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„Constituting Parental Identities in Families – Analyzing Stance in the Family Sitcom *modern family*"

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Nicole Saurer

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SNAF   standard North American family

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1.   Introduction

Television became the dominant mass medium towards the end of the last century. Reasons for consumption of television programs are diverse: news delivers visual information, commercials satisfy consumer needs and drama is for entertainment purposes - to name just a few. In particular, television drama, such as the sitcom, has gained increasing popularity by the turn of the millennium. Characters perform situations that imitate real life and deliver talk that is strikingly similar to natural conversation yet they remain in their own worlds. Through this, the audience, on the one hand, identifies with the characters and, on the other hand, feels represented in television drama. Since viewers get immersed in television shows, they can be easily influenced by the content which is why ideologies can be deeply reinforced in society. Therefore, television can be considered a "cultural artifact" that simultaneously produces and reproduces ideologies (Dalton & Linder 2005: 1). One example of an ideology would be the traditional discourse of the distribution of roles for mothers and fathers. Commonly in television shows, women are portrayed as housewives, while men are the breadwinners (Kendall 2007a: 124).

This study wants to analyze how mothers and fathers construct identities and are represented in television. For this purpose, the US American family sitcom *modern family* has been selected, due to its popularity among the audience and critics. Moreover, this sitcom not only depicts everyday situations humorously but also challenges the idea of a traditional family. The sitcom presents three interrelated families: a traditional family, i.e. wife, husband and children, and two non-traditional families, i.e. a blended family and same-sex parents with an adopted child. In this diploma thesis, the ideologies linked to gender identities will be investigated; in particular, sociocultural expectations of mothers and fathers in traditional and non-traditional families.

Various studies confirmed that identities index sociocultural values and beliefs. Previous research mostly focused on identity construction of parents in traditional families (Gordon 2007, Kendall 2007). This study is interested in contrasting and comparing identity construction of parents in a traditional family and two non-traditional families. The present study employs a sociolinguistic approach on identity construction of parents, who are portrayed in one of the most popular sitcoms to date. In order to achieve comparable

results, the same speech event has been selected. Since conflict is a potent site for identity construction, the speech event disciplining a misbehaving child is chosen.

This diploma thesis intends to investigate how identities of the characters are constituted, primarily, through stancetaking and, secondarily, through performing social acts, but also if these identities meet societal expectations of mothers and fathers. Therefore, the following overarching research question has been developed: *How are parental identities constructed through stancetaking towards a misbehaving child in the sitcom* modern family*?* In order to thoroughly answer this question, it is divided into two more detailed subquestions:

a) *How do the individual characters constitute parental identities through taking a stance towards a misbehaving child?*

b) *What are the differences and similarities of the identities and stances taken by the parents towards a misbehaving child in traditional and non-traditional families concerning societal expectations and beliefs of mothers and fathers?*

Sections 2 to 7 can be considered the theoretical and methodological foundation of this diploma thesis. Section 2 defines family in general and further introduces the three relevant forms of family that are presented in the sitcom *modern family*, as well as contextualizes the speech event *disciplining a misbehaving child*. Subsequently, section 3 describes how identities can be constituted and displayed by linguistic means and discursive practices and outlines how stancetaking contributes to the construction of identity. Moreover, it introduces *performativity*, which is closely related to the concept of identity. Section 4 discusses stance, in particular, Du Bois´s (2007) three key principles, and describes how stancetaking contributes to identity construction. In section 5, firstly, the difference between sex and gender is explained; secondly, stereotypical characteristics of mothers and fathers are presented. Section 6 introduces television studies in general and sociolinguistic approaches on scripted dialogue in particular. In addition, it outlines the differences and similarities of natural conversation and scripted dialogue. This section also introduces the sitcom *modern family*, as well as the three types of family and their members. Section 7 presents the methodology that was applied to the excerpts and provides reasons for data selection. Section 8 consists of the analysis of the six excerpts and the discussion of the results by answering the two research questions. Finally, the conclusion outlines the findings and their limitation and potential implication.

2.   Family and interaction

2.1.   Definition of family

The composition and characteristics of *family* have transformed significantly in recent decades. Since this diploma thesis considers three families from a US American sitcom, it seems relevant to consult the definition of family from the *US Census Bureau* (2000):

> A family consists of a householder and one or more other people living in the same household who are related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption.

Here it needs to be added that this definition of family has remained unchanged from 1930 until today (Pemberton 2015). In contrast, social studies, such as feminism or anthropology, recognize family as a "social institution" (Kendall 2007b: 7). Martin (2004: 1256-1258) further elaborates on this definition. Family as an institution is "profoundly social", entails social practices that are created and accepted by its members, and internalized and expressed as identities (Martin 2004: 1256-1258). In addition, members of an institution have certain expectations of norms and values, as well as establish and follow an ideology (Martin 2004: 1256-1258). A combination of both the elementary, narrow definition of family by the US Census Bureau (2000) and the rather broad definition provided by social studies has been adopted for the purpose of this diploma thesis. A family consists of at least two people (a parent and a child or a couple) who are affiliated by marital, biological or adoptive means, creates and follows an ideology that is established by its members and widely shaped by societal expectations and beliefs.

In addition, this diploma will solely discuss a nuclear family which can be defined as "a group of people who are united by ties of partnership and parenthood and consisting of a pair of adults and their socially recognized children" (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 2015). Moreover, a nuclear family comprises "a couple with dependent child(ren)" which implies that it excludes extended family, such as cousins or grandparents (Ware et al. 2007). In other words, a nuclear family consists of at least one parent and at least one child that is either biologically related to the parent or (legally) adopted. The term nuclear family refers to all three forms of family discussed in this diploma thesis.

In the following section, the three relevant forms of family for this diploma thesis will be introduced and discussed: the standard North American family, the blended family and same-sex parents with adopted children.

2.1.1. Standard North American family

In Western culture, one example of a traditional nuclear family is the standard North American family. Smith (1993: 52) coined the profoundly ideological term "standard North American family (SNAF)" which she understands in general as "a conception of the family as a legally married couple sharing a household". The SNAF attempts to describe the dominant family structure in the United States. Moreover, children may not be biologically related to any of their parents, as parents and children can be connected "in whatever legal sense" (Smith 1993: 52). In addition, Smith (1993: 52) differentiates between male and female roles within a family. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the couple is of different sex, i.e. a man and a woman. Furthermore, Smith (1993: 52) proposes two ideals regarding parental gender roles within families: the nurturing and traditional ideal. The nurturing ideal considers both parents of having similar roles, which may be equated with an egalitarian structure, whereas the traditional role associates the mother role with domestic duties and the father role with financial provision. In other words, the mother´s primary responsibilities include managing the household and childcare, while the father is responsible for financial income. In this diploma thesis, the standard North American family will be considered the traditional family.

Moreover, Smith (1999: 175) claims that the SNAF develops an "ideological code" which she defines as a "social organizer" which constructs values, beliefs and norms within a family, and, ultimately, within a society and is "a constant generator of procedures for selecting syntax, categories, and vocabulary in writing and speaking". Furthermore, this ideological code provides its users with strategies to comprehend written and spoken production and to position and relate "discursive subjects" (Smith 1999: 175). Consequently, this ideological code in the context of family can be seen as an interpretative framework which is applied to understand spoken and written texts and is created by members of a family and influences and is influenced by societal norms and beliefs.

Nevertheless, Smith´s (1993) definition has been criticized for being a "normative social construct" that "privileges a legally married heterosexual couple" (Cavalcante 2015: 456). Moreover, this concept of a *standard* family with an established ideological code implies that any family form that deviates from this ideal family structure must be considered to be nonstandard. Moreover, the SNAF has been the prevalent form of family for the greater part of the US American history; however, during the past century, new forms of family have evolved, such as the blended family or families with same-sex parents and adopted children. Manning and Brown (2014: 43) speak of a "radical transformation" of American families. Consequently, these new forms challenge the ideology of a traditional nuclear family including societal norms and values, as well as deconstruct the strictness of the mentioned "ideological code" (Cavalcante 2015: 456).

2.1.2. Blended family

One type of a non-standard or non-traditional family is the *blended family* or step-family. Blended family is defined in the *Oxford Dictionary* (2018a) as "a family consisting of a couple, the children they have had together, and their children from previous relationships". However, this definition does not specify whether the children must be legally adopted by the new spouse. Although marriage is not a prerequisite for this type of family, divorce rates and numbers of remarriage in the context of blended families should be considered. Divorce rates in the United States have increased, as almost 50% of first-time marriages were divorced at the beginning of this millennium (Dupuis 2010: 239). Moreover, 75% of divorced or widowed men and approximately 70% of divorced or widowed women remarry and more than half of the people who remarry bring their kids into the new marriage (Dupuis 2010: 239); this, of course, creates blended families. Since blended families amount to a significant number of families United States, Dupuis (2010: 239) considers this type as the new "normative family".

Compared to the standard North American family, the blended family appears to be confronted with some disadvantages. While the SNAF may rely on a traditional distribution of roles and rules for interaction, the blended family may need to negotiate norms and values. In contrast to the SNAF, a blended family does not have a "stepfamily model" which means that each stepfamily has to create its own rules for social regulations (Dupuis 2010: 242). This lack of family norms and rules of behavior results in the issue of recreating

systems of the first marriage or a *traditional* family (Dupuis 2010: 242). Thus, the blended family has been referred to as an "incomplete institution" (Cherlin 1978: 636). Consequently, constituting a family identity and the negotiation of boundaries can be regarded as a predominant issue of blended families. Moreover, Golish and Caughlin (2002: 79) conclude that the relationship between stepparents and stepchildren can be typically characterized as "more detached, less communicative, and less involved than parent-child relationships from first marriages", since stepchildren often restrict personal information from their stepparents. Evidently, these issues dominate various areas of family life, including communication, language or parenting styles.

2.1.3. Same-sex parents and adopted children

Similar to the trend of a rising number of blended families, the amount of same-sex parents has increased steadily in recent decades. Data shows that approximately 200,000 children are raised by same-sex parents in the United States in present times (Gates 2013). Same-sex couples are increasingly recognized in a legal sense, as 37 out of 50 US American states allow gays and lesbians to marry legally (*CNN library* 2017). Moreover, the US Supreme Court issued the 13 remaining states to legalize same-sex marriage (C*NN library* 2017). However, a mutually agreed upon name has yet to be found. Some researchers refer to this type of family as *same-sex parents* (Manning, Fettro & Lamidi 2014, *CNN Library* 2017), others as *gay parents* (Cavalcante 2015, Biblarz, Carroll & Burke 2014). Furthermore, legalizing adoption of children by same-sex parents generated a major interest in investigating child development in families with gay or lesbian parents (Perrin, Cohen & Caren 2013, MacCallum & Golombok 2004). As an example, Biblarz, Carroll and Burke (2014: 110) found that the sexual orientation of parents does not have a significant influence on the "quality of parenting". In addition, same-sex parents show a high degree of "child wantedness" and "child centeredness", as same-sex parents need to overcome various obstacles in order to adopt children (Biblarz, Carroll & Burke 2014: 110).

According to the *US Census Bureau* (2000), families with same-sex parents are explicitly considered as nonstandard: "husband-wife households only refer to opposite-sex spouses and do not include households that were originally reported as same-sex spouse households". Moreover, it can be argued that same-sex parents disrupt the traditional nuclear family in more than one way. Firstly, parents are of the same sex which might lead to

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a deviation in the distribution of roles of the parents regarding financial income, childcare and domestic work. Here, Goldberg´s (2012) study is worth mentioning, as he revealed that gay parents typically establish an egalitarian parental structure, which means that there is a shared responsibility between the two parents in domestic work, financial support and childcare. Secondly, same-sex parents are often confronted with homophobia and marginalization which influences family life decisions, such as parental involvement at school or the choice of the child´s pediatrician (Biblarz, Carroll & Burke 2014: 116). Lastly, similar to the blended family, same-sex parents and their children face the challenge of negotiating the ideological code, as well as the lack of a *model family*. When adding the high number of people in blended families to the number of same-sex families, it becomes obvious that the traditional nuclear family has lost its dominance in the US American society.

This study investigates how the ideological code of a traditional family may be applied by non-traditional families. In other words, this thesis attempts to reveal how families, i.e. standard North American family, blended family and same-sex parents, in the sitcom *modern family* create their own ideological codes through discursive practices and how parents display and construct identities in the context of stancetaking towards a misbehaving child. Thus, similarities and differences of the stances taken by the parents and their consequences will be revealed.

2.2.   Family and language

As already mentioned when discussing the ideological code, a strong relation between family and language can be identified. Constructionists argue that the family can be considered a "micro-culture" which is created by "various discursive practices" (Gordon 2009: 28). In other words, Gordon (2009: 28) considers language as "a primary means of creating not only family meanings but family itself". Kendall (2007b: 3) agrees that families are partially constructed through conversations. Furthermore, each family faces the challenges of "creating a new miniature society with a distinctive set of traditions and coordinating practices" (Shore 2005: 185). Consequently, families create a system of values and beliefs, which include canonical rituals, such as holiday celebrations (Shore 2005: 186) but also, more importantly, non-canonical, or what Goffman (1967: 1-2) refers to as "interactional rituals" or everyday patterns of interaction. These perspectives align with Smith´s (1999) concept mentioned above of the "ideological code". To conclude, each family

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constructs and is constructed by linguistic and discursive practices, regardless of standard or nonstandard family.

2.3. Speech event and social acts

This diploma thesis analyzes the stances parents take towards the speech event *disciplining a misbehaving child*. Thus, speech events and the entailed speech acts and social acts need to be defined. In literature, speech acts and social acts are frequently used interchangeably. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 129), speech acts are "kinds of linguistically mediated social moves". In other words, speech acts are social acts which are communicated in conversation and thus, are embedded in social practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 130). Thus, both speech acts and social acts may be expressed as an utterance, a sentence or several lines in conversation (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 129). The functions of speech acts are diverse, for example, they may develop relationships between interactants, evolve ideas and ideologies between interactants (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 130). Thus, speech acts are part of a social situation, whereby its significance in discourse emerges in the context of its use. Examples of speech acts would be compliments, complaints or insults. Moreover, speech acts are culturally and socially embedded as some acts might be performed differently depending on the sociocultural context of its use (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 98). It can be argued that the performance of speech acts is dependent on the values and beliefs of a society. In addition, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 129) claim that there is a significant correlation between gender and the performed speech acts, as they argue that "gender structures people´s access to participation in situations, activities, and events, hence to their opportunity to perform particular speech acts legitimately". In other words, speech acts may be gender-specific regarding behavior and adhering to rules and ascribed roles. Since speech acts are linguistically motivated by and dependent on the sociocultural context, this diploma thesis uses speech acts and social acts synonymously.

In order to analyze speech acts in interaction, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 103) urge to consider speech events, as they give relevant information on "how a particular activity is initiated, how it is structured, how it ends". Thus, speech events can be defined as the sociocultural setting in which speech acts and social acts occur. This diploma thesis will be concerned with analyzing discursive strategies in specific speech acts within the speech event *disciplining a misbehaving child*. According to Wilson and Whipple (1995: 308),

misbehavior includes "different levels of aversive or noncompliant behavior", such as verbal refusal, overt anger or ignoring the parent. For scientific research on child behavior and development, Achenbach (2010) introduced the *Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment* (ASEBA) to achieve a "comprehensive approach to assessing adaptive and maladaptive functioning". Moreover, Achenbach (2000) and Achenbach and Rescorla (2001) developed a child behavior checklist or questionnaire for various age groups in which they present indications for misbehavior, such as physical violence, disobedience or breaking the rules. Wilson and Whipple (1995: 308) claim that behavioral issues of children vary in the perception of the parents. This argument will be further elaborated in section 7.3. The data selection is based on Achenbach´s (2000) and Achenbach and Rescorla´s (2001) questionnaires of behavioral issues. This selection process will be further elaborated in section 7.4.

Furthermore, the misbehavior of a child might lead to conflict between the child and the parents, as well as between one parent and the other. Conflicts may arise due to "incompatibility in wants, goals, and behavior" (Sheldon 1993: 86). Porta and Howe (2012: 510) define interpersonal conflict as a "state of resistance or opposition between two individuals". Sheldon (1993: 86) asserts that a successful conflict resolution "requires the participants to adapt to each other". Parents´ behavior in conflict with their children will be further discussed in section 5.3.

3. Identity construction

This diploma thesis investigates how maternal and paternal identities are created through discursive practices and how they are displayed in the act of stancetaking.

3.1. Definition

Construction of identities is the primary concern of this diploma thesis; thus a definition of both identity and construction is required. According to Gordon (2007: 71-72), identity can be defined as painting a portrait of oneself. In other words, identity may be equated with the self, as Riessmann (1992: 232) suggests that identity defines "who we are". Schiffrin (1996: 168) adds that identity should be understood as an "integrated whole, with properties of stability and continuity over time". Moreover, identity is "locally situated", for example, in speech events, and should thus not be understood as "fixed attributes that are

permanent properties of speakers" (Schiffrin 1996: 199). Kendall (2007a: 125) claims that identities are created by "discursively taking up, contesting, or countering the positions that discourses make available". Furthermore, Sunderland (2009: 169) argues that due to the denotation of the word "construction", construction cannot be considered as objective. Thus, sociocultural and subjective processes promote constructions (Sunderland 2009: 169). Moreover, Potter (1996: 98) emphasizes the importance of language in construction, as language can be seen as both constructed and constructive. Consequently, in this study, identity is defined as a person´s individuality that can be constructed through linguistic means and discursive processes, and dependent on the sociocultural context.

