

The UNIT “Dating” Crisis: Using Digital Humanities tools to investigate shipping claims in the Third Doctor era of Doctor Who

by

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University of Pittsburgh, 2014

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Participants in a conversation commonly use terms of address to index interpersonal status and solidarity among interlocutors. Such terms are crucial in fiction, film, and television scripts in guiding audiences in their construction of the relationships among characters. In this thesis, I examine the use of terms of address in episodes of the BBC television drama *Doctor Who* from the first half of the 1970s. In particular, I look at the role those terms play in fans' practice of shipping characters. "Shipping," or theorizing the existence of subtextual romantic relationships between "pairings" of characters, is a common fan practice. I conclude that the shipping choices fans make do not appear to correlate with the use of terms of address between characters.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Doctor Who is a long-running BBC science fiction program that first aired in 1963. It has run almost continuously since then, celebrating its fiftieth anniversary in November of 2013. During its run, it has amassed a substantial community of fans, commonly called a “fandom,” not only in the United Kingdom, but also in the United States and many other countries. Fandoms are communities of practice that form around their members’ shared interest in a work of fiction or media, and whose practices involve direct and indirect engagement with the work and analysis of its content (Pearson, 2010). In this paper, I will use data obtained through basic digital humanities methods to test the strength of claims made by the *Doctor Who* fandom about the show’s characters.

1.1 SHIPPING AND THE UNIT “DATING” CRISIS

The fandom practice I will examine is known as “shipping”. It involves the formation of a hypothesis that two characters in a fictional text are in a romantic or sexual relationship for which the text does not contain explicit evidence. (Jones 2002 describes the practice of shipping, though not by name; the term, a clipping of “relationship,” is used by fandom members.) Supporters of the hypothesis then search for evidence in its favor in the text and its subtext. I intend to apply quantitative methods to this practice.

Before 1990, *Doctor Who* was broadcast in serialized format, with each season consisting of a few serials (sometimes called “episodes”) that each comprised up to six¹ parts (also helpfully referred to as “episodes”) which were broadcast weekly. The period within *Doctor Who* that I have chosen to analyze includes eleven serials of four or six parts each, from three consecutive seasons aired between 1971 and 1973. During this time, the Doctor, who ordinarily wanders throughout space and time with a variety of human companions, was confined to contemporary Earth, where he worked for the United Nations Intelligence Taskforce (UNIT), a transnational paramilitary organization that protected Earth from alien invaders. (When the organization was reintroduced in the post-2005 period, it was no longer affiliated with the UN; instead, UNIT stands for UNified Intelligence Taskforce.) Since the Doctor’s movements are restricted, the number of characters with whom he interacts regularly is larger than usual, presenting a wide variety of potential shipping combinations to alert fans. I refer to this web of potential pairings as the UNIT Dating Crisis, a pun which also refers to the difficulty of establishing a chronology for serials set at and around UNIT.

The recurring characters whose interactions I will discuss are:

- The Doctor, a Time Lord from the planet Gallifrey. During this period, he is in his third regeneration² (played by Jon Pertwee) and works for UNIT as a scientific advisor.
- The Master, another wandering Time Lord. Originally a school friend of the Doctor’s, he makes his first appearance in this period as the Doctor’s arch-enemy, and attempts repeatedly to

¹ There were occasionally longer serials in the period before 1971, containing seven to twelve episodes. The 1986 season is often treated as one fourteen-part serial.

² The Doctor periodically dies and regenerates into the body of a new actor for production reasons. All Time Lords have the ability to regenerate, and this ability has contributed to the longevity of the show. At the time of publication, thirteen actors have played the Doctor and seven have played the Master.

take over Earth with the help of invading aliens. The dataset includes all episodes in which he appears in this regeneration (played by Roger Delgado).

- Brigadier Alistair Lethbridge-Stewart, the commander of UNIT in the United Kingdom.
- Captain Mike Yates, an officer in the UNIT military hierarchy
- Jo Grant, the Doctor's personal assistant and occasional traveling companion. The dataset spans the whole of her term as the Doctor's assistant.

The three seasons I have chosen to analyze comprise a total of fifteen serials; I will focus on the eleven serials in which main characters besides the Doctor and Jo Grant appear, since stories involving only those two characters are generally set in places other than Earth and thus do not involve UNIT³. I am also considering one character who, though appearing in only one serial, is shipped with a main character:

- Dr. Clifford Jones, a young Nobel Prize-winning environmental scientist who runs a hippie commune dedicated to exposing unsafe corporate practices and developing sustainable energy sources. At the end of the serial in which he appears (S10 E05 "The Green Death"), he proposes marriage to Jo Grant.

I have divided the pairings I plan to focus on into two categories: "canon" and popular. The definition I use for "canon" is one commonly used by fandom members: a pairing is described as canon if it is explicitly acknowledged as real by the characters or authors of a work. Non-canon pairings usually have some alleged basis in the work's subtext⁴. I will be analyzing two canon pairings and three popular ones.

³ The exceptions to this are S8 E04 "Colony in Space" and S10 E03 "Frontier in Space," in which UNIT plays little or no role, but the Master is the main villain.

⁴ The relationship between the fandom and canonicity of pairings merits further study. Based on casual observation, I suggest that some fans consider an explicit acknowledgement of their favorite previously subtextual pairing a boost

I selected the popular pairings based on my own experience in the online *Doctor Who* fandom on social websites including Tumblr, a blog-hosting website which promotes the sharing of posts between blogs; DeviantArt, a website dedicated to the sharing of its members' original artwork; and Facebook. I have observed discussions about the UNIT era on all of these websites, as well as the production and sharing of fanfiction and fanart⁵. To assess the relative popularity of specific pairings, I collected data from three fanfiction-hosting websites: Fanfiction.net⁶, Archive of Our Own⁷ (commonly abbreviated AO3), and A Teaspoon and an Open Mind (Teaspoon). Each website includes between thirty and fifty thousand fan-written *Doctor Who* stories, tagged by their creators with the names of characters, pairings, and events that appear in the text, and allows users to browse their archives using these tags as filters. Of these three websites, AO3 is the only one that allows browsing by pairing name; on the other websites, I searched for co-occurrences of characters, which produced less accurate results. I will present these results as I discuss the pairings to which they are relevant.

to their status within the fandom; since their pairing is canon, it is official and their beliefs are validated. Others take pride in shipping “crack” pairings, which have no basis in the text.

