed manipulation where the hearer finds out. What I mean with this is that the hearer will "read" a hidden PC that he thinks the speaker is pushing. Even when this turns out not be the case, the hearer can feel as if he is being manipulated into choosing between a select number of options of replies and/or actions. Furthermore, to be able to analyse these fragments and to find out why they are felt to be manipulative we need the framework to be created with clear boundaries and requirements. This is exactly what Oswald did in his approach to what manipulation is but I feel that this leads to the conclusion that un-intentional manipulation is in fact possible, albeit rare.

Therefore, I present linguistic manipulation as a concept of "covert perlocutionary non-cooperation" which is *most of the time* intentional but does not necessarily have to be (unless we approach the concept of 'feeling manipulated' differently from the 'act of manipulation', which is a question outside of the scope of this paper). Furthermore, I distinguish between 3 different strategies of linguistic manipulation that each has its own merits. These can be seen as options just as FTAs are options in politeness strategies, where one involves more risk than the other. The three

different strategies are as follows (where strategy 1 has the least risk for the speaker and strategy 3 the most):

- 4) “Hidden PC” ($? > A$): where the PC is presented covert and the hearer has to find the course of action him/herself (can easily fail if hearer does not come to the conclusion to act);
- 5) “Presenting a different PC” ($A > B$): the PC is used as a distraction which can be presented as favourable to the hearer for more success which has an ulterior effect on another—for the hearer hidden—PC (can be very effective if the PC presented to the hearer is positive for them);
- 6) “Incomplete presentation of the PC” ($A > A+$): the PC is presented to the hearer while not diverging on all the ins and outs of the PC (can be very effective when used from a position of power/authority with the drawback of having a high probability of the hearer finding out what the motive/intention is behind the PC).

In general, strategy 2 is the most effective and risk-free method of linguistic manipulation because it does not require a ruse as elaborate as strategy 1 nor does it have the same risks as strategy 3—where the presented goal and the end-goal are much closer linked together.

To employ any of these strategies the speaker needs to feign cooperation on all three levels that Oswald presents: CC, IC and PC. The speaker has to be invested in the hearer and has to know what makes the hearer ‘tick’. He has to engage in the conversation and work towards seemingly shared goals. The only thing that differentiates manipulation, in this sense, from normal communication is that the speaker is actively pursuing a covert perlocutionary goal that is not shared and thus uncooperative. To achieve success in linguistic manipulation the speaker can use all of the character traits of the hearer, which the speaker knows, against him. *House of Cards* showed how Frank was able to use the position of the President against him in such a way that not following Frank’s advise would lead to what was presented as a “colossal defeat.” If, at any moment in time, the President would not have succumbed to the traps

that Frank laid out and would have instead stuck to his senses, nothing bad would have happened.

In order to make the covert PC-goal that you are pushing as effective as possible you have to *attend* to the Hearer. In fact you have to make him believe that everything in the conversation is positively engaged to helping him. This way you can push a goal without focusing on something self-centred and thus start the misdirection at an early moment. Politeness strategies and metaphors can be used to hide your goal in this sense. They allow you to ‘mask’ your true intentions and underlying goals. Since Politeness has to do with Power—in the sense that it allows a speaker more options of FTAs—this is also an important part of linguistic manipulation. It is only logical that a person in power can remain ‘in the shadows’ when pushing those beneath him around. Unless they have proof of misconduct most people will believe the honest man in charge—at least if he has managed to portray himself that way. This is also what is shown in *House of Cards* where Frank acts as if he is the embodiment of reason and selflessness. He pushes people in order for them to see what is good for *them* and what is right for *them*. His own agendas remain hidden throughout the season unless the necessity of the situation dictates him to act otherwise and even then he manages to hide the bigger ‘sins’.

IV.2. Problems

The inclusion of politeness strategies and metaphors in the external requirement also proposes a problem, however. Although both of these are perfect for the concept of linguistic manipulation, nowhere do they present a clear-cut way to approach a person or a situation because they are both bound by culture. In fact, because of the cultural dependency of politeness and metaphor I would argue that what could be a successful strategy in one situation might be absolutely useless in another.