3.1.1. Identity and conversation

To analyze identity construction through discursive and collaborative means, it is relevant to define first discursive practices and subsequently conversation. Davies and Harré (2001: 262) define discursive practices as "all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities". In other words, discursive practices are communicative processes that construct and are constructed in conversation. A simple, yet useful definition of conversation is provided by the *Oxford Dictionary* (2018b): "a talk, especially an informal one, between two or more people, in which news and ideas are exchanged". From a sociolinguistic perspective, Talbot (1998: 80) defines conversation as "an informal, private genre of talk" which is characterized by a "friendly and informal relationship between participants". Thus, the following definition has been adopted for this diploma thesis: a conversation is a verbal interaction between two or more people generally of an informal register, which aims at exchanging ideas, opinions, attitudes, etc. Here, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 110) suggest a dominant structure of conversation in Western culture: "a sequencing of turns, alternating among speakers, with a minimum of silence between adjacent turns". Typical linguistic features, which appear in high frequency, in face-to-face conversation are of "affective, interactional, and generalized content" (Biber Conrad & Reppen 1998: 151). Examples would be the use of present tense, ´that´-deletion and contractions (Quaglio 2009: 123). Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002: 429-435) present five interrelated and partly overlapping sociocultural, lexical, grammatical and situational characteristics of natural conversation:

a) <u>Conversation takes place in shared context</u>: when two people interact, situational context, including social, cultural and institutional knowledge of the setting and background knowledge of interlocutors are relevant for a mutual understanding between interlocutors, as well as for a sociolinguistic analysis. Examples of some linguistic features which indicate a shared context would be ellipses, personal pronouns, inserts (*yeah*, *okay*) and deictic expressions (*this*, *that*). In the excerpts analyzed, the shared context is provided.

b) <u>Conversation avoids elaboration of meaning</u>: as already established in a), interlocutors communicate in a shared context and, thus, "rel[y] on context for meaning" (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002: 430). Consequently, speakers make use of imprecise linguistic features and "[avoid] specification of meaning", for example, hedges (*sort of*, *kind of*), nouns of vague references (*thing*, *stuff*) and vague coordination tags (*something*, *stuff like that*). As scripted language attempts to imitate natural conversation, this characteristic can be expected also to hold true for the excerpts under analysis.

c) <u>Conversation is interactive</u>: this concept has already been established in the provided definition of conversation; yet it becomes even more evident when considering that "conversation is co-constructed by two or more people, adapting their expressions to the ongoing exchange" (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2000: 431). Some linguistic features mark the interactive nature of conversation, for example, discourse markers (*well*), single-word responses (*okay*, *wow*), vocatives (address forms) and eliciting responses. As speakers react to what has been said, this characteristic is relevant for the analysis of Du Bois´ (2007) stance triangle.

d) <u>Conversation expresses stance</u>: in addition to the definition of *stance* provided in section 4, Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002) elevate stancetaking to one of the key components of conversation. Stancetaking, according to Quaglio (2009: 9) includes the expression of feelings, opinions and evaluations. Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002: 433) agree that a speakers´ primary concern in conversation is to express feelings, attitudes or evaluation. Grammatical features which express stance include modal verbs, complement clause constructions and stance adverbials. More examples would be: evaluative discourse marker (*oh*), which signifies surprise, disbelief or indignation, evaluative adjectives (*beautiful*, *interesting*), or epistemic stance markers such as *actually*, which has a buffering effect, or *probably*, which indicates doubt, that-complement clauses which are introduced by mental

verbs (*think*, *know*), and emotional stances, for example adverbial intensifiers (*really*, *so*), interjections (*wow*, *really*) and expletives (*fuck*, *shit*).

e) <u>Conversation takes place in real time</u>: this concept highlights the spontaneous aspect of speaking as a real-time production, which is expressed in silence, pauses, hesitation, reduced forms or interruptions. Although the excerpts under analysis are scripted and, hence, non-spontaneous, some of these conversational strategies of natural conversation are featured in scripted dialogues as well, which will be further elaborated in section 6.1.3.

When establishing these five characteristics of conversation, Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002) presumably had the characteristics of natural conversation in mind. However, as will be demonstrated in the course of this diploma thesis, these characteristics can also be found in scripted dialogue. Engaging in conversation, but also analyzing interaction demands awareness of the situational, socio-cultural context and background knowledge of the interlocutors and their relationship towards each other (Quaglio 2009: 6). Although a great deal of sociocultural and background knowledge of the interlocutors concerning both of the characters and the audience is limited in the context of television shows, Quaglio (2009: 11) argues that these discourse circumstances are achievable in television because of visual elements.

3.1.2. Identity and stance

In this section, the interrelatedness between identity and stance will be demonstrated. Buchholtz and Hall (2005: 585) highlight the relationship between stancetaking and the construction of identity, as they claim that "identities may be linguistically indexed through […] stances". Identity can, thus, emerge through "a repeated stancetaking move or pattern of moves" (Johnstone 2007: 52). Sociolinguistic research supports this claim. Jaffe (2009: 11), for example, argues that "identity can thus be seen as the cumulation of stances taken over time". Gordon (2007: 75) likewise supports the argument that identities are created through stancetaking in conversation. Accordingly, identities are understood as discursively constructed and expressed in stances. Speaking from a social constructivist perspective, Gordon (2007: 73) argues that stance, along with evaluation, positioning and alignment, is crucial for "locating identity construction in interaction." In other words, stance indexes identity. It can be argued that stancetaking induces the "linguistic construction of socioculturally meaningful identities of all types", such as gender or parental identities

(Gordon 2007: 76). Ochs (1993: 288) adds another layer to the relationship between stance and identity in her claim that speakers do not only construct their own identities in interaction, but they also construct the identities of their interlocutors "through verbally performing certain social acts and verbally displaying certain stances". In addition, stancetaking and identity construction are heavily dependent on the sociocultural context. In relation to this, Du Bois (2007: 173) highlights the exclusivity of a certain stance pattern in a particular sociocultural context by claiming that stance either explicitly or implicitly evokes assumed "systems of sociocultural value", while simultaneously reenacting and reproducing those systems. Accordingly, stancetaking and sociocultural value constitute an individual´s identity (Du Bois 2007: 173). Consequently, stancetaking significantly contributes to the construction of identities.

In order to comprehend the link between stancetaking and identity, the function of language needs to be considered. The use of language can be considered as an absolute necessity for human interaction as it is a medium for "ordering, classifying and manipulating the world" and to become part of a community of all sorts (Spender 1985: 3). Moreover, language helps to make meaning of the world which is in turn constructed by language (Spender 1985: 3). As already established above, identity can be seen as an accumulation of stances and acts, which are encoded in linguistic constructions. In order to understand and analyze identities, one has to be aware of the conventional sociocultural meanings which emerge in particular stances and are related due to "local conventional links" (Ochs 1993: 289). The relation between language and identity is heavily dependent, on the one hand, on the interlocutors´ understanding of conventions on stance and acts and, on the other hand, on the interlocutors´ understanding of how stances and acts are used to constitute identities (Ochs 1993: 289). On this note, it is relevant to add that sociocultural knowledge of the actors and settings, the relation between stances, acts and identities, are crucial for interlocutors and analysts "in linking specific conversational acts, stances, or positions with particular identities" (Gordon 2007: 75). To conclude, identities can be analyzed and interpreted if the sociocultural setting is considered.

3.1.3. Identity and gender

Since this diploma thesis is concerned with identity construction of mothers and fathers, gender identities should be discussed. Tannen (1996: 196) argues that particular

stancetaking patterns are "sex-class linked", which means that these patterns are "linked to the class of women or men rather than necessarily to individual members of these classes." Therefore, Tannen (1996: 199-200) suggests that when analyzing the relationship between gender and language, it is best to "not try to link behavior directly to individuals of one sex or the other but rather begin by asking how interaction is framed". Thus, a fruitful analysis considers first the stances which individual speakers take on in a specific situation and, subsequently, allocates men and women to particular patterns (Tannen 1996: 199-200). Ochs (1992, referred to in Gordon 2007: 76) expands this idea of a male and female pattern in stancetaking, by claiming that individual speakers adopt either male or female behavioral attributes in a particular sociocultural context. Furthermore, all stances have the potential of creating identities, but only within a particular sociocultural context (Ochs 1993, referred to in Gordon 2007: 76). Consequently, linguistic means and discursive practices can create a specific kind of identity, i.e. gender identity, which is influenced by sociocultural processes.

3.2. Performance and *facework*

Considering performances is beneficial in understanding how identities are constructed, in particular in conversation. Performance can be defined as "intentional self-construction" (Sunderland 2009: 188). The link between performance and identity construction has been an object of study in post-structuralism. Studies from this perspective revealed that discourse has a "constitutive potential" which means that through discursive practices performances and, ultimately, identities can be detected and interpreted (Sunderland 2004: 9). Butler (1988: 519) agrees that performance is partly constituted through language. Thus, the construction of the self can be seen as a linguistic performance employing discursive practices in a particular context (Sunderland 2009: 188). Moreover, Butler (1988: 519) perceives performance as an act in which identity is constituted "through a stylized repetition of acts". In other words, performance is not achieved in one single act, but rather in a repeated "set of practices" (Sunderland 2009: 188). Therefore, identity construction can be seen as a "performative accomplishment" (Butler 1988: 520). However, there is a significant difference between construction and performance; while construction can be performed by the self and others, performance can only be achieved by the self (Sunderland 2009: 188). Consequently, while identities may be constructed by social acts and constructs social acts, performance is an intentional regulation by an individual.

Closely related to performance is Goffman´s (1967) concept *facework*. According to Goffman (1967: 5), face is "an image of self" that is generated by "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself". Thus, face is determined by the way a speaker presents the self and the acknowledgment of this self by the interlocutor(s) (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 59). Nevertheless, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 59) argue that face is constructed in conversation with interlocutors, since an individual performs a presentation of the self that is desirable to other interlocutors and, as a consequence, will be acknowledged and supported by other individuals, because one can *save* or *lose* face in interaction with interlocutors (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 59). To conclude, since facework is dependent on the sociocultural setting and other interlocutors, it can be considered a performance of the self. Performance and facework are closely linked to impression management (see section 5.2).

3.3. Discourse

In the context of identity construction through discursive practices, the concept of discourse needs to be added. Discourse can be seen as a system of rules and ideas which is limited to a particular social and cultural context (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 42). Kendall (2007a: 125) adds that discourses can be defined as "ways of speaking and behavior" that are established by "a specific topic such as gender or class" (Davies & Harré 2001: 262). Fairclough (1995: 14) claims that discourses index ideologies as they "signif[y] a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective".

The relevant discourse for this diploma thesis is gendered discourse, in specific regarding sociocultural expectations and beliefs for women as mothers and men as fathers. Kendall (2007b: 7) argues that gender identities are constituted by women and men alike "by using discursive strategies that index sociocultural expectations associated with gender". Sunderland (2009: 18) adds that discourse has two functions when analyzing gender identity: gender identity is "represented in spoken and written texts *through* different discourses" [emphasis added] and gender identity emerges *from* discourse. Two functions of discourse can, thus, be distinguished. On the one hand, discourse is in a descriptive or linguistic sense a spoken or written text and more specifically a "linguistic, and accompanying paralinguistic, interaction between people in a specific context" (Talbot 1995: 43). On the other hand, from a post-structuralist perspective, discourse is defined as "broad constitutive systems of

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meaning" and "knowledge and practices generally associated with a particular institution or group of institutions" (Talbot 1995: 43) or simply in the sense of text analysis as "ways of seeing the world" (Sunderland 2004: 6). Bucholtz (1999: 4), who speaks from a sociolinguistics standpoint, agrees that "speakers' […] identities emerge from discourse". Moreover, Kendall (2007a: 125) claims that individuals constitute identities "by selecting from a range of discourses that have developed around a sphere of social practice"; as examples of such discourses gender and work-family issues are named. Specifically, post-structuralist studies emphasize that discourse has a "constitutive potential" (Sunderland 2004: 9-10), meaning that identities can be constructed not only in, but also through conversation. Consequently, identities shape gender simultaneously while gender shapes identities. Evidently, stance and identity can be attributed to male and female paternal roles.

4.   Stance

4.1.   Definition

Since the definition of stance varies among research fields, it is essential to establish its meaning in linguistics and sociolinguistics; thus, in this diploma thesis. In everyday language stance is typically associated with the physical act of a person, as "the way in which someone stands, especially when deliberately adopted […]; a person's posture" (*The Oxford Dictionary* 2018c); whereas sociolinguistics extended the meaning of this term to sociocultural and linguistic contexts. In sociolinguistics, stance is rather broadly defined as a "display of a socially recognized view or attitude" (Ochs 1993: 288). Similarly, Biber, Leech and Conrad (2002: 460) refer to stance as an accumulation of "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments". Moreover, Du Bois (2007: 139) highlights the linguistic component by claiming that one of the most important things to do with language is stancetaking. Moreover, Du Bois (2007: 139) identified three components of stance: "stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest", i.e. assessment, "to position social actors with respect to those objects", i.e. positioning and "to calibrate alignment between stancetakers", i.e. alignment. This definition points to the three main concepts introduced by Du Bois (2007) which constitute stance: positioning, alignment and assessment (see section 4.2). In addition, Biber and Finegan (1989: 92) argue that stance is mostly expressed through linguistic means, since stance is "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes,

feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message". According to Englebretson (2007: 17), stance is created through discursive practices; thus, grammar and lexis can be analyzed in regards to how stance is constituted. These definitions discussed above are beneficial in shaping the understanding of the sociolinguistic meaning of stance.

To provide a precise definition for this diploma thesis, it is valuable to include Englebretson´s (2007: 6-7) five key principles:

1) Stance has three levels: physical action, personal attitude/belief/evaluation and social morality
2) Stance is publicly perceivable and interpretable by others
3) Stance is interactional, i.e. stance is collaboratively constructed among participants and through other stances
4) Stance is indexical, as it indicates individual and societal issues
5) Stance is consequential, i.e. taking a stance leads to real consequences for the persons or institutions involved

As discussed in the previous paragraph, the first key conceptual principle has been established by other sociolinguistic researchers as well; the remaining four, however, add new layers to the above described elementary definitions. Firstly, stance is seen as a social act which can be observed and interpreted by others. In other words, stancetaking is a public event, since stance is communicated explicitly or implicitly, through linguistic and non-linguistic means (Du Bois 2007: 170). Secondly, the interactional nature of stance is considered in "the aspects of language that are jointly constructed, negotiated, and realized in and through interaction" (Englebretson 2007: 19). Within the scope of stance, Du Bois (2007: 140) proposes to consider intersubjectivity, in the sense that a stancetaker´s messages are "derived from" and "further engaged with" words which have been uttered before or in the same conversation from other interlocutors. In this sense, Du Bois (2007: 140) understands intersubjectivity as "the relation between one actor´s subjectivity and another´s". Thirdly, stancetaking indicates positions, values and beliefs of individuals. Du Bois (2007: 139) agrees on an indexical effect of stance, as stance may "assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects" and "invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value." Lastly, the sociocultural causality of

stancetaking is introduced, meaning that stancetaking has consequences on how individuals perceive others and are perceived by others. In conclusion, Englebretson´s (2007) definition of stance is relevant as it justifies a sociolinguistic analysis of conversations and consequently, forms a basis for the analysis in this diploma thesis.

Having established Englebretson´s (2007) definition, a widely accepted and adopted definition of stance in sociolinguistics has been provided by Du Bois (2007: 163):

> Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

While Du Bois (2007: 163) assimilated various aspects of the previously mentioned definitions, such as the interactional and public nature of stance, he follows Englebretson´s (2007) key conceptual principle (4) (i.e. "stance is indexical") and introduces three main concepts: evaluation, i.e. assessing individual behavior or statements, positioning, i.e. position of the speaker towards the self and the other and alignment, i.e. aligning positions, opinions or attitudes with interlocutors (see section 4.2). Adding to Du Bois´ (2007) three principles, Englebretson (2007: 17) suggests a modified subdivision of stance: (1) evaluation, which addresses expressing and assessing value judgments and attitudes, (2) affect, which involves personal feelings and (2) epistemicity, which encompasses commitment. Englebretson´s (2007) subdivision facilitates detecting and interpreting linguistic features. These concepts and their application will be further explained in section 7.2.