⁵ Fanfiction, fanart, and fanmade work in other media are collectively referred to as “fanworks.”

⁶ <http://www.fanfiction.net>; this site hosts fanfiction from a variety of fandoms, and is considered lowbrow by many members of the *Doctor Who* fandom.

⁷ <http://www.archiveofourown.org>. Like Fanfiction.net, AO3 hosts fanfiction from a variety of fandoms; however, it is the *Doctor Who* fandom's preferred fanfiction hosting site, even over Teaspoon (<http://www.whofic.com>), which hosts only *Doctor Who* fanfiction.

2.0 METHODS

2.1 POLITENESS THEORY

My analysis will proceed within the framework of politeness theory, as explained by Brown and Levinson (1987), Lakoff (1973), and Morand (2000). Morand describes politeness as "...an array of linguistic gestures used to minimize or defray [face] threats" (p. 237); his research into the use of these gestures as politeness strategies builds on Brown and Levinson's description of two kinds of politeness that serve different goals within an interaction. The first, positive politeness, preserves or enhances the positive face of the person it is addressed to, or the degree to which that person feels appreciated by others. Compliments are a speech act which enhances positive face, since they convey the speaker's positive impression of the addressee. The second, negative politeness, preserves or enhances negative face, the degree to which the addressee can act unimpeded by others. An example of this is the use of "please" or "if it's not too much trouble" in a request: these phrases, which are considered polite, soften the imposition that the request makes on the addressee's time and energy. In any given interaction, the balance between positive and negative politeness is related to the interactions between interlocutors and must be actively maintained by them (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62).

Lakoff's maxims of politeness correlate loosely with Brown and Levinson's concepts of positive and negative politeness and face. She sets out three rules, combinations of which apply in different situations:

1. Don't impose
2. Give options

3. Make the addressee feel good (Lakoff, 1973, p. 298)

Rule 1 situations often coincide with situations in which negative politeness is necessary: I will refer to situations in which this is true as “negative politeness situations.” In these situations, interlocutors make linguistic choices associated with greater formality and distance. The balance of linguistic choices leans toward greater clarity in the information being transmitted, and the interaction can therefore be described by the Gricean maxims of conversation, in which clarity of information transfer is paramount. Lakoff’s primary example of a negative-politeness interaction is the butler who informs his employer that “Dinner is served,” instead of asking “Would you like to eat?” (Lakoff, 1973, p. 299) The first utterance is an abstract statement that bears no real relation to either the speaker or the addressee. It can also be described by Rule 2 (option-granting situations), since the statement is not one that explicitly requires a response, so the employer has the option of answering however he wants to, or not at all. The second utterance imposes the decision of whether or not to eat on the addressee, and requires that he answer the question. The butler—who is technically a servant, and therefore of low status—has no right to impose on, and thus violate the negative face of, his employer; so the second utterance is perceived as impolite.

Option-granting situations, as we have seen, often coincide with negative politeness situations, since giving one’s interlocutors options for how they might respond decreases the chance that they will feel imposed upon. However, they can also coincide with Rule 3 (positive politeness) situations, since having more options may make a person feel as if he or she has more power within an interaction. In situations governed by positive politeness, speakers often use positive politeness strategies, including linguistic choices indicative of solidarity and informality, to put their interlocutors at ease (Lakoff 1973, p. 301). For example, two friends having a casual

conversation are likely to use slang words and make jokes to put each other at ease and reinforce the closeness of their relationship.

2.2 TERMS OF ADDRESS WITHIN POLITENESS THEORY

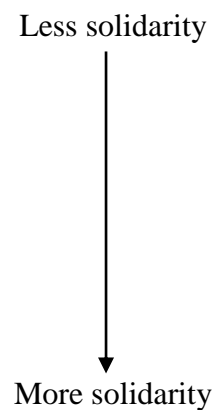
All interpersonal interactions are governed to some degree by both negative politeness and positive politeness, while option-granting can co-occur with both. Which politeness type is dominant depends on the relative status of the interlocutors, as well as their feelings toward each other. Negative politeness is dominant if there is a difference in status between interlocutors, or if the speakers wish to highlight the social distance between them. Conversely, positive politeness governs interactions in which interlocutors are of equal status or wish to express mutual solidarity. All these factors are represented in interlocutors' linguistic choices. To this end, I will be examining the use of a variety of address terms within pairs of characters. Address terms are a set of phrases commonly used by speakers to get their addressees' attention or "to make explicit the identity of the person being spoken to or [their] relationship to that person" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003 p. 135). I hypothesize that their patterns of usage vary in ways that index the level of solidarity (positive politeness) and relative status (negative politeness) between characters. The variants I will examine are in Figure 1, ordered by increasing solidarity according to my original hypotheses.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet don't include second-person pronouns ("you") on their list of address term variants; instead, they group them with third-person pronouns ("he," "she," "they") as terms of reference (p. 136). I have chosen to consider second-person pronouns address terms because they seem to appear in complementary distribution with the other kinds of address terms I have

listed, both as the subjects and objects of sentences and as vocatives. However, pronoun address is used predominantly in subject and object positions, and is very limited in the vocative context (as in “Hey, you!”), where it is not only considered extremely informal, but also indexes that the speaker does care about, and may not even know, the addressee’s name. These situations, rare and rude as they are, do occur, and so I will consider pronouns a type of address term, though my discussion of them will be limited in favor of more relevant phenomena.

Table 1. Types of address terms

Address type	Examples
Pronoun	“you”
Specific Title	“Doctor,” “Brigadier”
General title	“sir,” “ma’am”
Title and Surname	“Miss Grant,” “Sergeant Benton”
Surname	“Yates,” “Lethbridge-Stewart”
Full Name	“Jo Grant,” “Emil Keller ⁸ ”
First Name or Nickname	“Jo,” “Cliff,” “Mike”
Endearment	“my dear,” “my friend,” “my dear fellow”



2.3 DIGITAL HUMANITIES METHODOLOGY

My corpus consists of fan-made transcripts of eleven *Doctor Who* serials spanning three seasons. It contains approximately 195,000 words and 8,000 tokens of address-term use. While this is a fraction of the show’s fifty-year history, it is still too much data to mark up and analyze

⁸ This is an alias used by the Master.

by hand. I therefore used digital humanities markup and programming tools designed specifically to deal with large amounts of data⁹.