Yet both politeness and metaphor can, when used inside the norms of a specific culture, provide excellent tools of masking your true intentions and together they *might* be the solution of how to successfully manipulate. I will, however, not try to claim that a case study such as this one can provide the answers to that problem. Nevertheless, it does point in the direction that both politeness and metaphor are *useful* when pursuing linguistic manipulation.

IV.3. Further Research

As discussed above, the reason why I present linguistic manipulation as a process involving two different layers—internal and external requirements—is because simply ‘having’ a covert PC does not make it happen. To actively achieve this goal we need to employ strategies such as politeness and metaphor and choose one of three above-mentioned different linguistic manipulative strategies (in short: ? > A, A > B, and A > A+).

However, I will not claim that politeness and metaphor are the only two concepts that can be employed to attain a higher success rate of manipulation. In fact, I am quite certain that there are other linguistic means that can be employed to increase the success rate of a manipulative act. Other areas of interest could be intonation patterns, speech frequency and simply the length of an utterance. How much someone speaks, the rate at which s/he speaks and the tone of voice can all be of influence to a hearer. When analysing *House of Cards* it is not overly difficult to notice that there are in fact differences in the way that Frank speaks to the President (such as tone and frequency), the way he speaks to Peter or the way he speaks to the Masters parents.

Furthermore, the 3 strategies of linguistic manipulation point to a problem with the term of perlocution. The term as presented by Searle and Austin seems clear-cut and self-explanatory while further investigation into what perlocution exactly is might be necessary. Where this case-study showed that an unsuccessful perlocutionary act can in fact lead to a successful perlocutionary act on another level it seems as if perlocution can happen on multiple levels at once. This suggests that perlocution is a term that deserves more scrutiny and further research to determine where exactly the boundaries lay (or perhaps we need to differentiate between different forms of perlocution with different terminology).

To conclude, *House of Cards* has offered a perfect means to an end for an exploratory quest to determine what defines linguistic manipulation. Because of protagonist sharing his intention with the viewer we know what his aims are to a certain degree. Manipulation as presented in its current form is an intentional misuse of the cooperative principle (on the perlocutionary level) in conversation. This effectively presents linguistic manipulation exactly as the metaphorical “Wolf in Sheep’s clothing” herding us into a dark corner before showing its fangs to devour us.

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Appendix

“Errand-boy Inauguration”

Frank: Drink?

Russo: Uh, sure! What do you got?

Frank: Whiskey. Blend.

Russo: If you're offering.

Frank: So... How are things in the city of brotherly love

Russo: We're getting by

Frank: Oh, good. Good. Oh. I'm sorry—I made that neat. Did you want...

Russo: No, this is perfect.

Frank: So, it seems you've been a bit irresponsible.

Russo: What?

Frank: Don't play dumb with me, Peter. Save it for the ethics committee. Drink up. You could use a little courage right now.

Russo: You're not having one.

Frank: It's a bit early in the day for me.

Russo: Is this about the other night? How do you know about that?

Frank: I'm the whip. It's my job to know.

Russo: Look... look, they let me off. There's... There's no charges. It's all taken care of.

Frank: Honestly, Peter. Do you really think these things just take care of themselves?

Russo: You... It was just this one time, Frank. I swear to God.

Frank: Then you must hold God in very low esteem, because we both know that's a lie. "Solicitation, controlled substances, driving under the influence." Got quite a long list of hobbies.

Russo: What is it you want?

Frank: Your absolute, unquestioning loyalty.

Russo: Always.

Frank: Do not misunderstand what I mean by "loyalty."

Russo: Anything. Name it, Frank.

Frank: You seem far too relaxed.

Russo: I'm not.

Frank: You shouldn't be. Doug'll be in touch.

“Donald's demise in Education”

Frank: Donald, what a morning

Donald: I have no idea how they got this. I specifically told my staff to destroy everything. I can't imagine.

Frank: It doesn't matter how it happened. We can't make it unhappen, so we have to adapt.