Consequently, this study is based on a merged definition of stance provided by Englebretson (2007) and Du Bois (2007). Considering Englebretson´s (2007) definition, stance can be considered an explicitly or implicitly observed attitude, evaluation and belief, is often collaboratively constructed with other stancetakers, indexes sociocultural knowledge and expectations, and constructs identity. These principles of stance are displayed through Du Bois´ (2007) three concepts alignment, positioning and evaluation. The analysis of the excerpts should reveal how mothers and fathers of different types of family use linguistic means and discursive practices to express alignment, positioning and assessment in stancetaking, which are constructed through affective and epistemic moves to constitute parental identities.

4.2. Evaluation, positioning and alignment

In order to analyze stance, Du Bois´ (2007) three key conceptual principles which are displayed in the stance triangle: evaluation, positioning and alignment are considered in this section. While the focus will be on Du Bois´ (2007) understanding of these social acts, the definitions and implementations of these terms will be compared and contrasted with those of other sociolinguistic researchers. The three conceptual principles will be introduced in the order in which they appear in his definition of stance.

Evaluation could be considered the most relevant principle in this diploma thesis considering the speech event stancetaking towards a misbehaving child. Du Bois (2007: 142) defines evaluation as "the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value". Whereas Du Bois (2007: 142) merely relates assessment to evaluation, Goodwin and Goodwin (1992: 154) claim that evaluation is a significant part of assessment, as they define assessing as "evaluating [...] persons and events". This diploma thesis will use the terms assessment and evaluation synonymously. Gordon (2007: 80) adds that "participants coordinat[e] assessments to make congruent understanding visible in conversation". Gordon (2007: 80) bases her claim that assessments "are social acts that index appreciation, rapport, and sympathy" and, thus, contribute to constituting identities in families on Ochs´s (1993, referred to in Gordon 2007: 80) work. Ochs (1993, referred to in Gordon 2007: 80) linked assessment to identity construction, as she proved that taking evaluative stances and creating alignment establishes social identity. This shows the interrelatedness of the three concepts since assessment leads to a certain degree of alignment while positioning the stancetaker towards an object or another subject. Moreover, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 149) assert that evaluation is crucial in social interaction and in constructing and modifying social norms. Furthermore, evaluative acts do not only adapt and reinforce social relationships, but also establish hierarchies. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 149) claim that "our social personae and statuses feed on evaluation". Gordon (2007: 80) argues that various studies, such as Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) reveal that assessment frequently is an interactive and collaborative process between two or more interlocutors. What is more, assessment often emerges from an "assessment activity", which means that interlocutors assess a subject, an object or a topic, but also "monitor the assessment-relevant actions of others"

(Goodwin & Goodwin 1992: 15). Thus, evaluation or assessment can be defined as the act of assigning value to a subject or an object. Moreover, assessment is significant in constructing parental identities in conflict.

Du Bois´ (2007) second concept positioning describes the act of stancetaking of an individual towards the self, other speakers and objects. Du Bois (2007: 143) defines positioning as "the act of situating a social actor" in a stance which invokes "sociocultural value." Moreover, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 157) offer a more precise explanation by subdividing the act of positioning into two aspects which are both constructed through discursive practice. On the one hand, speakers position themselves towards an object, i.e. a topic or a discourse. On the other hand, position can be taken towards the self or another person and their feelings, values, beliefs, ideas, and attitudes (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 157). Furthermore, positioning shows the interrelatedness of the three key conceptual principles of the stance triangle; while speakers position themselves towards the other person, they simultaneously assess the other person´s abilities, institutional status and the stances they take (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 157). In assessing the other speaker´s feelings and beliefs, the other subject is placed in "particular (and changing) discursive positions" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 157). These discursive positions are dependent on the sociocultural context. Furthermore, positioning is closely linked to subjectivity, as subjectivity can be defined as the speaker´s "self-expression" (Englebretson 2007: 16). Du Bois (2007: 152) adds that subjectivity enforces positioning. However, Du Bois (2007: 157) urges to define subject and object and their relationship towards each other to investigate how subjectivity influences a position. In conclusion, positioning is the subjective view of an individual on a situation in conversation, and will, thus, prove to be relevant in analyzing parental identities.

The concept of alignment generally encompasses a stancetaking act between two speakers. Gordon (2007: 75) argues that alignment is a "linguistically performing act" on either a topic or other interactants. Du Bois (2007: 144) adds that alignment is typically achieved in conversation between two or more people, since "alignment normally implies agreement with someone". In the context of the stance triangle, Du Bois (2007: 144) provides the following definition: "alignment can be defined provisionally as the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers." This

definition highlights the effect alignment has on establishing and fostering relationships. Moreover, Du Bois (2007: 162) claims that alignment can be positioned "along a continuous scale or range of values", i.e. a negative and a positive pole. Due to the fact that alignment is a variable on a scale, this conceptual principle can be measured in subtle degrees. Thus, speakers align relatively positively or negatively, or, to be more precise, convergently or divergently to a certain degree towards the other speaker (Du Bois 2007: 162). Furthermore, alignment can be communicated explicitly or implicitly (Du Bois 2007: 144). On the one hand, speakers can align themselves explicitly towards others with the stance verb "agree", but also by stating "yes" and "no", as well as through gestures, intonation and facial expressions, or any other stance markers that indicate some degree of alignment. On the other hand, implicit alignment needs to be discovered by the speakers, who have to compare previous relevant stances. Evidently, intersubjectivity, as Englebretson (2017: 6) suggests, plays a significant role in alignment. Consequently, alignment functions as a strong indicator for the relationship of speakers

Although the interrelatedness of the three key conceptual principles of stance according to Du Bois (2007) has already been indicated on various occasions, their relationship and function will be further elaborated in the stance triangle in section 7.

5.   Parental identities in family interaction

The following section discusses the findings of research from the perspectives of feminism, media and television studies on maternal and paternal roles in family interaction and family structure. This section reveals specific societal expectations and beliefs of parents and outlines stereotypes of women as mothers and men as fathers in society and in particular in the media and television.

5.1.   Sex versus gender

To analyze gender stereotypes, it is essential to first establish the difference between sex and gender, female and feminine, male and masculine. Across disciplines there are virtually mutually agreed upon definitions of sex and gender; *sex* is dependent on biological factors, while *gender* is a social construct. According to Talbot (1998: 7), sex is "biologically founded" and binary which means that a person may be either male or female; whereas gender is a "social category" which means that gender characteristics are produced and reproduced by

societal conventions. Sex can be considered a stable concept, while gender characteristics are constructed and obtained in a dynamic process. Since gender characteristics are acquired in the active process of "gendering", Talbot (1998: 7) suggests a continuum on which people can be positioned as more or less feminine or masculine. Romaine (1999: 4) also comments on the dynamic process of gender, as she suggests that gender is something "that people index, do, display, communicate, or perform" (Romaine 1999: 4). To conclude, sex refers to biological characteristics, while gender traits are acquired and, thus, develop a social construct.

The interrelatedness of sex and gender has a significant impact on societal expectations and beliefs of characteristics of women and men. Talbot (1998: 9) claims that "gender is mapped onto sex" which implies that gender traits are constructed based on the characteristics of sex. In other words, female and male gender traits are attributed to feminine and masculine characteristics. Although sex cannot be equated with gender, Talbot (1998: 9) argues that the concepts of sex and gender are frequently used interchangeably. This confusion of sex and gender has sociocultural consequences as it may generate "a reassertion of traditional family roles, or justifications for male privileges" (Talbot 1998: 9). Thus, the equation of sex and gender provokes not only certain expectations for men and women but also gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes can be defined as "sets of beliefs about the attributes of men and women", for example, men are said to be more aggressive than women, while women take on a passive role in conversation (Romaine 1999: 4). Consequently, stereotypes reveal society´s attitudes towards how men and women should act and behave (Romaine 1999: 4). In conclusion, gender attributes are constructed by societal conventions and beliefs.

Towards the end of the century, research on gender stereotypes has multiplied. One of the most influential studies is the pioneering sociolinguistic research, from a feminist perspective, on the correlation of gender and the use of language by Lakoff (1975). In her study, Lakoff (1975) attempted to determine characteristic language traits of men and women. The study was conducted with North American middle-class women and focused on the specific use of vocabulary and linguistic features. She introduced *women´s language* which encapsulates the talk *about* women and the talk *by* women (Talbot 1998: 38). Some results include that women are said to use hedges, i.e. "sort of" or "kind of", as well as

empty adjectives, i.e. "adorable" or "divine" more often than men. Although Lakoff´s (1975) research is valuable in the sense that it introduced various strategies on how to analyze the relationship between gender and language, the results unintentionally enforced prevalent gender stereotypes and prejudice on women (Talbot 1998: 40). Nevertheless, Lakoff´s (1975) research is considered to be one of the most influential studies in investigating gender and language. The following sections outline research on the correlation of gender stereotypes and language in the context of the media and television.

5.2. Traditional discourse of family roles

Although the roles of mothers and fathers concerning the distribution of responsibilities in childcare and providing financial income are in transition, Kendall (2007a: 124) argues that the traditional family structure in Western society consists of the mother as the "caregiver" and the father as the "breadwinner". Therefore, the mother´s responsibility is domestic work and caring for children, while the father is responsible for the financial support. Porta and Howe (2012: 519) agree that in Western culture mothers tend to be associated with the duty of raising children and guaranteeing their well-being and safety. However, it remains unclear whether these societal expectations have been transferred to or emerged from mother´s and father´s beliefs on parental responsibilities. For example, Kendall (2007a: 124) asserts that mothers partly define their identity by positioning themselves as the primary caregiver and the fathers as secondary caregivers.

Since this diploma thesis is concerned with the representation of parental roles in a sitcom, it seems to be valuable to consider the representation of mothers and fathers in the media. For example, Sunderland (2000) investigated parenting materials, such as booklets, brochures, magazines and manuals in order to examine the representation of mothers´ and fathers´ egalitarian involvement in childcare. The study revealed that the gender identities of mothers and fathers are represented in a different way (Sunderland 2000: 254). For example, two roles of a father have been identified: the "father as baby entertainer" and "father as mother´s bumbling assistant". Thus, the analysis proved that the media depicts traditional parental roles "part-time father and mother as main parent" (Sunderland 2000: 249). In the same context of media studies, Lazar (2000) investigated motherhood and fatherhood in television commercials. Lazar (2000: 396) revealed gendered tasks, which means that mothers and fathers are assigned specific roles in childcare. Concluding the

results of both studies, the mother´s role is depicted as nurturing and caring, while the father´s role is entertaining the child. Consequently, it can be concluded that in the media mothers and fathers are frequently assigned divided gendered roles in childcare, while mothers primarily have a caregiving and nurturing role, fathers are depicted as the secondary caregiver and assistant to the mother in addition to entertaining the child.

The following section outlines four common stereotypes of both mothers and fathers that have proven to be particularly relevant in relation to the analysis of this study. These stereotypes reinforce the persisting parental roles of the mother as the primary caregiver and the father as the secondary caregiver.

Mother as the primary caregiver

As established above, mothers are depicted in the media and expected by Western society to be the primary caregiver. Principally, both parents are legal guardians of their children and responsible for raising their children "properly" (Schlenker 1980: 139) and, thus, are often held accountable for children´s misbehavior. However, Gordon (2007: 77) argues that in particular mothers are frequently blamed for their children´s "shortcoming". This responsibility that is assigned to mothers might be due to the fact that in Western culture mothers are thought of and represented in the media as the primary caretakers (Sunderland 2000, Lazar 2000).

Due to a mother´s role as a primary caregiver, mothers more so than fathers provide apologies or explanations for a child´s misbehavior (Gordon 2007: 83). Considering a child´s transgression, mothers commonly take responsibility in order to save face, whereby they engage in "impression management" (Goffman 1959, referred to in Gordon 2007: 77) Schlenker (2012: 492) defines Goffman´s (1959) term *impression management* as: "the goal-directed activity of controlling information in order to influence the impressions formed by an audience". In other words, through impression management individuals shape their audience´s impression of the self, other individuals, objects, events or ideas (Schlenker 2012: 492). Moreover, impression management can be equated with "self-presentation" (Schlenker 2012: 492). Accordingly, impression management may be considered a specific type of performance (see section 3.2). Mothers engage in this activity as they might be concerned with how they appear to interlocutors. Therefore, they create an impression of

the self that they wish others to perceive (Schlenker 2012: 493). However, Schlenker (2012: 493) emphasizes that impression management should not be understood as a "superficial, deceptive and manipulative activity", but rather as a truthful and authentic display of the self that is "genuinely believed by the actor to be true". Scott and Lyman (1968: 59) emphasize that "every account is a manifestation of the underlying negotiation of identities" that are displayed and developed in conversation. Hence, when mothers account for a child´s misbehavior and engage in impression management, they simultaneously display and construct a maternal identity. In connection to this, mothers tend to make assessments in "self-defence or in defence of the children" (Talbot 1998: 76). To conclude, impression management can be defined as the deliberate regulation of one´s performance in conversation with other interlocutors depending on the sociocultural context.

To conclude, mothers are often held accountable and feel responsible for a child´s misbehavior. A common strategy of mothers is to apologize for a child´s transgression in order to save face. Moreover, by offering an apology they engage in impression management.

Mothers and intimacy

Another stereotypical attribute frequently linked to the role of a mother is displaying intimacy and affection between mother and child. Intimacy can be displayed by the social acts noticing, sharing and soliciting details which are performed by mothers more often than fathers (Gordon 2007: 77). Tannen (2007: 12) argues that mothers share and solicit details in order to involve other interlocutors in conversation and foster relationships. Here, involvement is defined as "an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words" (Tannen 2007: 148). As a consequence, Gordon (2007: 78) concludes that mothers gather and provide details to foster connection and intimacy with their children. Since the social act of sharing and soliciting detail is associated with members of the class of females, these acts can be considered "sex-class linked" (Tannen 1994: 713). Talbot (1998: 74) agrees that in most households, mothers know more details of their children´s lives than their fathers. In connection to this, a study by Youniss and Smollar (1985) revealed that adolescents felt more comfortable talking about private and intimate concerns with their mothers rather than with their fathers.

The intimacy of mothers with their children might be constructed through affective language. Affective language can be defined as linguistic means that express emotions and is said to be common in conversation among women (Tomczak & Jaworska-Pasterska 2017: 5). Women tend to use emotionally expressive language as politeness strategies more than men (Talbot: 1998: 90). For Example, Holmes (1995, referred to in Talbot 1998: 90) discovered that women tend to use hedges (*sort of, kind of* or *about*), tag questions (*isn´t it*) and boosters (*so*, *really*). Furthermore, Sheldon (1993: 87) agrees that female speech can be characterized as "collaboration oriented, or affiliative".

In addition, a mother´s identity is often tied to the identity of her child. In analyzing conversations between female friends, Coates (1997) identified two contrasting discourses of maternity: the *dominant* discourse versus the *alternative* discourse. The *dominant* discourse claims that women perceive all children as "marvelous" and "all mothers take pride in their children´s achievements" (Coates 1997: 291). Whereas the *alternative* discourse states that some women might not wish to have children and, what is more, do not necessarily like children (Coates 1997: 291). Since a traditional perspective expects mothers to be "loving, caring, nurturing beings for whom having children is the ultimate experience of their lives", it can be argued, that the identity of a mother is often tied to the identity of her child (Coates 1997: 294). Moreover, Adelswärd and Nilholm (2000, referred to in Gordon 2007: 74) observed mothers´ behavior at a parent-teacher-conference to investigate identity construction of mothers. Their study revealed that the mother´s identity is tied to the identity of the child. For example, a mother employs a variety of linguistic strategies to help her daughter to present herself as a competent conversation partner in a parent-teacher conference (Adelswärd & Nilholm 2000, referred to in Gordon 2007: 74).

To conclude, mothers prioritize intimacy and affection with their children, which they achieve by gathering detail and providing detail, but also by aligning their identities with the identity of their child. Moreover, mothers enforce intimacy through affective language.

Father as the secondary caregiver

As already indicated above, fathers are thought of as being the secondary caregiver. Sunderland (2009: 123) and Kendall (2007a: 131) consider the function of a father in childcare as a "bumbling assistant" to the mother. This distribution of roles in childcare leads

to a father feeling less responsible for a child´s misbehavior (Gordon 2007: 83). The assistant function might be linked to the "gate-keeping role" of a mother, as fathers often occupy a "more passive helper role, assisting with children´s care" which is typically orchestrated by mothers (Cowan et al. 2008: 66). In addition, through the analysis of television commercials, Lazar (2000: 122) identified that fathers often take on the role of an entertainer, by engaging children in humorous activities such as making funny faces. Kendall (2007a: 131) agrees that fathers are displayed and perceived as "baby entertainers", by engaging children in activities of "fun" and "play".

To conclude, in a traditional discourse, fathers are said to be less involved in the responsibility of caring for their children. Thus, the function of a secondary caregiver results in fathers being the assistant to the mother and the entertainer.