I began by marking up my data in XML (eXtensible Markup Language) and constraining the markup with a schema written in RELAX NG Compact syntax. A portion of my markup follows¹⁰.

Figure 1. Sample markup

```
<serial season="8" epi="02">
  <title>The Mind of Evil</title>
  <date>Original Airdate: Jan 30, 1971</date>
  <episode>
    <subtitle>Episode One</subtitle>
    <scene>
      <location>Prison</location>
      <action>The Doctor and Jo drive up to the Constable's Gateway
entrance to Dover Castle, currently masquerading as HM Prison
Stangmoor, and parks on the drawbridge.</action>
      <line><speaker who="jo">JO</speaker>It looks like Dracula's
castle.</line>
      <line><speaker who="doctor">DOCTOR</speaker>Well,
      <address who="jo" level="pronoun">you</address>'re right about
the castle bit. It used to be a fortress in the Middle Ages.</line>
      <line><speaker who="jo">JO</speaker>
      <address who="doctor" level="title">Doctor</address>?
      <address who="doctor" level="pronoun">You</address>'ll need
this.</line>
      <action>Jo gives him an ID pass.</action>
      <line><speaker who="doctor">DOCTOR</speaker>Thanks,
      <address who="jo" level="nickname">Jo</address>.</line>
      ...
    </scene>
    ...
  </episode>
  ...
</serial>
```

I marked up both structural elements of the script (episodes, scenes, lines, etc.) and content-containing elements (speakers and addresses). Note that every <line> element contains a

⁹ This project was begun in the 2013 fall semester as my term project for the University of Pittsburgh's honors course in Computational Methods in the Digital Humanities. Rachel Folwarczny contributed to data markup and to the design of the project website.

¹⁰ A portion of the metadata file in which I compiled information about the characters appears in the Appendix, as well as my RELAX NG schemas for both markup and metadata.

<speaker> element with an @who attribute, whose value is a unique identifier for the character who speaks that line. Lines may also contain <address> elements, representing single instances of interpersonal address, with a @who attribute that identifies the addressee using the same system of identifier strings, as well as a @level attribute identifying the type of address used.

The possible values of @who were defined broadly as “text,” and I created a unique identification string for each of the major characters, consisting of the character’s name or an abbreviation and augmented with a number when names were repeated. However, I occasionally repeated identifiers for unnamed minor characters whom I did not plan to study, such as guards and soldiers. These characters may be interesting to study in terms of their typical behavior, but the differences among them were not great enough for them to be distinguishable individuals.

I began markup with a small set of @level values, plus a catch-all “other” value, and added values as I encountered repeated use of address types that I had previously marked as “other.” Later, I collapsed these categories into the address types described above for ease of graphing. One important example of this is the four categories of endearments which appear in my schema (in Appendix A): “myDear,” “myDearNP,” “kinship,” and “otherEndear.” In my graphs, all of these are represented simply as endearments, but my markup allows for finer-grained future analysis.

Occasionally I encountered address terms that were difficult to classify. For example, the phrase “my friend” is definitely an endearment. I classified it as a kinship term, a decision that involved consideration of the implications of friendship as opposed to other types of relationship expressed in endearments. “Friend” is semantically closer to expressions of kinship such as “brother” than to romantic-sounding endearments such as “love” or “my dear.”¹¹ Again, this

¹¹ I could also have made “my friend” its own subcategory of endearment, but chose not to because it appears only eight times in the corpus.

distinction is not apparent in my results, but the classification system I have created allows me to examine it more closely in the future.

Once markup was completed, I extracted the relevant information from the corpus using a pipeline of XQuery and XSLT (eXtensible Stylesheet Language for Transformation) transformations, which refined it first into simpler markup containing only information about individual address elements, and then into graphs coded in SVG (Scalable Vector Graphics, an XML-based markup language for vector graphics). These graphs will appear throughout the remainder of the paper. They are also presented interactively at <http://who.obdurodon.org>.

3.0 THE PAIRINGS

For the purposes of this paper, I analyzed five pairings, expressed below in a notation commonly used by members of online fandoms. These included two pairings which the actors and writers of UNIT-era *Doctor Who* consider canon, Yates/Jo and Jones/Jo; and three popular pairings which seem not to be canon: Doctor/Jo, Doctor/Brigadier, and Doctor/Master. I will begin by discussing the two canon pairings, in order to establish the patterns of address-term usage that the *Doctor Who* writers and actors used to indicate intimacy between characters, and then examine each popular pairing in turn to determine whether they fit those patterns.

3.1 THE CANON PAIRINGS: YATES/JO AND JONES/JO

I will begin my analysis by making some basic assumptions about what kinds of pairings the creators of UNIT-era *Doctor Who* might expect their audience to accept. In the early 1970s, the vast majority of the relationships represented in Western mass media were strictly heteronormative: they involved a man and a woman of the same ethnicity and of similar age (Jones, 2002, p.81). Therefore, these are the kinds of pairings which the writers, directors, and actors of *Doctor Who* might reasonably be expected to want viewers to ship.

Yates/Jo and Jones/Jo are two pairings that fit this model. Jo Grant is the Doctor's young, attractive assistant. Mike Yates is a UNIT officer of about Jo's age whom Jo was, according to both of the actors involved, dating for most of her run on the show (Manning, Franklin, Hayman & Barry, 2012). Cliff Jones is the brilliant young scientist whom Jo eventually leaves UNIT (and

the show) to marry. Given the heteronormativity of both of these patterns, and the efforts made in both scripts and commentary to ensure that viewers ship them, we can consider them canon and use similarities in their patterns of interaction as a basis for a pattern of interaction that indicates intimacy between other pairings of characters.

In figure 3 and subsequent graphs, the horizontal axis represents time, divided into serials¹² (S8 E01 represents the first serial of Season 8, etc). The vertical axis counts instances of address terms. Each bar represents a single episode within a serial, and each component of a bar represents a different level of address, decreasing in status and increasing in solidarity farther from the horizontal axis.

¹² As I mentioned in Section 1.1, the serial is the basic narrative unit in pre-1990 *Doctor Who*. A serial comprises multiple episodes, and is itself part of a season.