Donald: Don't they realize that this is a first draft? All we have here really is a perception problem.

Frank: We don't get a second chance at a first impression, Donald. You know that. Now, look, I'm on your side, but Linda is furious.

Donald: What's she saying?

Frank: They want to point fingers.

Donald: At me?

Frank: I told her we cannot do that. I mean, you are vital to this process. I'm up to here with them, Donald—for lying, for turning their back on you. You know, I'm of a mind to say screw it. I'll fall on this grenade myself, just to piss them off. – Give me John King at CNN.

Donald: Wait, Frank. This is not your fault.

Frank: No, we have to protect your reputation.

Donald: But you're the man that needs to get the bill through the house.

Frank: I will—Hang on. I will assign it to one of my deputies, quietly manage it, and help guide you through the process.

Donald: I am not comfortable with this.

Frank: Well, then what do you suggest we do?

Frank to screen: What a martyr craves more than anything, is a sword to fall on, so you sharpen the blade, hold it at just the right angle, and then 3, 2, 1—

Donald: It should be me. It was my bill.

Frank: No. Impossible. Donald, education has been your life's work.

Donald: The truth is my heart is not in this fight. You know me. I'm not a wheeler dealer. I can put my mind to policy, but I'm no good at this brand of politics.

Frank: Well, if not you, then who?

Donald: It should be you, Frank. You're formidable. People respect you. They will follow your lead. Let me—let me be on the side-lines for this.

Frank: Well. I could only consider that as an option if I knew that I could still come to you for counsel.

Donald: Of course. Whatever you need. Part of me is glad this got leaked. Well, it would have been better if it hadn't but at least people know where I stand.

Frank: Thank you, Donald.

Donald: Happy to do it, Frank.

“Gaffney parents Meeting”

Mother: That's her at junior prom.

Frank: Beautiful

Mother: Here she is in her leather jacket. She made varsity as a freshman. I remember the day she found out. Coach called. Jessie starts jumping up and down. “Mom, guess what?” I'm sorry.

Frank: Don't be. It's fine.

Father: Why are we doing this? Honestly what's to be gained in dredging up all this stuff?

Priest: Remembering the good things helps sometimes—

Father: Not when it puts my wife in tears. I appreciate what you said at the church, but it doesn't do us any good. Neither does this.

Frank: Well, what can I do to help?

Father: You can't do anything. She's gone.

Frank: You're right. I can't change that, but I can make sure the city offers you a sizable settlement.

Father: You mean buy us off?

Frank: No, I mean help you avoiding years of court battles. Jessica was going to go to Furman. Is that right? On a volleyball scholarship?

Father: Yes, a full ride.

Frank: Well, I spoke to the president of the university this morning, and we'd like to create a new scholarship in your daughter's name. If you'd like that. It's entirely up to you. But, most importantly, we have to make sure that this never happens again. We've got safety billboards going up, we're going to stop lighting the tower at night, and we're putting the guard rails in.

Father: Should've done all that before she ran off the road.

Frank: Would you like me to resign, Mr Masters? Just say the word, and it's done. If it will bring you any satisfaction—I asked the reverend once "What are we supposed to do in the face of so much senseless pain?" And he said to me, "what else can we do but take what seems meaningless and try to make something meaningful from it."

Priest: He's right. That's how God works—through us.

Frank: Will you let me work for you?

Frank to us: What you have to understand about my people is that they are a noble people. Humility is their form of pride. It is their strength, it is their weakness, and if you can humble yourself before them, they will do anything you ask.

Father: Tell us more about the scholarship.

"Change the Education-Bill"

President: Frank.

Frank: Mr President. Linda.

President: Let's strike the anti-collective bargaining provision from the bill. Linda and I have talked it over, and I think she's right on this. Tell Bob he can come by tomorrow afternoon.

Frank: Sir, respectfully, I do not think you should give him the satisfaction.

President: Well, give me a reason.

Frank: Makes us appear weak. There's an opportunity for you to establish your supremacy. We should seize it.

President: But without Birch's cooperation, we're fighting an uphill battle before we even get the bill to the floor.