Father as the problematizer

Whereas fathers might not be as involved in childcare as mothers in a traditional discourse and are considered to be secondary caregivers, fathers function as the primary assessor. In their study on dinner talk of US American families, Ochs and Taylor (1992a: 329) found that a father takes on the role of the primary audience and judge, leads the narrative and introduces new topics. This position is referred to as the *Father knows best* phenomenon (Ochs & Taylor 1992b: 447). Furthermore, fathers often assume the role of the *problematizer* which means that they place judgment on, i.e. evaluate, others´ behavior and identify issues (Talbot 1998: 75). Consequently, fathers are usually situated at the top of the family hierarchy. In contrast, mothers and children are often *problematizees*, meaning that their behavior is judged and evaluated by the problematizer (Tannen 2007: 33). Hence, fathers can be considered to be "family judges"; while mothers tend to help to manifest the ideology of the "Father knows best" phenomenon (Talbot 1998: 77-78). Ochs and Taylor (1992a: 329) add that mothers often play a significant role in positioning the father as the problematizer, in that they provide details of their children´s lives.

In conclusion, fathers take on the role of the problematizer by judging and evaluating behavior and actions of mothers, children and other people, i.e. the problematizees.

5.3.   Parental positions in conflict talk

In view of a focus on stancetaking towards a misbehaving child, the context of conflict talk has to be considered. Gilligan (1987, referred to in Sheldon 1993: 89) identified two orientations which can be employed in conflict: the *care* and the *justice* orientation. Sheldon (1993: 89) equates the *care* focus with the terms "communion, affiliation, empathy, interdependence, and involvement". Using Gilligan´s (1987, referred to in Sheldon 1993: 89) categorization Sheldon (1993: 89) describes the female conversation style in conflict talk as: (1) aiming at fostering and maintaining interpersonal relationships in conflict resolution, (2) acting compassionately and tolerantly towards others, (3) emphasizing listening and being heard, (4) seeking agreement, (5) requesting less strict elaborations, (6) being willing to make exceptions to rules and (7) taking the individual situation into account. In contrast, Sheldon (1993: 90) equates the *justice* orientation with the terms "agency, self-assertion, individuality". Again using Gilligan´s (1987, referred to in Sheldon 1993: 90) terminology, Sheldon (1993: 90) identifies the following conversational traits of men in conflict talk: (1) wishing for individual justice, (2) valuing independence and autonomy, (3) respecting and accepting the need for separation, (4) valuing logic and rationality and (5) attending to rights and respect. Although both mothers and fathers may use both orientations, the care orientation is linked to mothers, while the justice orientation is linked to fathers (Sheldon 1993: 89).

5.4.   Representation of gender stereotypes in television

In constructing gender traits, the media plays a significant role. Sunderland (2009: 101) argues that the media not only reveal how men and women are represented but also in what way "normative gendered identities and relations" influence a particular culture and society.

Firstly, regarding representation, Easton (1996: 6) argues that "it is […] important to distinguish between our experiences and the images we meet of these in the arts, media and other cultural texts". Representation can be expressed through various means: spoken, written or visually, and can be detected through "discoursal traces" (Sunderland 2009: 4). Sunderland (2009: 24) exemplifies representation in the way black people were portrayed in mainstream US American cinema, for example in the 1930s black actors played mostly the roles of faithful servants. However, representation can also be expressed in stereotypes of

gender and sex (Sunderland 2009: 24). What is more, representation often heavily draws on stereotypes, as it can be observed in a British radio program of the 1960s ("Round the Horne") in which two characters were represented as effeminate stereotypical gay men, through the use of intonation, topics and lexical items (Baker 2002: 75).

Secondly, Romaine (1999: 4) asserts that the media represent the audience´s expectations of identity and gender and simultaneously "shape [the audience´s] understandings of gender". This argument can be transferred to television. For example, Alvarez-Pereyre (2011: 53) claims that characters and their use of language mirror and reproduce social constructs including gender stereotypes. These social constructs can be maintained as the characters are "imaginative exemplars" or reflections of the audience, which are portrayed in "ordinary and extraordinary circumstances" (Richardson 2010: 192). Moreover, the audience expects to *read* the characters´ speech and behavior in the same ways as characters in real-life (Richardson 2010: 127). Consequently, the media, including television, produce and display normative gender identities and thereby create gender stereotypes.

6.   Television studies

Since the turn of the millennium, television has globally become the most dominant medium in "cultural conversation" (Brook 2014). In other words, television programs influence and shape society and culture more than any other medium. This diploma thesis considers the television genre sitcom; in particular, it employs a sociolinguistic approach for the analysis of television drama dialogue. Richardson (2010: 3) defines television drama dialogue as on screen or on-mike talk which is communicated by characters in fictional or nonfictional genres. Characters in fictional genres, such as in the sitcom under analysis, deliver scripted dialogue which can be defined as what it is not: "unscripted, naturally occurring talk" produced by *real* human beings (Richardson 2010: 4). Consequently, scripted dialogue is a preconceived, non-spontaneous type of speech which is performed by characters on screen. Henceforth, this diploma thesis will refer to fictional television drama dialogue as scripted dialogue.

6.1. Scripted dialogue

6.1.1. Sociolinguistic perspectives on scripted dialogue

The following section outlines three studies that employed sociolinguistic theories and methods for analyzing scripted dialogue. Moreover, these studies detect and interpret the link between talk in television and real-life concerning linguistic means and discursive practices in conversation.

One of the first studies of this kind was Lakoff and Tannen´s (1994) analysis of the play *Scenes from a Marriage*. A linguistic analysis was employed for fictional dialogues, which was then quite unusual. Lakoff and Tannen (1994: 171) claim that through their study of the language use of a fictional married couple they gained two significant insights. On the one hand, a novel method for interpreting unscripted and scripted conversation could be established (Lakoff & Tannen 1994: 171). On the other hand, an innovative "theory of communicative competence" could be developed (Lakoff & Tannen 1994: 171). This study induced similar research on the correlation between scripted dialogue and natural conversation in various genres.

The analysis of scripted dialogue in plays expanded to television shows in the second half of the twentieth century. For example, Quaglio (2009) employed a combination of a quantitative corpus-based analysis and a qualitative grammatical approach in order to reveal the co-occurrence of specific linguistic features in a corpus and to compare scripted dialogue from the TV sitcom *Friends* with natural conversation. The results show that conversations in *Friends* share core linguistic features with natural conversation, such as high frequencies of contractions, personal pronouns and mental verbs (*think*, *know*) (Quaglio 2009: 140). However, conversations in *Friends* include more empathic and emotional language than natural conversation, which is presumably due to the fact, that a "dramatic" or entertaining effect should be created in television (Quaglio 2009: 105).

Another example of an analysis of scripted dialogue is a study by Richardson (2010). This study examined impoliteness in the American television series *House*. Richardson (2010: 169) employed sociolinguistic theories and methods on impoliteness and conflict in talk to primarily, analyze strategies of impoliteness and secondarily, determine the function of these strategies to contribute to series branding. The results reveal that the two main

functions of impoliteness in *House* are, on the one hand, to shape the *snarky* personality of the main character House and, on the other hand, to entertain the audience (Richardson 2010: 185).

To conclude, these three studies should demonstrate that employing sociolinguistic theories and methods on scripted dialogue is not only possible but also beneficial, for example, to gain insights in determining characteristics of scripted dialogue in relation to natural conversation. The following section presents these benefits while considering the deficiencies of analyzing scripted dialogue.

6.1.2. Benefits and shortcomings of analyzing scripted dialogue

As these three studies and their results demonstrate, a sociolinguistic analysis of scripted dialogue is possible and beneficial, but only if certain preconditions are established and shortcomings are considered.

Di Maggio (1990: 329) addresses the deficiencies of scripted dialogue in that she claims that scripted dialogue needs to be "economical". Due to a limited time frame of one episode, scripted dialogue can be seen as a compact version of natural conversation. Moreover, Quaglio (2009: 69) agrees that television dialogue cannot be equated with natural conversation, as television shows have "restricted range of situations, age groups, and dialectical varieties" (Quaglio 2009: 69). In connection to this, Quaglio (2009: 147) emphasizes that various restrictions are established by the television medium or the network, such as the prohibition of expletives. Rossi (2011: 45) asserts that scripted dialogue in television creates merely an "illusion of spontaneity", as it is typically created and revised by various people involved while claiming to depict real-life. Thus, sociolinguistic research of scripted dialogue needs to consider that dialogue in television has certain restrictions and is inevitably non-spontaneous, as it is produced and edited by multiple screenwriters. Due to the shortcomings of scripted dialogue, analysis requires careful consideration of the validity of the methods applied because only if these preconditions are established meaningful conclusions can be drawn. Richardson (2010: 169) claims that although certain dialogues in television are pre-scripted and "not drawn from real-life", an analysis of scripted dialogue is potent if it is theoretically grounded. Quaglio (2009: 148-149) adds that when the differences between scripted language and natural conversation are taken into account, their multitude of similarities can present a legitimate object of analysis. Thus, when the

shortcomings mentioned above of scripted dialogue are acknowledged, a sociolinguistic analysis can be beneficial for various reasons.

Firstly, Richardson (2010: 196) argues that if scripted dialogue is approached "in the right way", a sociolinguistic analysis of scripted dialogue may discover linguistic patterns or conversational strategies which have not yet been detected or thoroughly investigated in natural conversation. Secondly, the above-mentioned research by Lakoff and Tannen (1994; 171) confirms that an analysis of scripted dialogue may evoke new methodology and development for communicative competences in naturally occurring talk. Thirdly, Quaglio (2009: 149) recommends examining television drama dialogue in the context of conversation studies in order to promote comprehension of the function and form of certain linguistic items in natural conversation or to learn more about natural conversation. Lastly, Alvarez-Pereyre (2011: 62) argues that cinematic language can be used to analyze metalinguistic elements, as the dramatization of speech can "provide useful clues on the relationship between form, meaning and function of lexicogrammatical structures".

In conclusion, if the deficiencies of scripted dialogue are considered and the methods are theoretically grounded and meticulously selected, a sociolinguistic analysis of non-spontaneous language use in television can be valuable for various purposes. In addition, given the social relevance of sitcoms, it is relevant to analyze them carefully.

6.1.3. Scripted dialogue versus natural conversation

Although research determined the benefits of analyzing language use in television, scripted dialogue has been disregarded considerably from academic research for two reasons. Firstly, scripted dialogue is considered "too transparent, too simple to need study" (Kozloff 2000: 6). Secondly, a sociolinguistic analysis of scripted dialogue has been widely neglected by scholars as visual analyses were prioritized (Richardson 2010: 15). However, Richardson (2010: 4) emphasizes the importance of dialogue in television, as she argues that because characters in drama are a "product of imagination" dialogue provides characters with "plausibility, appropriacy and consistency". The following section aims at defusing the first argument, in that it emphasizes that the basis of scripted dialogue is natural conversation and challenges the *naturalness* of natural conversation.

Firstly, scripted dialogue may be seen as an imitation of natural conversation. Quaglio (2009: 11) argues that scripted dialogue is a "representation of face-to-face conversation". Richardson (2010: 4) agrees that television dialogue is a "mimetic copy of real conversation". In addition, scripted dialogue should "largely follow the rules and norms of everyday occurring conversations" (Chepinchikj & Thompson 2016: 42). Moreover, Rey (2001: 138) claims that the language used in television is a reflection of how scriptwriters perceive natural conversation. Additionally, writers aim at using realistic language instead of "stylized or poetic modes of talk" which means that real-life and *natural* language use is imitated in order to entice the audience to consider scripted talk as natural, i.e. real, everyday talk (Richardson 2010: 5). For example, in an attempt to naturalize scripted dialogue, scriptwriters may use characteristics of naturally occurring speech, such as overlapping utterances, interruptions, pauses or self-corrections (Richardson 2010: 193). Moreover, Quaglio (2009: 10) remarks that there is a large number of manuals on how to write television dialogues. However, these manuals lack linguistic information and essentially rely on "native-speaker intuition" (Quaglio 2009: 10). As a solution to this issue, writers are advised to examine naturally-occurring conversation, for example, by observing "real people talk" (Hunter 1994: 28) or by audio recording natural conversation (Horton 1999: 141 Quaglio). Alvarez-Pereyre (2011: 61) adds that scripted dialogue is based on "a pool of utterances that have been validated by native speakers" which means that scripted dialogue should be devoid of language mistakes or "irrelevant use[s] on the part of the speaker". Consequently, scripted dialogue can be seen as a produced and revised representation of naturally occurring conversation.

Secondly, the *naturalness* of natural conversation should be called into question. Richardson (2010: 4) argues that naturally occurring conversation is *unnatural* in the sense that it is a performance which is dependent on the sociocultural setting and actions and behavior of other interlocutors. In addition, individuals create performances in conversation, for example in order to negotiate social relationships in interaction (Richardson 2010: 4). Moreover, Chepenchikj and Thompson (2016: 41) add that individuals communicate to achieve certain aims which result in different performances that are dependent on the aims. Based on Goffman´s (1959, referred to in Richardson 2010: 4) dramaturgical model of analyzing interaction, Richardson (2010: 4) claims that if individuals perform a goal-oriented behavior in the interaction with others, a performance is a matter of negotiation and, thus,

an individual and exclusive performance. Therefore, in natural conversation interlocutors use different performances in order to fulfill individual communicative or social aims.

To conclude, this section argues that scripted dialogue is a valid object of analysis for sociolinguistic studies for two reasons: firstly, scripted dialogue is based on natural conversation or how *real* people perceive and imitate naturally occurring conversation, and secondly, the *naturalness* in natural conversation should be contested as individuals construct various performances in interaction. The following section presents the relevant television genre for this diploma thesis, i.e. the sitcom, and introduces *modern family* and the characters in question.

6.2. Sitcom and *modern family*

6.2.1. Definition and characteristics

The term *sitcom* is a blend of the two terms *situation* and *comedy*, the widely acknowledged and quoted definition provided by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2013) outlines its characteristics:

> Situation comedy, also called sitcom radio or television comedy series that involves a continuing cast of characters in a succession of episodes. Often the characters are markedly different types thrown together by circumstance and occupying a shared environment such as an apartment building or workplace. Sitcoms are typically half an hour in length; they are either taped in front of a studio audience or employ canned applause, and they are marked by verbal sparring and rapidly resolved conflicts.

The popularity of sitcoms may be explained by a high degree of audience identification with the characters due to the depiction of real-life events and its influence on American culture and society.

Firstly, the audience may be emotionally engaged with the sitcom´s plot as they "often associate a particular show with a specific time of their life that emotionally meant something to them" (Winzenburg 2004: 11). Cooper (1997: 91) agrees that "characters […] express emotions that provoke a sense of recognition in viewers". Therefore, Bernan (1987: 13) asserts that sitcoms´ primary aim is to relate to their audience. This goal can be achieved by "creating characters who are supposed to resemble and to represent the audience" (Bernan 1987: 13). Cooper (1997: 91) introduces four basic needs of the audience in order to

achieve a high degree of audience identification: universal emotions, new information, conflict resolution and completion. Furthermore, audience identification can be mainly achieved through language (Quaglio 2009: 12). Thus, the language use of the characters is of importance regarding audience identification as the characters "express a language that also resembles that of the audience" (Quaglio 2009: 12). Consequently, sitcoms attempt to imitate real-life events and portray these events in a humorous matter. In other words, viewers may develop emotional connections with characters and their situations and in a way identify with them. Thus, it can be argued that producers of sitcoms intend to represent and reproduce real-life and produce scripted dialogue as a representation of real talk, with one aim being to mirror societal expectations and norms.

Secondly, the growing attraction of analyzing sitcoms might be due to the sitcom´s development as "the most popular type of programming on the most influential medium in history" (Winzenburg 2004: 11). In other words, the media in general, but television in particular, influence the viewers and, as a consequence, society. Pierson (2005: 35) argues that American sitcoms display culture in a set of rules: "rules for engaging and disengaging in romantic and sexual relationships, rules or marriage [...], rules for raising one´s children". Moreover, sitcoms determine "how we think and what we think about" (Winzenburg 2004: 11). These arguments can be summarized in Bernan´s (1987: 13) words: "the sitcom suggests an attitude toward things, and toward ourselves". Therefore, Dalton and Linder (2005: 1) urge to consider sitcoms as a "cultural artifact" which demonstrates ideologies, in particular, related to gender roles, social class and romantic relationships and relationships within families. Consequently, the sitcom is influenced by society but also influences society.

The sitcom under analysis *modern family* fits this definition. Firstly, the continuing cast, which consists of three interrelated families, depicts real-life issues and events in an often humorous manner, such as raising children, negotiating parental roles or holiday celebrations. The families occupy a shared environment in the sense that they live in the same town but individual houses. Moreover, the families often gather in either one of the homes of the families, for example, on holidays, for birthday celebrations or the weekly Sunday dinner at Jay and Gloria´s house. The typical length of an episode of *modern family* is approximately 20 minutes. The plot of an episode typically revolves around issues concerning family, work or school, whereby each conflict has a resolution in the same

episode. However, *modern family* does not include laugh tracks or canned applause. Consequently, the sitcom under analysis is a typical sitcom, but with a specific focus on family life.

6.2.2. *modern family*

The first episode of *modern family* aired on September 23, 2009 on the ABC network. The eight seasons that have aired so far have 24 episodes each (*ABC* 2018). Currently, the sitcom is in season 9, with its 200th episode just aired on January 10, 2018 (*ABC* 2018).