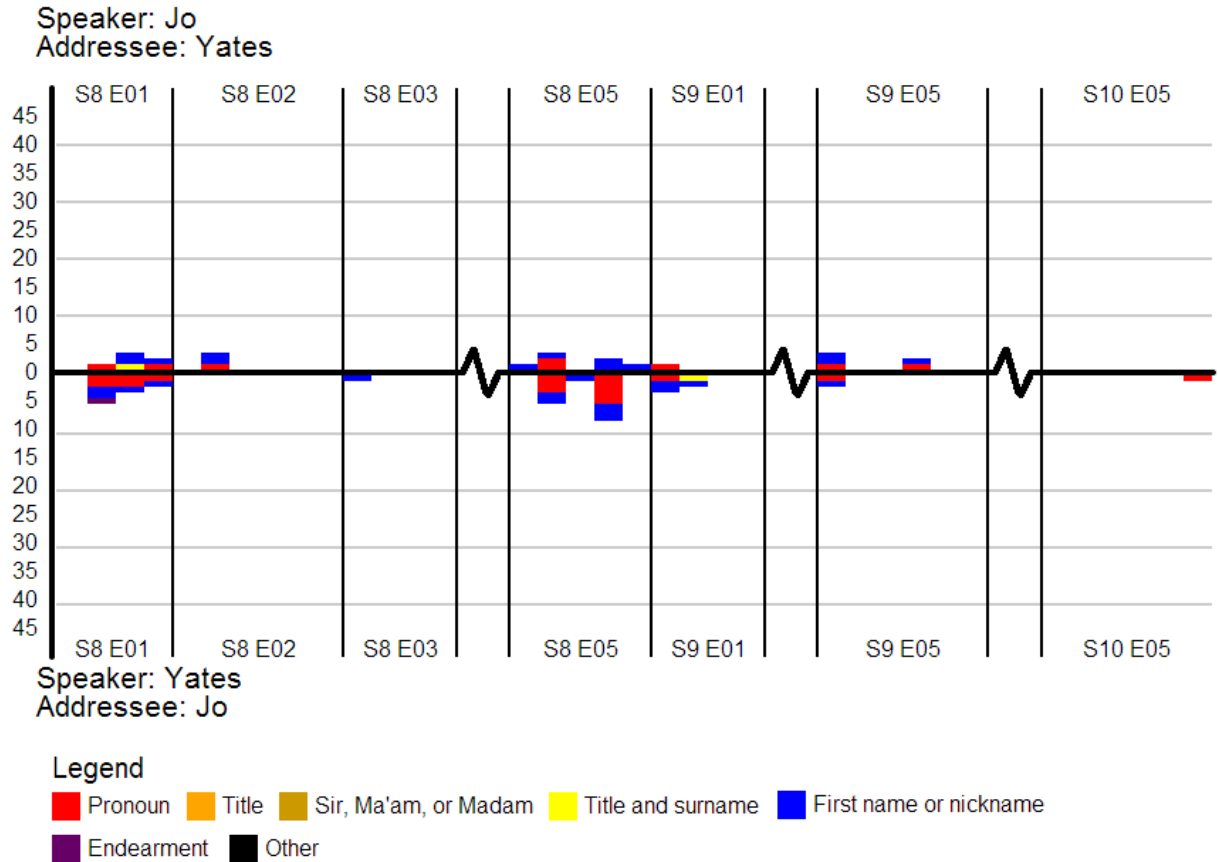


Figure 2. Patterns of interaction for Yates/Jo

Jo and Yates don't interact very frequently, which seems strange given that they are the only two recurring characters who are young and of opposite gender, and therefore the ones with the greatest likelihood of being a canon pairing. We can still see, though, that Jo and Yates address each other by nickname ("Jo" and "Mike") at least once in almost every serial they appear in together, and only rarely by more formal address terms such as title and surname. Since nickname use is considered a marker of solidarity, this suggests that Jo and Yates' relationship is mostly composed of positive-politeness situations.

Yates/Jo appears as a pairing seven times in the AO3 database; they co-occur 63 times on Teaspoon, and thirteen times on Fanfiction.net. As we will see, this indicates that fans pay less

attention to this pairing than to the pairings I have designated “popular,” but more than Jones/Jo, the other canon pairing.