Linda: Frank, we discussed this.

Frank: Sir, if you give in now, Birch will walk all over you for the next four years. I can get this bill on the house floor as is. I promise you.

President: All right, Frank. Show me what you can do.

Frank: Thank you

Frank to us: That was her trying to take credit for my idea. Advice she wouldn't take from me... Unacceptable. I will not allow her to sell my goods when she cuts me out of the profits

“Frank’s Suggestion to David”

Frank (to us): David Rasmussen is the majority leader, which means he’s one step above me and one below Birch, which is akin to being between a very hungry wolf and a very quarrelsome sheep. Let’s see if he stays with the herd or joins the pack.

Frank: David. You mind if I join you?

David: Please. A salad, huh?

Frank: Yes, I’m trying to take better care of myself.

David: Good man. Diet?

Frank: Diet, exercise, everything. You ought to take better care of yourself too.

David: Well, they should stop serving such good pizza.

Frank: Oh, I’m not talking about the food. I’m talking about Birch. You are never going to be speaker unless you do something about it.

David: I’m very satisfied where I am.

Frank: Oh, come on.

David: For the time being, yeah.

Frank: Time being never. The only way you become speaker is if Birch loses his district or retires, neither of which is going to happen before you and I have dentures.

David: I’m not happy where this conversation is going, Frank.

Frank: If you want it, and I know you do, there’s a way.

David: Okay. Right. I can’t...

Frank: All you need is a simple majority...218 votes. We’re going to get at least 205 out of the G.O.P., and after that, all you need is 13 Democrats. You and I make two.

David: Are you out of your mind?

Frank: Just consider it for a moment.

David: You want to collude with the Republicans?

Frank: I don’t want to, but I would if you become speaker in the process.

David: Never been done before.

Frank: There’s a first time for everything.

David: This is ridiculous

Frank: The Republicans would love a chance to knock Bob down a peg or two.

David: And you want to help them.

Frank: I want to help us. Bob will not play ball with the White House. Now you’re a reasonable man, David, and he’s not.

David: You know what I am? I’m a discreet man. You’re lucky for that. I’m not going to mention this to Bob, but if you ever bring it up again, I won’t have a choice.

Frank (to us): Looks like he opted for the herd.

“Say no to the BRAC-Hearing”

Frank: Cute kids.

Russo: Yeah I like them. Can I get you a drink?

Frank: No, I won’t be here long.

Russo: Yeah. Have a seat.

Frank: Oh, thanks. Is that a PS-vita?

Russo: Uh...

Frank: Which games does he have?

Russo: All of them.

Frank: I have a console at home. I play sometimes to relax. I ought to get one of these for the car....-...So, Peter. We need to close the shipyard in your district. The BRAC hearing is tomorrow. You won't put up your usual fight. You have zero testimony to add.

Russo: I can't do that.

Frank: Yes, you can, Peter

Russo: I spent months on that testimony. I lobbied the commission. My entire office...

Frank: I'm sure you've done splendid work, but unfortunately it can't come to fruition.

Russo: Why?

Frank: Politics. There's forces bigger than either of us at play here.

Russo: It's 12,000 jobs.

Frank: I know. It's a shame.

Russo: Keeping that shipyard open is what got me elected. Those people are my friends.

Frank: I'm not here to debate this, Peter. The base will close. The only question is, will you make it a swift death or a painful one?

Russo: No way. I won't sit on my hands.

Frank: I sympathize that this is gonna be difficult for you. And I don't know how yet, but I will make it up to you, Peter. I'm a powerful friend to have right now, perhaps your only friend, so don't defy me.

Frank to screen: Love of family. Most politicians are permanently chained to that slogan... Family values. But when you cosy up to hookers and I find out, I will make that hypocrisy hurt.

"Frank telling on David to Bob"

Bob: I don't have much time, Frank.

Frank: I'll make it short.

Bob: The president?

Frank: No. The speakership. David's making a play.

Bob: What?

Frank: He came to me for support. My first thought was to tell you right away, but then my second thought was to ignore my first thought, because we have the votes, Bob.