The producers and writers of the sitcom Steven Levitan and Christopher Lloyd created the show based on the premise of portraying a contemporary US American *modern* family. ABC Entertainment´s CEO Steve McPherson refers to the sitcom as "the next generation of family comedy" (Rose 2012). "The next generation of family" portrays not only the life of a traditional nuclear family but also two alternative forms: a blended multicultural family and same-sex parents with an adopted child. While *modern family* is not the first sitcom that displays different forms of family, the show certainly is exceptional in the sense that the families are related to each other and form one *big* family. The tagline highlights this premise: "One big (straight, gay, multicultural, traditional) happy family" (*ABC* 2018).

One distinctive feature of *modern family* is the *mockumentary* format; this term is a blend of "mock" and "documentary". The mockumentary style in *modern family* is achieved by "confessional cutaways" in which the characters provide the documentarian and the audience with comments on or further explanations for specific actions or behavior in a current scene (Saporito 2015). A cutaway in the media is defined as "a shot [...] of something other than the current action", for example, to add interest or information (MediaCollege 2012). However, the identity of the documentarian and the purpose of the documentary are never revealed in the show. This format facilitates audience involvement, as the viewers receive additional information directly from the characters. Consequently, the audience is encouraged to engage with the characters in order to sympathize and, ultimately, identify with them.

The popularity of *modern family* can be observed in the number of its viewers in the United States, for example, of approximately 14,082 million per episode of season 4 (*TV By The Numbers* 2015). However, *modern family* is also critically acclaimed, as it has already won 22

Emmy awards out of 80 nominations in the categories *Outstanding Cast for a Comedy Series*, *Outstanding Supporting Actor in a Comedy Series* and *Outstanding Comedy Series*, to name just a few (*Academy of Television Arts & Sciences* 2018). Moreover, *modern family* won five consecutive Emmys for Best Comedy Series from 2009 to 2014 (season 1 to 5) (*Academy of Television Arts & Sciences* 2018). In addition, Quaglio (2009: 17) claims that the sitcom *Friends´* popularity is due to the portrayal of real-life events in a humorous matter while depicting aspects of American culture. This insight may also hold true for the success of *modern family*.

The focus of *modern family* is on three related families who live in the same town in Southern California. The beginning of each episode is generally set in the three different homes of the families. During one episode, the issues of one family become entangled with the narratives of the other families. The episodes typically end with a family gathering of the members of all three families in one place and a resolution of the issues that arose at the beginning or during the episode. The families get together in order to resolve issues, but also for holiday celebrations, such as Thanksgiving, Christmas or Halloween. Each episode demonstrates the strong connection between the three families.

The following three paragraphs introduce the three types of family in the sitcom *modern family.*

The Dunphy Family – the standard North American family

Claire, formerly Pritchett, is married to Philipp (Phil) Dunphy. They are parents to three teenagers: the youngest son Luke, the middle-child Alex and the oldest daughter Haley. The family follows a traditional ideal concerning the distribution of roles. While Claire is responsible for domestic work and childcare, Phil is the breadwinner. Claire and Phil have contrasting parenting styles. While Claire is rather strict, as she implements and follows rules, Phil refers to himself as the "cool dad", as he attempts to talk to his children like their peer but act like a parent. Claire´s and Phil´s personalities are polar opposites in that Claire is a perfectionist and bossy, while Phil is childlike, humorous and often clumsy. The oldest daughter Haley is a stereotypical popular girl at high school who is more concerned with her physical appearance and boys than with her grades. Alex has been referred to as a nerd who has exceptionally good grades and an enormous work ethic. Luke is goofy, curious, and a

rather slow learner. His personality has often been compared to attributes of his father Phil. The Dunphy family represents the *traditional standard North American family*.

The Pritchett family – the blended family

Jay Pritchett is the head of two families. On the one hand, he is married to his significantly younger, second wife Gloria, who is from Colombia. From a previous marriage Gloria has a teenage son called Manny. Jay accepted Manny as his son, however, it is not revealed whether Manny is legally adopted by Jay. On the other hand, Jay is the father of his adult children Claire Dunphy and Mitchell "Mitch" Pritchett-Tucker who have families of their own. Jay maintains a patriarchal status in both families, the family with Gloria and Manny and the *big* family, i.e. including the families of Claire and Mitchell. This status was established mainly through his successful closet business, which generated a comfortable lifestyle, but also through the role of the family judge. For example, his son-in-law Phil constantly attempts to gain his approval. Jay works fulltime in his company, while Gloria´s duties include childcare and domestic work. However, due to Jay´s wealth, Gloria receives support from nannies and housemaids. Jay can be characterized as old-fashioned in two ways. Firstly, he occasionally relates situations from the past with current events and claims that they used to be different and often easier. Secondly, he initially struggled to accept Mitchell´s sexual orientation, as well as his son´s decisions to marry Cam and adopt a child. However, during the course of the series, Jay progressively accepts his son´s life choices. Gloria embraces the stereotype of a Latina[1], as she speaks in a loud voice and is rather impulsive. Moreover, her accent and pronunciation mistakes are often the butt of a joke in the show. She is also extremely concerned with her physical appearance, as she refuses to wear any other shoes than high heels, would not leave the house without makeup and regularly visits the gym. Moreover, Gloria is portrayed as an overly protective mother. Although Manny is a teenager and the same age as Luke Dunphy, Manny is frequently treated as an adult, because Manny rarely gets in conflict with his parents or other children. However, Manny struggles to find friends as he is not interested in activities which are typical for a boy of his age, but rather in literature and poetry. Frequently, Manny is the voice of reason when a conflict between family members arises, as some of his attributes

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[1] For a more comprehensive discussion on the representation of Latinas in the media see Marina Cepeda (2016), in particular the chapter by Héctor F. L´Hoeste (2016) "What´s in an Accent? Gender and Cultural Stereotypes in the Work of Sofía Vergara", as Sofía Vergara portrays Gloria in *modern family*.

include his sensitivity and rationality. Jay´s and Gloria´s newborn son Joseph "Joe" Fulcencio completes the Pritchett family in season 4. Joe is said to interact rather roughly with other children. Jay, Gloria, Manny and Joe represent the *blended family*.

The Pritchett-Tucker family - Same-sex parents with an adopted child

Jay´s son Mitchell lives with his life partner Cameron (Cam) Tucker-Pritchett and their adopted daughter Lily from Vietnam, who is a baby in seasons 1 and 2, and a toddler n seasons 3 to 5. In season 3, Mitch and Cam get legally married; the wedding depicts real-life as same-sex couples have been allowed to legally marry in California since 2008 (Liptak 2008), which is when season 4 aired. Mitch and Cam may be more progressive than the other two married couples, as they, for example, decided to take both names as their surnames, i.e. Pritchett-Tucker and Tucker-Pritchett. Although they can be considered a non-traditional family, they have clear divided gender and parental roles. Mitchell is a successful environmental attorney, thus, responsible for the financial income of the family; whereas Cam´s responsibilities are domestic work and childcare. During the course of the series, Cam takes on several professions, such as a history and music teacher at a high school, a driving instructor and a high school football coach. However, his main responsibility maintains the childcare. Mitch´s and Cam´s personalities are polar opposites. While Mitch can be described as uptight and introverted, in addition to feeling uncomfortable with displaying affection in public or invading his personal space, Cam is extroverted and dramatic, which often causes him to overreact in certain situations. Lily has been described in the series as having adopted personality traits from both her fathers. Moreover, she is selfless and kind, but at times is snarky and shows a lack of empathy. Cam, Mitch and Lily represent the other non-standard family, as same-sex parents with an adopted child.

7.   Methodology

In this diploma thesis, a qualitative sociolinguistic analysis is employed in order to examine stancetaking patterns by six parents in three families in the US American sitcom *modern family* towards one common speech event: disciplining a misbehaving child. The method primarily draws on Du Bois´ (2007) stance triangle and the entailed concepts of evaluation, positioning and alignment. In addition, epistemic and affective stance markers and the framing theory support the determination and interpretation of stances. Therefore, a

combination of the stance triangle, affective and epistemic stance moves and the framing theory will be applied to selected excerpts.

7.1. Analyzing stance

7.1.1. Stance triangle

This section is a continuation and further elaboration of Du Bois´s (2007) three main concepts of stance, i.e. evaluation, positioning and alignment (see section 4.2). Du Bois (2007) displays the complex concept of stancetaking in a simple geometric form of a triangle, which he calls the *stance triangle*. The stance triangle is fundamental for comprehending the "causal and inferential linkage" between the three key conceptual principles of stance: alignment, positioning and evaluation (Du Bois 2007: 165). Thus, the primary purpose of the stance triangle is to visually demonstrate the interrelatedness of and influence on each other of the three main concepts.
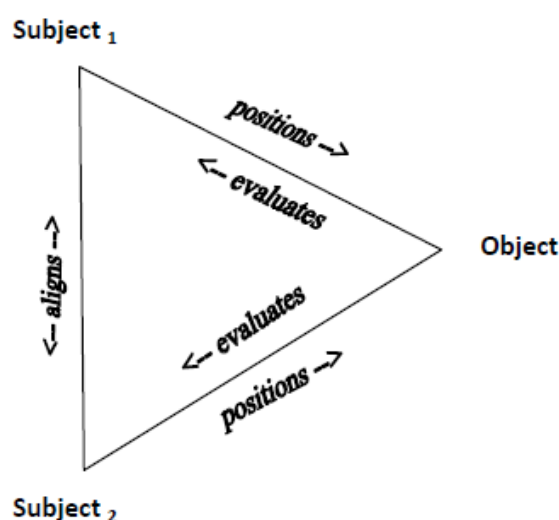
Figure 1: Stance triangle (Du Bois 2007: 165)

The three nodes represent the key entities of stance: subject 1, subject 2 and a (mutual) object. The actions of a stance which are taken by a speaker, i.e. aligning, positioning and evaluating, are referred to as "subsidiary acts" (Du Bois 2007: 164). The three sides entail these subsidiary acts which are accompanied by respective arrows in order to demonstrate the interrelatedness and the link between the three key entities. The arrowhead points to the subjects´ and actions´ target. Both subjects direct evaluative moves towards the object,

while simultaneously positioning themselves towards the shared object. Through this action, an alignment between subject 1 and subject 2 is created. The alignment originates in either the first or the second subject and is directed towards the other subject (Du Bois 2007: 164). Consequently, each subject performs three stance actions within one stance. Through the stance triangle, the complex action of a stance is displayed as a single unified act which encompasses "triplet sets of distinct components and processes" (Du Bois 2007: 162). In other words, the three individual acts constitute one stance. Furthermore, Du Bois (2007: 164) claims that the stance triangle differs from conventional triangle diagrams, as there is not a "one-to-one correspondence". Consequently, the cause and effect of the subsidiary acts might not be balanced evenly. In conclusion, Du Bois (2007: 163) asserts that the stance triangle displays the dynamics of stance, as subjects evaluate a shared object, simultaneously position themselves and align with the other subject.

When considering the interpretation of the stance triangle, Du Bois (2007: 162-163) suggests that the three key entities, i.e. two subjects and the object, first need to be characterized and identified in order to determine the cause and effect of the subsidiary acts, i.e. aligning, positioning and evaluating, as "each subsidiary act is distinguishable from the others by virtue of its own distinctive consequences". Thus, while speakers evaluate the object, they simultaneously position themselves towards the object. Consequently, the two subjects create an alignment. At this point, it is relevant to note, that this alignment could be either convergent or divergent (Du Bois 2007: 164). Even if one or two subsidiary acts are not provided overtly in their linguistic form, by drawing inferences from one subsidiary act to the other(s) an interpretation of stance is possible (Du Bois 2007: 164). Through the stance triangle, it becomes evident that alignment, evaluation and positioning are not three different types of stance, but they rather act as subsidiary acts which collectively construct a unified stance.

7.1.2. Contextualizing stance

In order to thoroughly analyze stance, the specific conversation needs to be contextualized. Du Bois (2007: 158) asserts that "any utterance carries cues for its own indexical contextualization". However, not only the situational context is required, such as the identities of speakers or their topic of talk, but also the dialogic context is relevant for stance interpretation (Du Bois 2007: 158). Du Bois (2007: 147-149) claims that three questions need

to be answered in order to provide a comprehensive contextualization which is essential for an analysis of stance. Additionally, it is recommended that these questions ought to be answered in their presented sequence:

(1) "Who is the stancetaker?" – This question refers to subjects 1 and 2 in the stance triangle. Both subjects need to be characterized and, as a consequence, identified. Du Bois (2007: 147) suggests that a variety of components have to be considered when asking this question, such as knowledge from previous conversations, the regional, ethnic, gender or other identities of the subjects and their relationship.

(2) "What is the object of the stance?" – Evidently, this question is concerned with the referential object that is under evaluation and assessment of both subjects (Du Bois 2007: 147). Hence, the object needs to be identified. Examples of objects would be other subjects, their behavior and opinions, topics or situations.

(3) "What stance is the stancetaker responding to?" – This question takes the results of the previously mentioned questions into account. Evidently, the answer to this question is more complex than the first two questions; thus, the above-mentioned contextualization of a dialogic and sequential structure of prior uttered stances needs to be considered, i.e. intertextuality, in particular, the "ongoing exchange of stance and counterstance" (Du Bois 2007: 149).

7.2. Affective and epistemic stance moves

Affective and epistemic stance moves are articulated through lexical and grammatical means and employed by speakers in order to implicitly or explicitly express the three key concepts alignment, positioning and evaluation. The two moves have distinct functions in shaping the stances of a speaker. Affective markers express "emotional states" of the speaker, while epistemic markers which "convey speakers´ degrees of certainty about their propositions are socially grounded and consequential" (Jaffe 2009: 7). Moreover, Ochs (1996: 420) emphasizes the link between epistemic and affective stance markers and stances as she argues that "linguistic structures that index epistemic and affective stances are the basic linguistic resources for constructing/realizing social acts and social identities". Thus, affective and epistemic stance moves can display stances and, ultimately, identities.

Affective stances can contribute to analyzing the concepts of evaluation, alignment and positioning. Since affective markers point to a multitude of "social and moral indexicalities", they can express sociocultural values and norms regarding emotions (Jaffe 2009: 7). Quaglio (2009: 87) argues that "any empathic form of expression that is captured by the use of certain linguistic features" is an affective marker. In other words, affective moves have been equated with the term emotional language, which is expressed in linguistic features, intonation patterns or tone of voice in order to express feelings and attitudes (Quaglio 2009: 87). Thus, affective language indicates the relationship between stance and empathic content (Quaglio 2009: 89-90). Examples of affective stance markers would be adverbial intensifiers (*very, so, really, totally*), discourse markers (*oh*), exclamations (*wow*) and slang terms (*cool*) (Quaglio 2009: 142). Admittedly, affective language is often expressed in prosodic features, such as intonation patterns or tone of voice (Quaglio 2009: 105); however, in this diploma thesis only the linguistically expressed markers will be considered. Concluding, through affective stances, individuals express emotions and can claim identities and positions, as well as evaluating others´ identities and positions.

Epistemic stances encompass "claims to know", are culturally embedded and index regimes of knowledge and authority (Jaffe 2009: 7); in addition, displays of epistemicity can "establish the relative authority of interactants". Jaffe (2009: 7) claims that speakers may take epistemic stances in order to create a social capital that comes with expressing "authentic or authoritative knowledge" or to "legitimate further acts of evaluation". Epistemic stances can be expressed in two ways: either in exclusive knowledge of a speaker or in generalizations which "shift the location of epistemic authority from the individual to the societal level" (Jaffe 2009: 7). Scheibmann (2007: 132) emphasizes the importance of generalizations in epistemic stancetaking, as "indexing societal discourses as shared and compelling through the use of generalizations can indirectly strengthen speakers´ stances". The most common indicators of epistemicity are stance adverbials, as they express a speaker´s judgment about the information in a proposition. Epistemic stance adverbials can be separated into six units of meaning: certainty and doubt (*probably, maybe*), reality (*in fact, actually*), source of knowledge (*evidently, according to*), limitation (typically, generally), viewpoint or perspective (*in my view*), and imprecision (*like, sort of*) (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002: 382-383). To this list Haddington (2007: 289) adds cognitive verbs (*know, think, guess*)

and communicative verbs (*argue, claim*). Consequently, epistemic stance moves indicate authority and knowledge of a person.

Comprehensive lists of epistemic and affective stance markers have not been established yet. Therefore, a qualitative analysis of stance markers has to rely on, for example, Quaglio´s (2009: 88) definition of affective stance markers and Jaffe´s (2009: 7) definition of epistemic stance markers. Thus, the decision of linking specific lexical items to either affective or epistemic stance markers has to be made locally and is dependent on the sociocultural and conversational context. To conclude, affective and epistemic stance markers are beneficial in determining the three concepts evaluation, positioning and alignment in the excerpts of *modern family*. In addition, they help to identify specific stances and stance patterns of the characters.

7.3. Framing theory

In the context of family interaction and conflict talk, it is relevant to consider framing theory, as Gordon (2009: 11) suggests that framing theory is useful for revealing "how family members create meanings in interaction". In other words, the frame applied to a social act or a conversation can determine the stance of an individual.