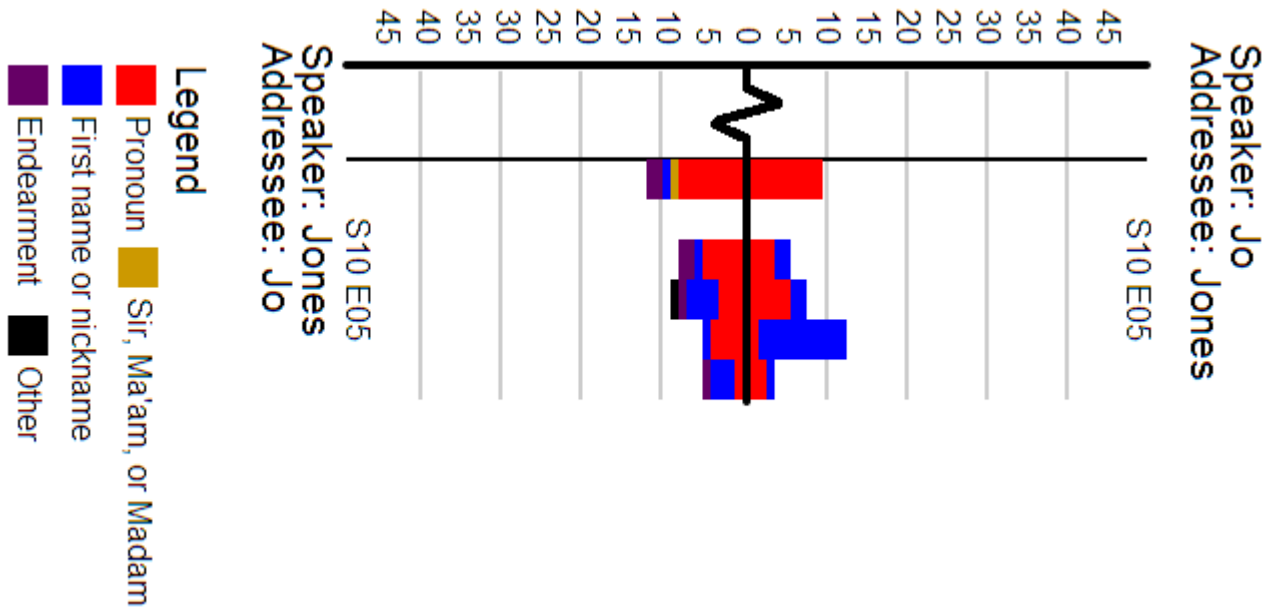


Figure 3. Patterns of interaction for Jones/Jo

Jo interacts with Yates in many more serials than with Jones, but this is mostly due to the fact that Jones only appears in one serial. This may be one reason the pairing is not commonly shipped, with little to no available fanwork or discussion of the pairing: AO3 has four stories tagged with the pairing, while on Teaspoon they co-occur in ten stories, and none on Fanfiction.net¹³. But even in the little time they spend together, we see a pattern similar to that of interactions between Jo and Yates: they use nicknames more often than any other non-pronoun address, and have only one instance of a formal address. In addition to this, Jones occasionally addresses Jo using endearments; he does so twice in each of the first two episodes in which he and

¹³ On Fanfiction.net, Jones isn't even on the list of character tags. He may appear in the Miscellaneous Characters tag, but this suggests that Jones is not important enough to those members of *Doctor Who* fandom who are active on Fanfiction.net to be searchable.

Jo appear together, and once each in his third and fifth episodes. Though this decrease in endearment use over time is small, it suggests that Jones is less inclined to address Jo with endearments as he gets to know her better, and as their interactions, which begin with their first meeting and end with them becoming engaged, become more intimate and more governed by positive politeness. This contradicts my original hypothesis that endearment use supports the positive face of the addressee. Jo and Professor Jones are not the only pairing whose pattern of interaction contradicts that hypothesis; I will highlight the others as I come to them, and discuss the actual role of endearments later on.

It is also important to note that Jo uses informal, intimate address at the same frequency with both Jones and Yates as they do with her, with the exception of Jones' use of endearments. This symmetry suggests that the characters consider each other of equal status. Asymmetrical patterns of interaction suggests that one character has more address options than the other, and is thus of higher status (Brown & Gilman, 1960, p. 265).

3.2 DOCTOR/JO

Jo spends much more time with the Doctor than she does with either of her canon boyfriends. Given this, and given the fact that one of Jo's primary reasons for running off with Jones was that he reminded her of the Doctor (Manning, Pertwee, Sloman & Letts, 1973), it may seem unsurprising that Doctor/Jo is one of the more popular pairings among modern fans of the UNIT era: the pairing appears in seventeen stories on AO3, and the characters co-occur in 167 stories on Teaspoon and sixty-one on Fanfiction.net. But how similar is their pattern of interaction to that of Jo's two canon pairings?

The Doctor's behavior toward Jo (see Figure 5) seems to fit the pattern: he addresses her by nickname five to ten times in most episodes in which they both appear, and uses endearments most frequently in their first serial together, and fewer than five times after that. However, Jo overwhelmingly addresses the Doctor by pronoun or title, with one instance of nickname address ("Doc") in her first episode. While it is important to note that this asymmetry stems in part from the fact that the Doctor's name has never been revealed to the audience, it also indicates that from Jo's perspective, since the address terms she uses are all (besides pronoun address) indicators of distance, her interactions with the Doctor are largely governed by negative politeness. Jo does try to address the Doctor using a nickname once in her first episode, but never does so after that, indicating that her relationship with the Doctor does not license her to use more intimate address terms. The Doctor's frequent use of nicknames, on the other hand, suggests that the Doctor proceeds under positive-politeness assumptions, and so the relationship between Jo and the Doctor is asymmetrical and therefore hierarchical. The Doctor is allowed to use informal address forms when Jo is not, implying that in the vast majority of situations, Jo must be more respectful of the Doctor than he seems to be of her, and is therefore apparently of lower status than the Doctor, in contrast to Jo's much more symmetrical relationships with human men in her own age group. It therefore seems that Jo's relationship with the Doctor is nonromantic. In fact, their pattern of interaction suggests a hierarchy typical of a father-daughter relationship. Parents are of higher status and have more address options than their children, whereas children's address options with regard to their parents are usually limited to pronouns and a title (like "Dad"); a similar pattern can be seen in interactions between the Doctor and Jo.