Bob: If there had been a party revolt, I would've known about it.

Frank: We don't need the whole party to revolt. We need 13... 13 Democrats, plus the other side of the aisle.

Bob: Are you out of your mind?

Frank: People have been asking me that a lot lately. I'm inclined to start saying yes.

Bob: Who are they... the 13?

Frank: David and I are two, Terry Womack, and ten members of the black caucus make another 11.

Bob: Is the President behind this?

Frank: No. He doesn't have a clue. This was David's plan executed by me. But there is an out for you, Bob. I can sway Womack either way as long as you make him the next majority leader.

Bob: And... The Education Bill.

Frank: Now we're on the same page.

Bob: I can't do that. You know I can't

Frank: You're the speaker, Bob. You can do anything you'd like. And I have to say, appointing the first African-American majority leader... Why that isn't a bad legacy to have.

"Bob, David and Frank"

Bob: Well, you'll say you wanted to spend more time focusing on your home district. You'll say Womack is the right man to fill your shoes. You won't make waves. You won't do interviews. You'll suck it up and be a team player.

David: This was Frank's idea.

Frank: I told you he was gonna try to blame me on it.

David: Ask around. Talk to Womack.

Bob: I did. He said you came to him.

David: He's fucking lying, Bob! I would never...

Bob: Shut up, David. Do you understand how you're to behave when we make the announcement?

David: And if I don't play along?

Frank: Then the D-triple-C will pour everything it's got into your primary opponent's campaign next cycle. We'll cleave you from the herd and watch you die in the wilderness.

Bob: Tell us now, David.

David: If you think it's best, Robert

Frank to us: And just think, he could have been a wolf.

"Drunken Russo"

...

Russo: I don't care how nice you're being to me. I don't give a shit. I'm gonna wake up tomorrow... and all these people... all my friends... are still fucked. You fucked all of us. But I'm gonna get blamed for it. So now I have to carry that weight on my shoulders. You fucked me Frank. I shouldn't have let you do it, but I did.

Frank: Are you done now? Get up.

Russo: No.

Frank: I said get up. And follow me. Now. Get in. Take off your clothes and get in. Do it. Now. There was a D.N.C. meeting earlier this week. About the governor's race. Your name came up as someone we might want to run. Aspirin. Go ahead. Everyone in that room wanted to cross you off the list. I said no. I stuck up for you. I said, "Peter Russo, he's got potential. He's young. He's capable. He's going places." I made them keep you in contention. You're still on that list. You show up at my house in the middle of the night, drunk, to whine, to try to shift the blame on me instead of taking responsibility for yourself and your own actions. Maybe they were right in that meeting. Maybe you are worthless. I'm the only person who believes in you, Peter, but maybe that's one too many. The hot water will open up your capillaries. The aspirin you just took will make your blood thinner. It's up to you, Peter. Oh, and if you do decide to take the coward's way out, cut along the tracks, not across them. That's a rookie mistake.

“Russo for Governor”

Frank: Peter, let's talk. So. I've spoken to Patricia Whittaker. She's on board. You'll be getting four million in start-up funding from the DNC. I'll pick the team. You announce in August. But the campaign starts today. Are you ready?

Russo: I've already put together a platform. It's mostly broad strokes, but we can hone it.

Frank: Good. The first thing we need to address is your sobriety.

Russo: Oh, you don't need to worry about that.

Frank: Have you been going to meetings?

Russo: You mean AA?

Frank: Yes

Russo: That's not really my thing.

Frank: If you want my help, then going to meetings is my one requirement.

Russo: I know I had a problem, Frank. I accept that. And I've taken responsibility for that, but I don't think going to meetings is necessary.

Frank: You cannot white-knuckle your recovery, Peter. This campaign will be the hardest thing you've ever done in your life.

Russo: I realize that. I'm prepared for that.

Frank: You think you are. But we can't take any chances. The party's investing in you. I need to make sure you're investing in yourself

Russo: All right. I'll do whatever I have to do.