First of all, a definition of a *frame* is required. Framing theory has been studied from various perspectives, such as linguistic discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and anthropology. (Socio-) Linguistic and discourse analytic studies have significantly benefited from Bateson´s (1972) groundbreaking anthropological research. Bateson (1972) studied communication practices of monkeys, specifically the denotation of a bite. The study revealed that monkeys have differing conceptions of a bite depending on the context, such as a playful situation versus an aggressive situation (Bateson 1972: 186). From a linguistic discourse analytic perspective, Tannen and Wallat (1993: 59) argue that a frame is "a definition of what is going on in interaction". Tannen (1993: 6) adds a subjective and interpretative level, as she defines frames as "what people think they are doing when they talk to each other". From a sociological perspective, Dillard, Solomon and Samp (1996: 706) equate frames with "lenses through which social reality is viewed". For example, in a conversation with two participants, one might think of the situation as a business meeting, while the other might consider it a date (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 105). To conclude, the following definition of frame has been adopted for this diploma thesis: a frame is an interpretative strategy which is

employed by interlocutors in order to comprehend a specific situation, a social act or a conversation. Additionally, a frame is socioculturally determined and locally constructed in conversations.

Having established a definition of a frame, it is relevant to consider this concept in the context of an interaction. Since "polysemic and relational framing can be activated by many sources", individuals typically activate different frames in different conversations but also within the same conversation (McLaren & Pederson 2014: 149). Moreover, frames are in competition which means that only one frame can be applied at a time by an individual (Dillard, Solomon & Samp 1996: 705). Gordon (2009: 11) argues that in order to create a mutual understanding of utterances and actions, conversation participants ought to have a common idea of the situational frame. Thus, McLaren and Pederson (2014: 146) raise awareness of the issue that different frames for interpreting an interaction may lead to misunderstandings.

In the context of family interaction, Sillars, Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2005: 103) name the example of "a son's sullen behavior and sharp remarks" which can be framed by the parents for example, as indicating hostility, depression or as seeking autonomy. The reaction of the parent and the discipline strategy are determined by the applied frame, as parents might respond to the behavior, for example, with confrontation, concern or disregard (Sillars, Koerner & Fitzpatrick 2005: 103). Through an analysis of the behavior in conflict situations in the talk between men and women, Gilligan (1987, referred to in Sheldon 1993: 89-90) concluded that men tend to frame conflict in terms of individual rights and situation when finding a resolution that must be considered and respected (see *justice* orientation in section 5.3.), while women tend to frame conflict in terms of the interpersonal relationship (see *care* orientation in section 5.3.). Moreover, Sillars, Smith and Koerner (2010: 729) argue that a conflict between a couple may arise if one person adopts a frame on the level of *content* issues, such as the negotiation of facts, while the other person frames it as a *relationship* issue, such as the display of power of respect.

To conclude, this diploma thesis employs Du Bois´ (2007) stance triangle and its entailed three key principle concepts in connection with detecting affective and epistemic stance markers and frames.

7.4. Data selection

For the purpose of this diploma thesis, stancetaking and identity construction of parents in three types of family in the US American sitcom *modern family* concerning the speech event *disciplining a misbehaving child* are analyzed. The study is deliberately not based on natural conversation, but on scripted dialogue for two reasons. Firstly, scripted dialogue is produced and revised talk, which means that it is typically devoid from language mistakes, but more importantly from "irrelevant use[s] on the part of the speaker" (Alvarez-Pereyre 2011: 61). Secondly, television is a potent cultural site for investigating the representation of ideologies produced by society for a particular class (Winzenburg 2004: 11, Pierson 2005: 35). In the case of the present study, the traditional discourse of the mother as a primary caregiver and the father as secondary caregiver and breadwinner will be examined. The sitcom *modern family* was selected not only due to its popularity among US American viewers (*TV By The Numbers* 2015) and critical approval (*Academy of Television Arts & Sciences* 2018), but also due to the depiction of the lives of three different family types, i.e. standard North American family, a blended family and same-sex parents with an adopted child.

In order to limit the data, only episodes from seasons one to five were considered. The selection process was based on the child behavior checklist by Achenbach and Rescorla (2001) and Achenbach (2000). Thus, episodes of each season were only included if they contained a behavioral issue of at least one child within one family according to the classification of misbehavior suggested by Achenbach and Rescorla (2001) for ages one and a half to five or by Achenbach (2000) for ages six to eighteen. Hence, Lily´s and Joe´s, who are both toddlers, misbehavior is allocated to behavioral issues presented in Achenbach and Rescorla´s (2001) *Child Behavior Checklist for Ages 1 1/2-5* (excerpts 4, 5 and 6). Luke´s, Haley´s, Alex´ and Manny´s, who are teenagers, misbehavior is allocated to behavioral issues presented in Achenbach´s (2000) *Child Behavior Checklist for Ages 6-18* (excerpts 1, 2 and 3). Moreover, both parents needed to be included in the speech event disciplining a misbehaving child. In addition, an episode should consist of an initiation of the conflict, a reaction of the parents towards behavioral issues of at least one child and the resolution of the conflict. Subsequently, out of ten potential episodes, the six episodes with the most conversational and linguistic content of the respective parents were selected, i.e. longer scenes. The excerpts are divided into scenes, which mark the turn of each family through a

cut to another family. In other words, the scenes are interrupted by the plotlines of the other families. In section 8 *Analysis*, only the relevant units of the excerpts for the analysis are included. The complete transcripts of the excerpts are presented in the *Appendix*. It needs to be added, that not the whole episodes were transcribed but only scenes that include contributions of the respective parents.

The following table summarizes the data:

Table 1: General overview of selected data

Excerpt	Season	Episode	Title of the Episode	Parents involved	Behavioral Issue	Number of Scenes	Family Type
1	1	10	"Undeck the Halls"	Claire and Phil	destroying things belonging to the family	5	SNAF
2	4	7	"Arrested"	Claire and Phil	breaking rules at school, at home or elsewhere	7	SNAF
3	3	2	"When Good Kids Go Bad"	Gloria and Jay	stealing outside the home	6	Blended family
4	5	3	"Larry´s Wife"	Gloria and Jay	physically attacking people	5	Blended family
5	2	10	"Dance Dance Revelation"	Mitch and Cam	physically attacking people	5	Same-sex parents
6	3	13	"Little Bo Bleep"	Mitch and Cam	swearing or obscene language	5	Same-sex parents

7.5. Transcription conventions

The transcriptions of the episodes are based on scripts from the website *Springfield! Springfield!*. However, the provided scripts have been modified and complemented with the following transcription conventions, which are slight adaptations of Tannen, Kendall and Gordon's (2007: xiii-xiv) suggestions.

Table 2: Transcription conventions

–	a dash indicates a truncated intonation
-	a hyphen indicates a truncated word or adjustment within an intonation, e.g. repeated word, false start
?	a question mark indicates a rising intonation
!	an exclamation point indicates a relatively strong rising intonation
.	a period indicates a falling, final intonation
,	a comma indicates a continuing intonation
. .	dots indicate silence (more dots indicate a longer silence)
:	a colon indicates an elonged sound
CAPS	capitals indicate emphatic stress
<laughs>	angle brackets enclose descriptions of vocal noises, e.g. *coughs*, *laughs*
[words] **[words]**	square brackets enclose simultaneous talk
(on the phone)	brackets include contextual information
[CUTAWAY]	flashbacks are enclosed by square brackets

8.   Analysis

This section analyzes six excerpts from the sitcom *modern family* employing the stance triangle, including affective and epistemic stance markers and the framing theory. The first two excerpts focus on Phil and Claire who represent the standard North American family. In excerpts 3 and 4 conversations between Gloria and Jay, i.e. the blended family, are under analysis. Excerpts 5 and 6 analyze the language used the same-sex parents Mitch and Cam.

8.1.   Phil and Claire Dunphy – Standard North American family

Excerpt 1

Excerpt 1 is from season 1 episode 10 "Undeck the Halls". The excerpt is divided into five scenes. The family is gathered in the living room in front of a laptop in order to video chat with Phil´s father Frank, who sent the Dunphy family Christmas sweaters. Beforehand, Claire asked Phil and the children, Alex, Hayley and Luke, to wear the "ugly" Christmas sweaters to please their grandfather/father. During the video chat, Claire detects a burn on the couch which she immediately declares a burn by a cigarette. Consequently, a conflict arises in

which the parents attempt to, firstly, determine who of the children is guilty and subsequently, to decide on an appropriate punishment. The behavioral issue according to Achenbach (2000) in this excerpt is "destroy[ing] an object that belongs to the family".

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Claire:	What the hell is that? What IS that? That looks like a cigarette bu:rn.
2		Was one of you smoking a cigarette?
3	Children:	(simultaneously) No!
4	Claire:	Which ONE of you was smoking?
5	Phil:	Not me. I have a respiratory problem.
6	Claire:	Obviously, it wasn't you! NOW I've got a family of liars and smokers.
7	Frank:	(on video call) Honey, come here! You gotta see this.
8	Claire:	Did you shoplift your Christmas presents too?
9	Frank:	(on video call) Philip?
10	Claire:	Haley! Keep that ugly sweater on!
11	Phil:	Anyway . merry CHRISTMAS!

In scene 1, a significant difference between Claire´s and Phil´s initial reaction on discovering the burned stain on their couch can be observed. While Claire performs the social act *gathering detail* by asking in sum four questions when noticing the mark on the couch (lines 1, 2 and 4), Phil tries to save face in front of his father Frank by answering Claire´s question (line 5) and immediately redirecting his attention to the video chat with his father (line 11). Claire opens the frame as she addresses the issue first. Granted, it is she who detected the burn; however, Claire functions as the leader in attempting to reveal who is to blame for destroying an object that belongs to the family and in assessing the issue. Seemingly, Claire frames the issue as a violation of trust, as she is barely concerned with the stain itself, but instead perceives lying as an interpersonal issue or an issue that disrupts intimacy between her and her children. Claire continues with the question: "Which one of you was smoking?" (line 4). By asking this question, she assesses the situation and claims two things: firstly, the burn was caused by a cigarette and, secondly, produced by one of her family members. Thus, she positions herself as knowledgeable on what happened and who must have done it. Her position of superior knowledge is enforced by the use of the epistemic marker "obviously" (line 6), i.e. source of knowledge, as a reaction to Phil´s excuse. She continues with a statement in which she concludes ("now"), without giving her children a chance to defend themselves and instead refers to them as "liars and smokers" (line 6).

Evidently, Claire has a somewhat *emotional* reaction to this situation. This affective tone is set in the very first line, in which she reacts with an emotionally loaded affective marker "the hell" (line 1) in the question. Claire repeats her question and, thus, enforces her first response. Her final reaction in this scene is marked by an affective stance marker "ugly" (line 10). She insults the sweater although being aware that her father-in-law Frank is watching and listening; hence, it can be concluded that Claire is more concerned with discovering the truth than saving face.

Phil in turn, reacts very differently. As mentioned above, Phil dissociates from Claire´s evaluation, as he does not engage in her assessment activity. His only contribution is a rational explanation for why it cannot possibly be him (line 5). While Claire continues to accuse her children and inquire into the circumstances of the stain, Phil directs his attention towards the video chat with his father. By exclaiming "anyway" (line 11), it can be argued that Phil creates a divergent alignment with Claire since he assesses the conflict as a minor issue that is dominated by the conversation with his father. However, his reaction can also be understood as an action to save face in front of his father and preserving the illusion of a happy holiday. It becomes evident, that Claire is not only the leader of the assessment activity but also the only one who evaluates their children´s behavior and actions.

Scene 2

12	Claire:	This is unacceptable and I want to know who did this . Hm:?
13	Phil:	Nobody, huh? I guess the couch did it to itself. Guess it came home after a tough day, lit
14		up a cigarette and then it burned itself. Is that what happened? Because that makes no
15		sense.
16	Claire:	If whoever is responsible doesn't come forward, your father and I are just gonna have to
17		punish all three of you.
18	Haley:	What?
19	Luke:	That´s not fair!
20	Claire:	Yeah. Mhm.
21	Phil:	I can forgive the smoking, but I can't forgive the lie.
22	Claire:	No.
23	Phil:	Or the smoking. No one wants to confess, huh? No? That's fine, 'cause you know what
24		happens next? . We CANCEL Christmas!
25	Luke:	That's not fair!
26	Hayley:	Okay, Dad. Su::re.

In scene 2, the conversation continues with the whole family in the kitchen. Again, Claire opens the frame and takes the assessment lead as she evaluates the situation as "unacceptable" (line 12). Claire positions only herself as demanding to know who caused the

stain by using the personal pronoun "I" (line 12). Phil engages in the assessment activity initiated by Claire as he implicitly reiterates Claire´s request of finding the person who is to blame (line 13). Thus, Phil creates an alignment with Claire. Evidently, Phil adopts Claire´s frame, as he too perceives the situation as a violation of trust. However, Phil takes a different approach by outlining an impossible scenario ("I guess the couch did it to himself" – line 13) and expressing humorous remarks ("Guess it came home after a tough day, lit up a cigarette and then it burned itself" - lines 13-14). Claire seems to acknowledge Phil´s alignment as she now positions both Phil and herself ("your father and I" - line 16) as the *punishers*. When Phil positions himself as accepting the smoking, yet rejecting the lying (line 20), Claire immediately disagrees and, thus, divergently aligns with Phil´s statement ("No." - line 21). However, Phil agrees with Claire as he instantly corrects his utterance ("or the smoking" – line 23). Subsequently, Phil evaluates the children´s uncooperative behavior sarcastically as "fine" (line 23) and assumes the lead in the assessment activity, as he expresses the punishment, but speaks for both parents ("we" – line 24). In this scene, Claire is the problematizer of both Phil and her children, since she evaluates the children´s noncompliance and Phil´s utterance, while Phil is a problematizee of Claire and a problematizer of his children. Seemingly, Phil aligned with and adopted Claire´s frame, as he now joins the assessment activity, and, what is more, takes the lead as he punishes the children without Claire´s consent. In addition, Phil adds humorous remarks, which is also associated with the role of the father as the entertainer.

Scene 2 continued

32	Phil:	Okay. Guess where I'm headed? To take down the tree! That's right.
33	Claire:	Come on, guys. THIS is your last chance. Whoever did this, just take responsibility.
34		Don't put the rest of us through this . . Luke? No?
35	Phil:	This is really it. Okay? . Here we go! Three . two . one. Okay! Goodbye, Dunphy
36		Christmas. . Haley, I guess you're not getting that car.
37	Haley:	I was getting a CAR?
38	Phil:	Nope. I was lying, because that's what we do now. Dunphys are LIARS.

Ultimately, Phil assumes the lead of the assessment activity as he exclaims the punishment (lines 35-36). Claire slightly disagrees with Phil in that she offers the kids a "last chance" to come forward and appeals to their conscience by emphasizing the consequences for the whole family (lines 33-34). Phil seems to align with Claire´s offer to provide the children with one last chance, as he repeats his statement, with the intensifier "really" (line 35), in order to highlight the severity of this situation. In fact, Phil grants the children four more

opportunities to admit the transgression ("Okay? Here we go. Three, two, one. Okay" – line 35). Evidently, in scene 2, while Phil takes the lead in proposing a disciplinary strategy, Claire slightly distances herself from Phil´s reaction. Nevertheless, Claire aligns herself with Phil in that she condones the strategy, but offers the children more chances to come forward. It becomes evident, that both parents engage in this collaborative assessment activity, however, with more or less commitment. Finally, Phil elevates the issue to an intimacy related issue as he refers to the whole family as "liars" (line 38).

Scene 3

39	Claire:	We're gonna pass into legend. The parents who cancelled
40		Christmas.
41	Phil:	I thought YOU'd be happy.
42	Claire:	They'll write songs about us . . , make one of those Christmas specials with those ugly
43		little clay people . .
44	Phil:	You're the one who ALWAYS says I shouldn't be such a pushover with the ki:ds.
45	Claire:	So THIS is where you decide to make your stand? Really, Phil?
46	Phil:	Okay. Okay, look! Don't wo:rry. We're going to have Christmas. We've raised our kids
47		right. Whoever did it will come forward. *<whispers>* Or the other two will rat 'em out.
48	Luke:	Mom, Dad.
49	Phil:	Hey, Luke. What, uh- What can we do for you?
50	Luke:	I did it. I was playing with matches . I'm sorry.
51	Phil:	You, uh- You did the right thing- Yeah. By confessing, but, um- This is bad, buddy.
52		I mean, really bad, okay? Claire, you want to handle this? (leaves the room)
53	Claire:	Um, Luke, why didn't you say something?
54	Luke:	Mm:, I don't know.
55	Claire:	Okay, well, your father and I are extremely disappointed in you, so- Go up to your room.
56		Go on.
57	Luke:	Alex!
58	Claire:	We'll be up to talk to you in a minute. Just go.
59	Luke:	Haley!
60	Haley:	[What?]
61	Alex:	[What?]
62	Luke:	Say something!
63	Alex:	About what?
64	Luke:	Uh, I take it back!
65	Claire:	What is going on?
66	Luke:	These guys were gonna say they did it too, and you were gonna be proud of all of us.
67	Alex:	Why would we do that?
68	Haley:	I don't know what to believe with this kid.
69	Luke:	LIARS! I didn't do it!
70	Haley:	Well, it wasn't me.
71	Alex:	Don't look at me.
72	Claire:	SERIOUSLY?
73	Phil:	(enters the room) Wait. *<panting>* Nobody did it AGAIN? *<groans>* No, that's fine . Guess
74		what? Christmas is still cancelled. That's fine by me. Let's start working on next year .
75		Hey, and memo to New Year's Eve and Easter- Watch your back!