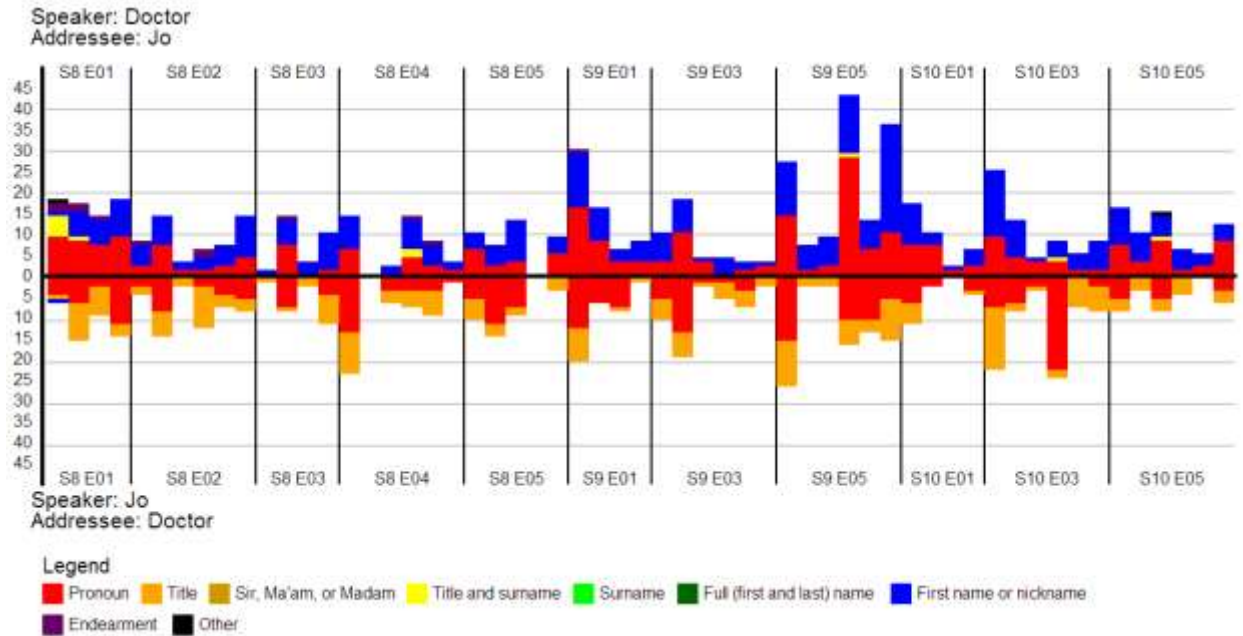


Figure 4. Patterns of interaction for Doctor/Jo

3.3 DOCTOR/BRIGADIER

The Doctor and the Brigadier are another popular pairing whose behavior does not fit the pattern established by the canon pairings. They usually address each other very formally, which indicates that their interactions are governed by negative politeness considerations. But the Doctor seems to have more options than the Brigadier does: he addresses the Brigadier by surname in about half the serials in which they co-occur, and uses endearments in several serials as well. This asymmetry in the number of available options, and in the ways in which the characters use them, seems to indicate that the Doctor is of higher status in his relationship with the Brigadier. This makes some sense in light of the Doctor's anonymity, as well as the fact that while the Brigadier thinks of the Doctor as part of the UNIT military hierarchy, the Doctor himself does not. So it is possible that the Brigadier believes that his interactions with the Doctor

are governed more strongly by negative politeness than the Doctor does. However, within the scope of this dataset¹⁴, the Doctor never addresses the Brigadier by anything less formal than his surname. This pairing seems to be the least commonly shipped of the popular pairings in my data, with seven stories on AO3, 156¹⁵ co-occurrences on Teaspoon, and 56 co-occurrences on Fanfiction.net.

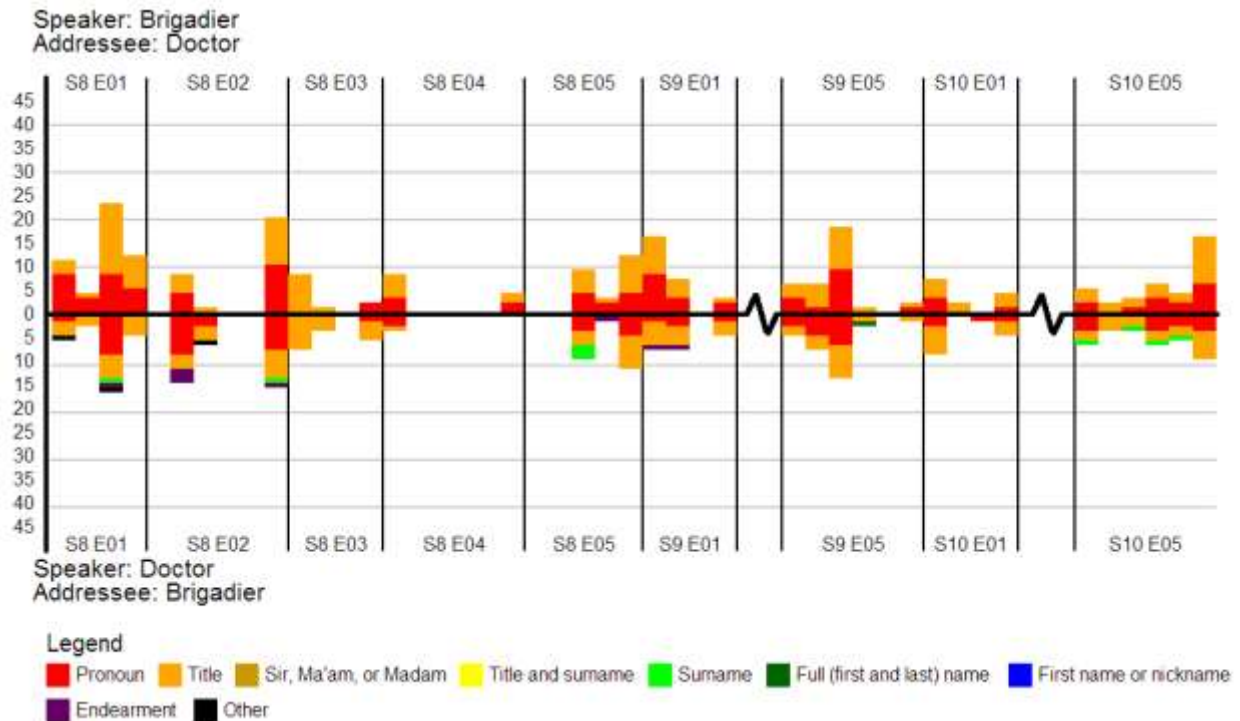


Figure 5. Patterns of interaction for Doctor/Brigadier

¹⁴ In two later episodes, the Doctor addresses the Brigadier by his first name. It appears that the development of their relationship is still progressing.

¹⁵ Since Teaspoon only allows users to search for co-occurrences of characters, and not instances of specific pairings, it is unlikely that this number is meaningful.

3.4 DOCTOR/MASTER

Doctor/Master is one of the most popular pairings in the whole of the *Doctor Who* fandom. This is due in part to the fact that both the Doctor and the Master are Time Lords, and fans ship them in various combinations of regenerations; however, AO3 has about 150 stories pairing the Third Doctor with the regeneration of the Master who appears during the UNIT era. (They co-occur 121 times on Teaspoon, and 45 times on Fanfiction.net.) Like the other popular pairings, they do not fit the pattern of interaction for pairings the writers intended. While the Doctor and the Master are limited in their address options, since they are known to the audience only by their titles, their pattern of interaction is still asymmetrical. While the Doctor addresses the Master almost exclusively with pronouns, the Master often addresses the Doctor by title, as well as using endearments once or twice. This would suggest that the Master has (or considers himself to have) a higher status than the Doctor. Conversely, it may be that the Doctor has all the address options that the Master uses, but chooses not to use them as a refusal to acknowledge the Master's self-proclaimed status.

Regardless of relative status, though, it is clear that the formality and lack of variation in interactions between the Doctor and the Master do not match the pattern expected of a shippable pairing, and their use of endearments does not seem to index solidarity or grant positive face. Yet they are shipped, in spite of the formality of their speech, and in spite of the writers' heteronormative expectations (Jones 2002).