Frank: Good you'll start tomorrow morning. Doug will take you.

Russo: Stamper?

Frank: He's been sober 14 years.

Russo: Doug has a drinking problem?

Frank: Had. Not anymore. He'll be your sponsor. In the meantime, I want you to meet with my wife, Claire. She runs the clean water initiative. She's expecting you, so clear your schedule and head over there now.

Russo: Frank. Thank you. For believing in me.

Frank: You're gonna make a great candidate, Peter.

“Gut the Education Bill”

Frank: Mr President?

President: I want it over. As soon as possible. Gut the bill, Frank. Do whatever's necessary to end this.

Frank: Mr President, if we give in now, the public won't credit you with a victory. Not even a hollow one. They'll chalk it up as a colossal defeat

President: Well, that's on you, Frank. You let this situation devolve to where it is. I've already been blamed for the largest teacher's strike in US history. I won't be held accountable for it dragging on months and months.

Frank: Mr President, we have to end this strike on your terms. Not anyone else's

President: How? By debating Marty Spinella on CNN?

Frank: Sir, you have placed your faith in me thus far. I would ask that you continue to do so.

President: Whatever you're doing, Frank, isn't working, so I'm stepping in. Gut the bill. Like Linda said.

Frank: No. I'm sorry Mr President, but I will not do that.

President: Are you letting pride cloud our judgment, Frank?

Frank: Respectfully, sir, you're allowing fear to cloud yours

Frank to us: Not an easy thing to say no to the most powerful man in the free world. But sometimes the only way to gain your superior's respect is to defy him.

President: What do we have on the schedule, Linda?

Linda: Your meeting with the...

Frank: Thank you, Mr President.

"Russo as Candidate"

President: I had Linda talk to the Vice President. He'll keep his nose out of it.

Frank: I appreciate that. He's a good man, but this is a very delicate moment in the campaign. You start spreading doubts, and...

President: He's a pain in the ass. We all know it, You don't have to mince words, Frank.

Linda: I have to say, sir, the Vice President has a point. I'm not a 100% sold on Russo. Do we really wanna go with someone this untested?

President: Frank?

Frank: We're grooming him, sir.

President: When do you announce

Frank: Next month.

Linda: That's not enough time.

President: What do you see in him?

Linda: I was wondering the same thing. There's not that much to see.

Frank: What I see is a recovering alcoholic with a history of drug abuse.

Linda: What?

President: Excuse me, Frank?

Frank: But he's clean now. Has been for a year. This is a redemption story, Mr President. This is a bright young man who's put his life back on track. Now he wants to help put Pennsylvania back on track.

Linda: Drugs, Frank?

Frank: People love an underdog, Linda, and people love someone who stands up after they've fallen. Combine those two, it's a very powerful narrative. All of our polling indicates this is gonna work.

Linda: You want us to endorse someone with a history of substance abuse?

Frank: Let us get this story out there and watch it connect with the voters.

President: All I care about is a win, Frank.

Frank: And I believe Russo is our best chance. This is not a Hail Mary, Mr. President, this is a well thought out game plan.

Linda: Mr President...

Frank: I realize that I sometimes think out of the box, but the last time I did, we signed an Education Bill.

President: All right. We won't stand in your way. But if it backfires, Frank.

Frank: I'll guide Peter every step along the way. We will not disappoint you, Mr.

President.

President: Okay.

Frank: Thank you sir. Linda.

“Frank for VP”

Frank: Mr President. Mr Tusk.

President: Thanks for coming on such short notice. Have a seat, Frank. I have a confession to make. Raymond and I have known each other for years. We don't publicize it, but he's been a trusted advisor to me. And I sent you to St. Louis so he could spend time with you, give me his two cents.

Frank: On what sir, if I may ask?

President: Offering you the vice presidency.

Trask: I told the President that, uh, in my humble opinion, both he and the country would be well served by a man as experienced, intelligent, and loyal as you.

President: So I'm officially asking, Frank

Frank: Sir I... I don't know what to say

President: Say yes.

Frank: Yes. It would be a great honour, Mr President.