In scene 3, which starts with a private conversation between Claire and Phil, Claire expresses her concern about losing face in front of other people for their choice of a discipline strategy ("they'll write songs about us" - lines 39, 42-43). Subsequently, Claire positions their discipline strategy as unusual ("We're gonna pass into legend" – line 39). Claire and Phil apply two different frames on the current situation. Claire perceives the punishment as a way for others to criticize their parenting style, by positioning both Phil and herself as "pass[ing] into legend" (line 39). Phil frames the punishment as a means to support his wife, which he expresses in an epistemic stance move "I thought you'd be happy" (line 41). Evidently, Phil seeks for Claire's alignment. Through this strategy, Phil attempts to position himself as imitating his wife's parenting style or how he thinks his wife expects him to act as a parent.

Phil is seemingly surprised that Claire is not satisfied with his strategy and openly expresses his distress by using the intensifier "always" (line 44) in his claim that Claire criticizes his parenting style. Thus, Phil blames the result of this situation on her. Claire disagrees with her husband, as she claims that Phil severely misjudged the situation, by using an affective marker, i.e. the intensifier "Really, Phil?" (line 45). Subsequently, Phil attempts to appease his wife by reminding her that they are *good* parents, with successful strategies as he ensures her that the culprit will admit to lying, as "we've raised our kids right" (lines 46-47).

When Luke confesses, Phil takes the lead in assessing Luke's action. Phil first assesses the confession as "the right thing", but subsequently, evaluates it as "bad" (line 51), which is followed by a repetition of the utterance, yet Phil adds the intensifier "really" (line 52) in order to emphasize the severity of Luke's action. However, the assessment is followed by the term of endearment "buddy" (line 52), which softens his tone. Although Phil opened the assessment activity, he assigns the responsibility to punish Luke to Claire, who assumes the assigned task without any hesitation, which indicates that this division of roles is common among the parents. In order to resolve the issue, Claire performs the social act gathering details, as she demands to know why Luke lied before (line 53). Claire replies to Luke's excuse by speaking for both parents ("your father and I" – line 55); thus, she positions both as being disenchanted by the news. Claire emphasizes her disappointment by using an intensifier ("extremely") and an affective stance marker ("disappointed" - line 55). Although Claire speaks for both parents, she decides on the punishment without her husband's

consent. While Phil was busy bringing back the Christmas tree, Luke confesses that his sister persuaded him to lie to their parents (line 66). However, when Phil finds out that Luke´s confession was just a fraud he sarcastically evaluates the situation as "fine" (line 73). Moreover, Phil manifests his position of being displeased by repeating his statement by adding the personal pronoun "me" (line 74).

Scene 4

76	Phil:	Honey?
77	Claire:	Hmm?
78	Phil:	Would it really be SO bad to back down?
79	Claire:	And have the kids never take any of our threats seriously again?
80	Phil:	Yeah.
81	Claire:	Mhm:. .
82	Phil:	OR the kids could realize that we're making a supreme sacrifice by giving up ou:r power
83		to save their Christmas.
84	Claire:	Which would, in a way, be the greatest gift that we could ever give them.
85	Phil:	And which would paradoxically make them respect us even more. *<Claire groans>*
86		Okay, forget that. Go back one.

In scene 4, in a private conversation, Phil and Claire reflect once again on the discipline strategies that Phil introduced. Phil displays intimacy with his wife by referring to her as "honey" (line 76) before considering revoking their punishment (line 78). Claire divergently aligns with Phil in that she emphasizes the consequences if they do not follow through ("never [...] seriously again" - line 79). Phil aligns with his wife as he agrees with her ("yeah" – line 80). Phil and Claire take a collaborative stance towards their discipline strategy, when they discuss the implications of giving up power (lines 82-86). Moreover, both Phil and Claire position themselves as a unity by using the personal pronoun "we" and the possessive pronoun "our" (lines 79-85). Simultaneously, they position themselves and each other as sacrificing parents as they speak of "supreme sacrifice", "giving up our power", "save Christmas", "the greatest gift we could ever give them" (lines 78-85). Through this assessment activity and alignment, Phil and Claire create a united stance.

Scene 4 continued

87	Alex:	(Alex enters the room)Hey, guys. *<sighs>* It- It was me.
88	Claire:	[What?]
89	Phil:	[What?]
90	Alex:	I found a cigarette at school, and when no one was home, I- I tried it . And I-I guess I held
91		it too close to the couch. I'm SO sorry. You can take MY Christmas away, but don't take it
92		from everyone else.
93	Phil:	That is very noble of you.

94	Claire:	Mhm:
95	Phil:	To care about the family, but you still smoked and lied. That's really bad.
96	Claire:	Mhm.
97	Phil:	Now help me grab the tree!
98	Claire:	Phil! Phil, Alex, come on back! Starting December 26, you are grounded for a full week,
99		and that includes New Year's Eve.
100	Alex:	But, I was-
101	Claire:	Yeah, non-negotiable . So-
102	Phil:	Yeah.
103	Alex:	Fine.

When Alex confesses (lines 90-92), Phil takes the lead in evaluating Alex´ behavior, by using two intensifiers, which have two distinct functions. On the one hand, Phil appreciates Alex´ honesty ("<u>very</u> noble" - line 93); on the other hand, he disapproves of her action ("That´s <u>really</u> bad" (line 94). Claire aligns with Phil´s stance as she agrees with both statements ("Mhm" - lines 94, 96). Although Phil takes the lead in assessing Alex´ action, he again assigns the responsibility to discipline Alex to Claire by deciding not to punish his daughter but instead requests Alex to help him with the tree (line 97). Thus, Claire executes the punishment (lines 98-99). Phil aligns with her decision by agreeing with her ("Yeah" - line 102).

Excerpt 2

Excerpt 2 is from season 4 episode 7 "Arrested". It is divided into eight scenes. Phil and Claire receive a phone call from the police in the middle of the night. The parents are informed that their 18-year-old daughter Haley, who has been in college for six weeks, has been arrested. Hence, the parents are requested to pick her up from the police station. Claire asks her brother Mitch, who is a lawyer, to accompany them to provide legal support. The behavioral issue according to Achenbach (2000) is: "breaking rules at school, at home, or elsewhere".

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Phil:	(phone is ringing in the middle of the night) Night!
2	Claire:	No!
3	Phil:	Middle of the phone. I got it!
4	Claire:	Get it!
5	Phil:	Oh! My arm's asleep! My arm's asleep!
6	Claire:	Get the phone! Phil, get the phone!
7		(talks on the phone) Oh! That's me. Hello! Hi. Yes, this is she. Who is it? Okay. Oh, God.
8	Phil:	Tell me what's happening!
9	Claire:	Haley has been arrested.

(Claire calls her brother Mitch)

10	Mitch:	Hey!
11	Claire:	Hey Mitchell! I´m sorry to wake you up, but Haley got arrested.
12	Mitch:	Oh God. (talks to Cam) Haley got arrested. What did she get arrested for?
13	Claire:	Uhm she got caught drinking at some party. Look could you drive up to the College with
14		us. I think we´re going to need a lawyer.

(Claire calls her father Jay)

15	Gloria:	Ay! Answer! Answer!
16	Jay:	(on the phone) This better be good.
17	Claire:	Haley got arrested for drinking. We gotta go bail her out. Do you still have a connection
18		to that judge upstate?
19	Jay:	He died.

Claire´s initial response to the information on the phone is "okay" followed by an affective stance marker "Oh God" (line 7). While Claire talks on the phone, Phil attempts to gather detail from Claire (line 8). Subsequently, she calls her brother Mitch, to ask for legal support, and her father, who apparently has connections to a judge (lines 10-14, 15-19). Although Claire supposedly did not receive much information from the phone call, she takes action to protect Haley.

Scene 2

20	Mitch:	Hey, Claire, do you wanna pick it up a little bit? Since when do you drive the speed limit?
21	Claire:	My daughter has been arrested for drinking. I would like her to sit in jail and think about
22		that. As a matter of fact, I might stop and do a little outlet shopping. Who wants a pair of
23		last year's sunglasses, huh?
24	Phil:	Honey. Try to relax.
25	Claire:	I don't FEEL like relaxing, Phil! She has been in college for SIX weeks.
26	Phil:	Yeah, and EVERYONE goes a little crazy at first. I remember one night freshman year, a
27		bunch of us on the frisbee golf team got a case of zima. Enough zaid.
28	Claire:	Mo:re than enough.

When Mitch contests Claire´s driving speed while driving to the police station, Claire states that in addition to the arrest, Claire wants to punish her daughter by keeping her waiting for her family (lines 21-23). Claire uses the possessive pronoun "my" (line 21) when referring to her daughter, which might indicate that Claire feels responsible for Haley´s behavior. Phil senses that his wife is displeased, which is why he calls her by a nickname "honey" and advises her "to relax" (line 24). However, Claire disapproves of Phil´s advice (line 25).

Subsequently, Phil and Claire apply two different frames to Haley´s misbehavior. Claire emphasizes that Haley has only been in college for a short period; thereby, she evaluates Haley´s behavior as inappropriate (line 25). Although Phil indicates that he agrees with his

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wife´s argument ("yeah" – line 25), he disagrees with her as he evaluates underage drinking as a common behavior in college ("everyone goes a little crazy at first" – line 25). He attempts to prove his point by recalling his college experience (lines 26-27). In turn, Claire assesses Phil´s frame as irrelevant by using an intensifier in her claim that he has said "<u>more than enough</u>" (line 28).

Scene 2 continued

[Cutaway:

29	Claire:	I'm not gonna lie. Sometimes it bothers me how calm Phil is under pressure. It's like -
30		like I'm the one who's overreacting.
31	Phil:	That's goo:d. Let it out. It's g—
32	Claire:	I'm going to KILL you.]

The cutaway displays the different positions Claire and Phil take on in conflict. Claire is clearly bothered by his calm composure, in that she evaluates his response as an attack towards her reaction ("it´s like I´m overreacting" – lines 29-30). This attack is demonstrated in Phil´s suggestion to vent (line 31), to which Claire responds in an emotionally loaded utterance ("I´m going to <u>kill</u> you" line 32).

Scene 3

33	Phil:	Can you believe how many waffle places we passed?
34	Mitch:	I can't believe how much dad belittles me.
35	Phil:	What were there? Five? Six?
36	Mitch:	I edited the law review. I passed the bar on my first try. I have a briefcase.
37	Phil:	I'm counting them on the way back.
38	Claire:	Can we focus?
39	Phil:	Uh, hi.
40	Mitch:	We're here for Haley Dunphy. I'm Mitchell Pritchett. I'm Miss Dunphy's attorney.
41	Officer:	She won't be needing a lawyer today.
42	Mitch:	Oh, I think I'LL be the judge of that. I'd like to confer with my client now. Thank you.
43	Officer:	All you have to do is post bail, and she's all yours.
44	Mitch:	Really? Oh. That--that's fantastic.
45	Claire:	Sir, I am in NO mood to defend my daughter today, believe me.
46		But do you think it is the best use of resources to lock up college kids who've had a few
47		drinks?
48	Officer:	Ma'am, your daughter was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police
49		officer.
50	Phil:	What?
51	Claire:	Oh. Wow.
52	Mitch:	You probably should have called a real lawyer, - 'cause I don't I'm not –
53	Claire:	Shh!
54	Phil:	Look, this has gotta be some kind of mistake. Our daughter's tiny. There's no way she
55		assaulted anyone. Insulted, maybe. Was- was the cop wearing white socks and dark
56		shoes? 'Cause that really sets her off.

57	Officer:	Maybe you should watch this.
(on tape:		
58		Stop! Put your hands where I can see 'em!)
59	Mitch:	Okay. Now that's very blurry footage. How can we be sure that that's Haley?
(on tape:		
60	Officer:	Don't you move!
61	Haley:	Don't hurt me! I'm just a student! I'm Haley Dunphy!)
62	Claire:	So hot. <*waving dollar bills*> Ho:t in here.
63	Mitch:	No.

While Phil is distracted by the waffle places they passed (lines 33), Claire reminds him to aim his attention at Haley´s arrest ("can we focus" - line 38). At the police station, Claire initiates an assessment activity of both her daughter and the police officer. Her careful criticism on the police´s work (lines 46-47) is preceded by the acts of addressing the police officer respectfully ("sir" - line 45), claiming that she has no intention to defend her daughter´s behavior and positioning herself as trustworthy ("believe me" – line 45). Moreover, Claire refers to Haley as "my daughter" (line 45) which might indicate that she feels as if she will be held accountable for Haley´s arrest.

The police officer informs the parents of the real reason for Haley´s arrest, namely assault and resisting arrest. Claire and Phil again react differently. While Phil displays disbelief ("What? – line 50), Claire is initially surprised, but then seems to accept the truth ("Oh. Wow." - line 51). Phil further elaborates his disbelief in that he evaluates the arrest as "some kind of mistake" and emphasizes the mistake by using an intensifier ("there is no way" - lines 54-56). Moreover, Phil provides detail about Haley´s life (lines 54-56). In contrast to Claire, Phil refers to Haley as "our" daughter; thus, he might suggest an egalitarian distribution of responsibility for Haley´s misbehavior.

Scene 4

64	Phil:	What is ta:king so lo:ng?
65	Mitch:	Well, in my experience, these things can take time. So settle in. This- this could be a
66		while.
67	Phil:	There she is!
68	Mitch:	Damn it.
69	Claire:	Oh, thank God. You're okay?
70	Haley:	Yeah, I'm fine, mom.
71	Claire:	Oh! What the hell were you THINKING?
72	Phil:	What happened?
73	Haley:	It's not a big deal, okay? There was a party, and people were drinking
74	Phil:	[Mhm::]
75	Claire:	[Mhm:::]

76	Haley:	So the police showed up, and everybody ran, so I did, too. And I started climbing down
77		this fire escape And then I heard a cop yell to put your hands up, so I did and I fell . onto
78		him.
79	Claire:	You could have been killed. Haley . you're supposed to be an adult. How could you do
80		something SO childish?
81	Phil:	Okay, okay, okay, okay.
82	Claire:	And so stupid!
83	Phil:	Let's calm down. We're all a little tired and cranky. Best thing we can do right now is get
84		out of here, go get some waffles
85	Claire:	I don't want waffles, Phil, okay? I'm upset and I want to deal with THIS.

When Haley is released, Claire first expresses relief ("Oh thank God" – line 69) but also concern by asking Haley if she is alright (line 69). Claire and Phil´s reaction upon seeing their daughter Haley is significantly different. Claire requests details of the incident, including an affective stance marker ("what the <u>hell</u> were you thinking" - line 71). Thus, Claire displays affiliation on an interpersonal level and enacts the *care* orientation. However, Phil requests a personal account from Haley by asking "what happened?" (line 71), thus, Phil requests detail on the content level and enacts the justice orientation (line 72). Moreover, Phil and Claire take different stances towards Haley´s narration. Claire outlines the danger Haley put herself in (line 79). Thereby, Claire evaluates Haley´s behavior as irresponsible and inappropriate for her age ("you´re supposed to be an adult", "so childish", "so stupid" - lines 79-80, 82).

However, Phil´s repeated use of "okay" (line 81) indicates that he wants to comfort his wife again. Moreover, he attempts to align with Claire by establishing a unity through the personal pronoun "we" ("<u>we</u>´re all a little tired" and "best <u>we</u> can do" - line 83). Evidently, Claire disapproves of Phil´s argument as she assesses his approach as inappropriate by explicitly stating her emotion ("I´m upset" – line 85) and her request (line 85). Similarly to the conflict talk above, Claire applies the care orientation, while Phil employs the justice orientation.

<u>Scene 5</u>

102	Claire:	What are you WEARING?
103	Haley:	What? What's wrong with it?
104	Claire:	Honey . you are fighting for your future in front of a disciplinary committee, not
105		entertaining the secret service.
106	Haley:	In "Legally Blonde," Elle won her case because she was true to herself and dressed cute.
107	Phil:	Haley, this is real life, not an excellent movie.
108	Claire:	Honey, just put on something else, and take down the makeup.
109	Haley:	Why are you guys acting like this is MY fault? Everybody was drinking, everybody ran. I
110		just got caught. If anything, I'm the victim here.
111	Phil:	What? Just stop-- just stop talking, Haley. You're not the victim here. You're the one

112		who screwed up! You made one bad decision after another, and now you're about to
113		blow everything your mother and I worked so hard to give you. And the worst thing is,
114		you don't seem to care. We all got up at 3:00 A.M. this morning to bail you out of jail!
115		We haven't eaten a thing, and you know what I haven't heard from you yet? "I'm sorry,
116		mom. I screwed up, dad. Please forgive me." Now put on some real clothes! We'll see
117		you at the hearing. Do NOT be late! Come on! (storms out of the room)
118	Haley:	Where are you going?
119	Claire:	To get that man a waffle!