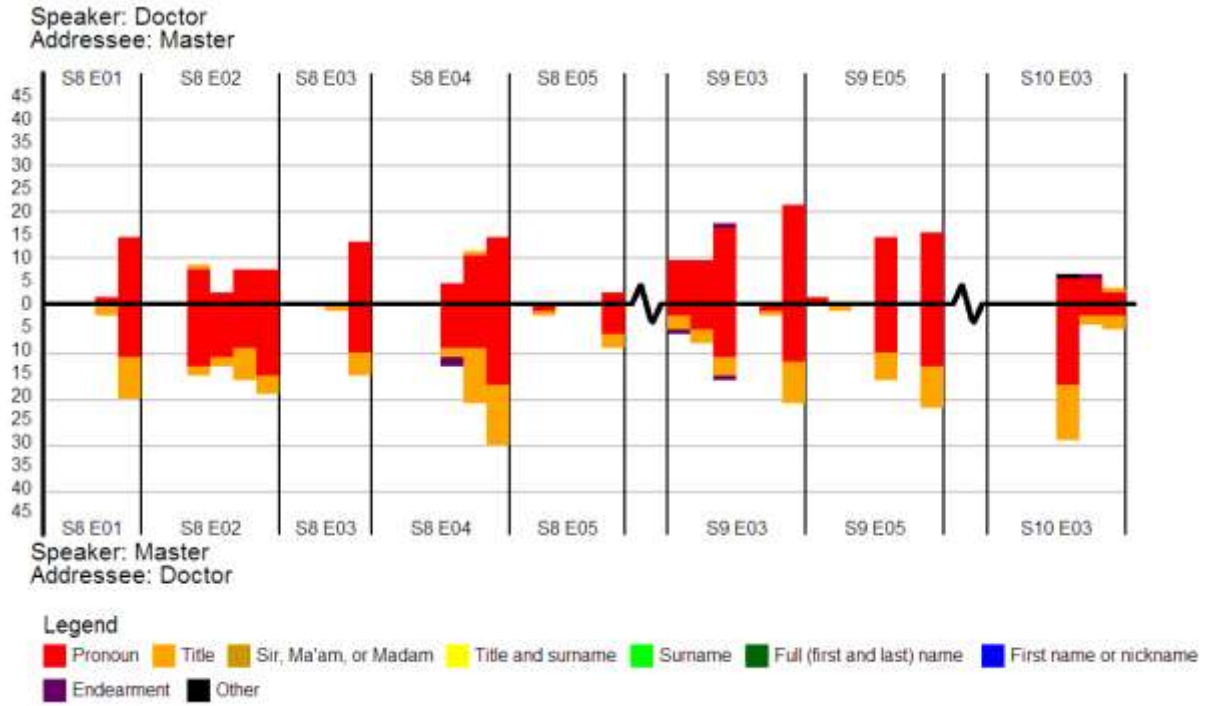


Figure 6. Patterns of interaction for Doctor/Master

4.0 ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES

4.1 ENDEARMENTS AND STATUS

The data contradicts the hypothesis that endearments are used as indicators of solidarity. Professor Jones uses fewer and fewer of them as he and Jo become closer: in the first half of the serial in which they both appear, Jones calls Jo “love” three times and “my dear child” once, whereas in the second half, he uses “love” twice. The Doctor uses endearments in both his asymmetrical relationship with Jo (usually “my dear” or “my dear Jo”) and his otherwise formal relationship with the Brigadier (“my dear Lethbridge-Stewart” or “my dear chap”). And the Master uses them occasionally with the Doctor (“my dear Doctor”), in a relationship at least as formal as that between the Doctor and the Brigadier. It therefore seems as if endearments are used as a marker of status, with characters of higher status using them to address characters of lower status.

This makes sense if we consider that, when used in a negative-politeness situation, positive-politeness strategies like the use of endearments become an imposition on the addressee’s negative face. Speakers in positions of higher status are often less polite than speakers of lower status (Morand, 2000), possibly because speakers of higher status have social power that licenses them to impose on their addressees. They emphasize their higher status by using address forms that connote solidarity to imply that an addressee owes them some special service or attention as a result of that solidarity (Katz 2010). The use of endearments seems to actually be an ostensibly polite way of being impolite or condescending.

4.2 THE EFFECTS OF GENDER: MASCULINITY, STATUS, AND SHIPPING

The high levels of formality in some of the pairings I have examined can be explained in terms of the masculinities of the male main characters. The Doctor, the Master, and the Brigadier all project a stance typically associated with upper-class British characters: the aloof gentleman, who respects his equals and condescends to those of slightly lower status. Since anything I can say about interactions among these three characters based on their patterns of address is constrained by the fact that the Doctor and the Master never use their own (or each other's) names, I will base my description of the hierarchy of these three characters on their use of condescending endearments. The Master imposes on the Doctor, who in turn imposes on the Brigadier (who is, after all, a mere human).

It is important here to note that the twenty-first-century *Doctor Who* fandom is a very different audience from the one the show was intended for in the 1970s. The fans have reinterpreted the characters' stances, and found that some aspects of the aloof-gentleman stance can be interpreted as homoerotic subtext. For example, fans may interpret condescending endearments like "my dear" as flirtatious. Changes in social mores may license fans to reinterpret the show to include homosexual relationships where the writers and actors did not intend them. Of course, it is also possible that the subtext fans see in some stories is intentional (as some fandom scholars, such as Brittany Diamond of *The Ship's Closet*, conclude about *Star Trek*), but the applicability of this kind of interpretation to the UNIT era has not yet been explored.

5.0 CONCLUSION

Of the four popular pairings I have examined, none follows the pattern of interaction that could be reasonably expected based on the behavior of the two canon pairings. They are all unexpectedly formal, or, as in the case of Doctor/Jo, unexpectedly unbalanced. Table 2 summarizes the patterns of address term use for each pairing as a percentage of the total number of addresses made by each speaker to each addressee. Canon pairings are italicized.

Table 2. Summary of the data

Speaker/Addressee	Total number of address instances	Percentage of formal/negative politeness (includes endearments)	Percentage of informal/positive politeness	Appearances on AO3
<i>Yates/Jo</i>	33	6.06%	45.45%	7
<i>Jo/Yates</i>	22	4.55%	59.09%	
<i>Jones/Jo</i>	39	17.95%	25.64%	4
<i>Jo/Jones</i>	36	0.00%	44.44%	
Doctor/Jo	626	3.67%	53.83%	17
Jo/Doctor	467	45.82%	0.21%	
Doctor/Brigadier	191	60.21%	4.71%	7
Brigadier/Doctor	234	57.26%	0.00%	
Doctor/Master	184	2.72%	0.00%	~150
Master/Doctor	306	39.22%	0.00%	

These patterns of interaction suggest that popular pairings consist of unequal relationships, where members of canon pairings are more equal in their mutual use of address terms. Nevertheless, there are aspects of the non-canon pairings' patterns of address, such as the use of condescending endearments, which today's fans may interpret as evidence for the pairings they prefer to ship, in spite of the writers' likely intentions.

Patterns of address term usage don't seem to explain much with regard to shipping. Unpopular canon pairings and popular non-canon pairings have very different patterns of interaction. Terms of address may be a tool used by television writers to indicate the pairings whose existence they want to suggest to the audience, but it is likely that fandom members prioritize other textual cues when engaging in the actual practice of shipping.

5.1 FURTHER RESEARCH

I plan to continue my research by expanding my data set and taking a more nuanced approach to the data I have already obtained. I plan to broaden the scope of my dataset to serials beginning in the 1970 season, during which the Doctor began to work for UNIT on a regular basis, and ending in the 1974 season, which ends with the Doctor's death and regeneration. Future projects may include following the Doctor/Brigadier and Doctor/Master relationships throughout the history of the show by adding all serials in which these pairs of characters co-occur to the corpus and analyzing them separately.

I will also take a closer look at the sociolinguistic contexts in which address terms are used by examining the speech acts in which they appear. It may be the case that patterns of address term usage are not determined simply by the relationship between interlocutors; the discourse situation may also be a factor. To study this, I will examine the data at the level of individual lines, coding each line for the speech act performed by the speaker. In this way, I will determine whether speech act type is a predictor of the use either of any address term or of certain types of address term.

APPENDIX A

XML MARKUP AND RELAX NG SCHEMAS

A.1 PARTIAL CHARACTER METADATA

```
<metadata>
  ...
  <cast>
    <character xml:id="doctor">
      <name>Doctor</name>
      <type>main</type>
      <gender>M</gender>
      <species>Timelord</species>
      <role>hero</role>
      <occupation>NA</occupation>
    </character>
    <character xml:id="brig">
      <name>Brigadier</name>
      <type>main</type>
      <gender>M</gender>
      <species>human</species>
      <role>hero</role>
      <occupation>soldier</occupation>
    </character>
    <character xml:id="master">
      <name>Master</name>
      <type>main</type>
      <gender>M</gender>
      <species>Timelord</species>
      <role>villain</role>
      <occupation>NA</occupation>
    </character>
    <character xml:id="benton">
      <name>Benton</name>
      <type>main</type>
      <gender>M</gender>
      <species>human</species>
      <role>hero</role>
      <occupation>soldier</occupation>
    </character>
    <character xml:id="yates">
```

```

        <name>Yates</name>
        <type>main</type>
        <gender>M</gender>
        <species>human</species>
        <role>ambiguous</role>
        <occupation>soldier</occupation>
    </character>
    <character xml:id="jo">
        <name>Jo</name>
        <type>main</type>
        <gender>F</gender>
        <species>human</species>
        <role>hero</role>
        <occupation>student</occupation>
    </character>
    ...
</cast>
</metadata>

```

A.2 RELAX NG SCHEMA FOR METADATA

```

start = metadata
metadata = element metadata {projectInfo, cast}
projectInfo = element projectInfo {title, authorInfo, licenseInfo, otherInfo}
title = element title {text}

authorInfo = element authorInfo {author+}
author = element author {authorName, affiliation, email?}
authorName = element name {text}
affiliation = element affiliation {text}
email = element email {text}

licenseInfo = element licenseInfo {creativeCommons, materials}
creativeCommons = element creativeCommons {text}
materials = element materials {text}
otherInfo = element otherInfo {text}

cast = element cast {character+}
character = element character {xmlid, name, type, gender, species, role,
occupation}

name = element name {text}
xmlid = attribute xml:id{text}
type = element type
{"main"|"scientist"|"soldier"|"politician"|"timeLord"|"alien"|"otherDoc"|"other"}
gender = element gender {"M"|"F"|"NA"}

```

```

species = element species{text}
role = element role
{"hero"|"villain"|"neutral"|"ambiguous"|"henchman"|"villain in disguise"}
occupation = element occupation {text}

```

A.3 RELAX NG SCHEMA FOR SERIAL MARKUP

```

start = serial
serial = element serial {season, epi, title, date, episode+}
season = attribute season {"8"|"9"|"10"}
epi = attribute epi {"01"|"02"|"03"|"04"|"05"}
title = element title {text}
date = element date {text}

episode = element episode {subtitle, scene+}
subtitle = element subtitle {text}

scene = element scene {location, (action | line)+}
location = element location {text}
action = element action {text}

line = element line {speaker, mixed{(action|location|address|reference)*}}
speaker = element speaker {who, text}
address = element address {who, level, text}
reference16 = element reference {who, level, text}

who = attribute who {text}
level = attribute level {"title" | "surname" | "titleSurname" | "fullName" |
"firstName" | "nickname" | "pronoun" | "sir" | "myDear" | "myDearNP" |
"thatNP" | "theNP" | "aliasFull" | "aliasSurname" | "aliasTitle" | "insult" |
"kinship" | "man" | "otherEndear" | "other"}

```

¹⁶ I marked up reference terms as well as address terms, but chose to focus on address terms as they turned out to be more informative.

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- All *Doctor Who* episode transcripts were obtained with permission from Chrissie's Transcripts Site, <http://www.chakoteya.net/DoctorWho/>. The dataset comprised the following serials: S8 E01 "Terror of the Autons," S8 E02 "The Mind of Evil," S8 E03 "The Claws of Axos," S8 E04 "Colony in Space," S8 E05 "The Daemons," S9 E01 "Day of the Daleks," S9 E03 "The Sea Devils," S9 E05 "The Time Monster," S10 E01 "The Three Doctors," S10 E03 "Frontier in Space," and S10 E05 "The Green Death."