Scene 5 is set in Haley´s dorm room. Since Haley does not seem to be remorseful and even positions herself as a "victim" (lines 109-110), Phil requests her to "stop talking" (line 111). Subsequently, Phil positions himself as knowledgeable, which he expresses in epistemic evaluations ("You´re not the victim here. You´re the one who screwed up! You made one bad decision after the other" – lines 110-111). Phil creates involvement with Claire, by engaging her in his assessment and claiming that Haley destroys what both her parents have worked for ("your mother and I" – line 113). Thereby, Phil proposes an egalitarian distribution of responsibility in childcare. Moreover, he includes Mitch and Claire in the account of their journey to the police station by explaining that "we all got up" and "we haven´t eaten" (lines 115-116). Phil explains the dominant issue which is Haley´s denial of responsibility, in that he uses the personal pronoun "I" (line 115), when emphasizing that Haley has yet to apologize (line 114). However, Phil emphasizes that Haley owes an apology to both of her parents ("I'm sorry, mom. I screwed up, dad" – lines 115-116). Phil ends his assessment activity with three commands (lines 116-117).

While Claire seems to take on a passive role during Phil´s assessment, she implicitly aligns with her husband by expressing her respect ("that man" – line 119) and rewarding him with breakfast and evaluates is punishing speech act with his feelings of hunger.

<u>Scene 7</u>

160	Haley:	I really a:m sorry.
161	Claire:	We appreciate that.
162	Phil:	It´s good that you stepped up today.
163	Claire:	Yeah:. Sometimes it´s healthy to get a fresh start.
164	Haley:	Ugh. I can´t believe this. What am I gonna do?
165	Phil:	Well, you could reapply next year.
166	Claire:	In the meantime, you´re gonna get a jo:b, you´re gonna take some cla:sses.

Scene 6, which has not been included in this analysis, shows that Haley is being expelled from college by the dean. In scene 7, Haley apologizes to her parents while emptying her

dorm room. Claire speaks as a unity when she accepts her apology ("<u>We</u> appreciate that." - line 161). Moreover, Phil assesses Haley´s honesty as "good" (line 162). While Phil makes suggestions ("you <u>could</u> reapply"- line 165), Claire makes commands ("you´re <u>gonna</u> get a job" and "you´re <u>gonna</u> take some classes" – line 166). Consequently, this final sequence confirms Claire´s role as the primary caregiver and Phil´s role as the secondary caregiver, as she provides commands while he offers suggestions.

8.2. Gloria and Jay Pritchett - Blended family

Excerpt 3

Excerpt 3 is from season 3 episode 2 "When Good Kids Go Bad". The excerpt is divided into six scenes. Gloria receives a phone call from Manny´s principal. Manny is being accused of stealing a girl´s locket. The title of the episode foreshadows the incident of misbehavior. Although Manny is twelve years old, he often acts responsible and rarely misbehaves; thus, he barely gets in conflict with school or his parents. In fact, this is the first time during the series that Jay and Gloria are confronted with a behavioral issue of Manny. The behavioral issue according to Achenbach (2000) in this excerpt is: "steal[ing] outside the home".

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Gloria:	(to the principal) No, YOU calm down! THIS is how I talk when somebody accuses MY
2		Manny of stealing.
3	Jay:	Who is that?
4	Gloria:	(to Jay) It's the principal. He's saying that Manny stole some girl's locket. (to the
5		principal) What? Do you think that all Colombians are criminals because a Colombian
6		necktie is a symbol of violence all over the world? No, no, I'm not threatening you. Okay.
7		Apology accepted. No, I didn't mean anything about the necktie. I just- I was trying to
8		make a point.

Scene 1 is set in Jay and Gloria´s house. Gloria is talking to the principal on the phone, who informs her that Manny supposedly stole a girl´s locket. Before having discussed this allegation with Manny, Gloria evaluates the principal´s accusation as untrue as she clearly denies Manny´s involvement in the necklace´s disappearing. Moreover, Gloria assesses her behavior as appropriate when defending her son ("This is how I talk when" – line 1). Gloria accounts for her child in that she refers to her son as "my Manny", which shows intimacy between her and her child (line 1). Gloria provides details of Manny´s heritage, namely him being Columbian and, thereby, accuses the principal of having prejudices against Colombians. Apparently, this argument convinces the principal as he offers an apology to

Gloria, which she accepts (line 7). In talking to the principal Gloria presents her son as a *good* child; thus, she engages in impression management (lines 1-2). In the first scene, Jay has a minor role, but he tries to get involved in the conversation by asking Gloria who she is talking to (line 3).

Scene 2

9	Manny:	AH:::!
10	Jay:	You're a little jumpy tonight, Manny. Anything wrong?
11	Manny:	No. Well . ., I'm just gonna—
12	Jay:	Have a seat, kid. . You know, maybe it's me, but I thought you were kinda squirrelly
13		tonight, you know, before when your mom was on the phone with the principal. Almost
14		like you wanted to say something . but you just couldn't. Anything you wanna say NOW,
15		Manny?
16	Manny:	No. I have nothing to say.
17	Jay:	You sure about that? Think REAL hard.
18	Manny:	Could I get a glass of water?
19	Jay:	That girl's locket-- you took it, didn't you?
20	Manny:	Um::.
21	Jay:	Didn't you?
22	Manny:	Yes. Yes, I took it! I didn't mean to. I-
23	Jay:	I don't wanna hear any excuses. You're gonna tell your mom, and you're gonna set this
24		right. Do you understand? All right, get out of here! . Just one more thing. You're not-
25		Uh:m- You're not wearing that locket, are you?
26	Manny:	No! Of course not. It's a girl's. Why would I want to wear it?
27	Jay:	It's no reason.

Scene 2 is set in the garage. Manny turns on the lights as he enters the room and finds Jay sitting in a chair. Manny seems to be surprised by Jay´s presence (line 9). Jay claims that he noticed Manny´s suspicious behavior when Gloria was talking to the principal. The epistemic stance makers "I thought", "maybe" and "kind of" (line 12) allow Jay to position himself as knowledgeable of what he suspects is the truth, and thereby attempts to convince Manny to confess (lines 10, 12-15). Moreover, Jay seemingly persuades Manny to admit the truth, as he repeatedly uses the personal pronoun "you" when he reiterates his observation (lines 10-13). When Manny stumbles for words, Jay requests him to sit down. Finally, Jay decides to directly accuse him of stealing the locket, which convinces Manny to confess (lines 19-22).

Jay states that he does not want to hear any excuses; however, he requests Manny to tell his mother and suggests that he needs to return the locket. Consequently, Jay assigns the task of disciplining Manny to Gloria, which indicates that Jay expects the mother to account for her son´s misbehavior while applying the justice orientation.

28	Manny:	Mom, hurry up! I don't want to be late for school.
29	Jay:	You didn't tell her, did you?
30	Gloria:	What's the hurry this morning? Okay, what's with the looks? . It's like a silent movie in
31		here.
32	Manny:	Okay. I was walking behind this girl Alicia, who's moving away, and I was working up the
33		courage to get her new address so I can write her. I express myself a lot better on paper
34		than—
35	Jay:	Tick-tock, kid.
36	Manny:	Well ., she dropped her locket, and I picked it up . , but she kept walking, and I--
37	Gloria:	You STOLE the locket! After I told the principal that you could have never done
38		something like that, and I threaten him with the Colombian necktie! Manny ., wh:y?
39	Jay:	Don't worry. It wasn't 'cause he wanted to wear it.
40	Manny:	I thought I could keep it as something to remember her by. But then you were yelling at
41		Mr. Vickers, and I-I was just too scared to tell you.
42	Gloria:	Go to the car!
43	Manny:	I'm really sorry.
44	Gloria:	Go! (to Jay) Why would he do something like that? . It's bad enough that he's the boy
45		with the pan flute and the puffy shirts and--and the poems. Now he's the jewelry thief.
46	Jay:	Might be an upgrade.
47	Gloria:	Ay, Jay, this is not funny. Those things stick to you. My cousin Rosa Marina-- when she
48		was 14, she stole something, and after that, everybody thinks of her as the girl who
49		steals cars.
50	Jay:	She stole a car?
51	Gloria:	CA:RS. But after she got that label, what else could she do?
52	Jay:	Listen, you can't control what kids think, but you can make sure he learns from this. You
53		take him to the principal's office, he owns up to it, he never does it again.
54	Gloria:	Okay.
55	Jay:	Okay.

Scene 2 continues at the house where Manny and Jay are waiting for Gloria to take Manny to school. Jay detects that Manny has not yet confessed, which is why he again pressures him to tell his mother (lines 29, 35). Before Manny could reveal the truth, Gloria first gathers detail ("Manny, why?" – line 38) and then displays intimacy with her son as she finishes Manny´s sentence (line 37). Gloria seems to be clearly distressed because she defended Manny against the principal and seems to be worried to *lose* face (lines 37-38).

Gloria and Jay take different stances towards Manny´s misbehavior. While Gloria seems to be concerned with the consequences Manny might face ("Now he´s the jewelry thief" – line 45 and "Those things stick to you" – line 47), Jay does not seem to align with Gloria, as he adds humorous remarks. For example, as Gloria asks Jay why Manny would steal a locket Jay responds with "don´t worry it wasn't because he wanted to wear it" (line 35), or when Gloria expresses her concern that Manny might now be considered a jewelry thief he responds

with "might be an upgrade" (line 46). In addition, Jay´s statement (line 35) might be an indication for homophobia. However, Gloria cannot appreciate Jay´s humor in this situation, as she reminds him that "this is not funny" (line 47).

Ultimately, Jay emphasizes that Manny´s action could not have been prevented by the parents ("you can´t control what kids think" - line 52) and advises her that Manny needs to face the consequences (lines 52-53). However, he also suggests that it should be Gloria who takes Manny to the principal´s office ("you take him" - line 48). Gloria aligns with Jay´s suggestion ("okay" – line 50).

Scene 3

56	Manny:	What do you think the principal's going to do to me? I am a first-time offender. Oh,
57		great! NOW I'm tardy. Strike two.
58	Gloria:	Manny . think of this in a positive way . like it is your "ha ha" moment.
59	Manny:	What does THAT mean?
60	Gloria:	That means that one day, you're gonna laugh about it.
61	Manny:	Ah, I should've just given that stupid necklace back to Alicia when she was standing right
62		next to her locker. This is the worst day of my life . till tomorrow
63	Gloria:	Oh.
64	Manny:	And every day after that.
65	Gloria:	Oh.
66	Manny:	Come on, Mom. Let's get this over with.
67	Gloria:	Wait!
68	Manny:	What?
69	Gloria:	Which one did you say that it was her locker? . This one?
70	Manny:	Mhm::. The one that smells like rose oil. Mom?
71	Gloria:	Keep the lookout. (Gloria breaks the locker open and returns the locket) Now promise
72		me that you will never, EVER do anything dishonest again
73	Manny:	I promise.
74	Gloria:	Okay, because that's not the way I raised you. Don't tell Jay anything, okay?
75	Manny:	Mh::m.

In scene 3, Gloria and Manny have arrived at the school. Gloria tries to comfort her son, who worries about the punishment of the principal, as he should "think of this in a positive way" (line 55). Gloria´s intimate bond with Manny is again displayed when Gloria detects that her son regrets the larceny (lines 63, 64). In order to preserve Manny´s reputation, but also her own, Gloria forces the girl´s locker open and returns the necklace (lines 74-72). Hence, Gloria intends to save face in front of the principal. In addition, it is indicated that Gloria is concerned about being judged by Jay; thus, she requests Manny to keep this incident a secret (line 74). Here, Gloria positions herself as the primary caregiver by stating: "this is not the way I raised you" (line 74).

81	Jay:	So, Manny, how'd it go with the principal today?
82	Gloria:	It was terrible, but he was brave, and now it's over. Right, Manny? Mhm:.
83	Manny:	Mhm:::.
84	Jay:	So d- What'd they give you? Detention? Suspension?
85	Gloria:	No, just a warning because it was first offense. So how was work?
86	Jay:	Great. Just a warning, huh?
87	Manny:	Like SHE said.
88	Gloria:	So I ask about work, and you change the subject. Are you trying to hide something?
89	Jay:	No:, I just wanna make sure he's okay. You okay? 'Cause, I mean, it looks like you're
90		sweatin' bullets back there, kid.
91	Gloria:	Stop grilling him. First the principal, now you. This poor boy has been screamed at all
92		day.
93	Manny:	Well, not to mention—
94	Gloria:	QUIET! I've got this.

In scene 4 Jay, Gloria and Manny drive to Mitch and Cam´s house, who host a family dinner. This is the first time the three of them are together since Manny and Gloria visited the principal. Jay requests details of Manny´s punishment (line 81). However, Gloria answers Jay´s question instead of her son. She evaluates the talk as "terrible", but also ensures Jay that Manny was courageous (line 82). Jay, who seems to be suspicious, requests more detail, but from Manny ("what did they give you?" - line 84). Gloria seems to be concerned about losing face; therefore, she continues to speak on behalf of her son and attempts to distract Jay with a question (line 85). In order to end Jay´s interrogation, Gloria attempts to evoke compassion by positioning her son as a "poor boy" and claiming that he was "creamed all day" (lines 91-92). When Manny wants to interfere, Gloria demands him to be quiet, as she wants to deal with Jay´s interrogation (line 94).

95	Jay:	Just so you know, I'm o:n to you. You never took Manny to the principal . . Okay, play it
96		like that, but I know Manny. He has more of a conscience than you have. He's not gonna
97		be able to live with this.
98	Gloria:	You'd be surprised what people can live with, Jay.

Scene 5 is set at Mitch and Cam´s house. In a private conversation between Jay and Gloria, Jay positions himself as knowledgeable of what happened (line 96). Moreover, he informs Gloria of his suspicion and declares the intimacy between him and Manny, as he provides details of Manny´s personality and their intimate bond ("I know Manny" - lines 95-97).

99	Jay:	And in that spirit, I would like to propose a toast to Manny. This week, he did something
100		he wasn't supposed to do. Like we all do--
101	Gloria:	Like we all do! Salud to Manny!
102	Jay:	Uh:, not yet. But Manny stood up like a man . He admitted he was wrong . and he took
103		his licks . and I'm damn proud of him.
104	Gloria:	Ah, NOW we clink!
105	Jay:	No, we clink when I say we clink. So Manny made a mistake, but he didn't take the easy
106		way out. He's got guts, he's got integrity. As far as I'm concerned, he's the best little b—
107	Manny:	Okay, stop! STOP! I didn't do any of that. Mom broke into the locker and threw the
108		necklace inside, and then we ran away like cowards. I'm sorry, Jay! I'm sorry!
109	Jay:	I knew it! I was right! I was right!

In scene 6, Jay gives a speech in front of the whole family. As he indicated in the conversation with Gloria, Jay is aware that Manny did not follow his advice to confess to the principal. Accordingly, Jay attempts to persuade Manny to admit the lie by implying that everyone makes mistakes ("like we all do" – line 100) and praising his courage ("he stood up like a man", "admitted he was wrong", "he´s got guts, he´s got integrity" - lines 102,106). Ultimately, Manny confesses, to which Jay reacts with the epistemic stance move: "I <u>knew</u> it! I was right! I was right!" (line 109). Additionally, Gloria detects that Manny might tell the truth; this is why she frequently interrupts Jay´s speech and what is more, tries to contest the speech act of toasting to Manny (lines 98, 101).

Excerpt 4

Excerpt 4 is from season 5 episode 3 "Larry´s Wife". The excerpt is divided into five scenes. This episode is set at the house of Jay and Gloria. Gloria has just returned from Gymboree, which is a place that offers play classes for babies and toddlers. She informs Jay that Joe has been expelled from the play classes because he pushed another child called Mason. The behavioral issue according to Achenbach and Rescorla (2001) in this excerpt is: "physically attacking people".

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Gloria:	I have bad news, Jay! . Joe was thrown out of the Gymboree.
2	Jay:	AGAIN. What happened?
3	Gloria:	He pushed Mason. He made him cry. The teacher said that we CANNOT go back.
4	Jay:	That's ridiculous. Mason's a big baby!
5	Gloria:	Everybody there is a BIG baby. But Joe plays very rough. And we know why.
6		*<whispers>* It's the curse.
7	Jay:	Not that I'd ever want to discourage you from whispering, but that's not a thing.
8	Gloria:	There is a mark of the devil in my family.

Scene 1 is set at Jay´s and Gloria´s house. Gloria, who spent the day with Joe at the Gymboree, informs her husband of Joe´s expulsion, whereby she evaluates the news as "bad" (line 1). Jay´s reaction ("again?" – line 2) indicates that Joe has been expelled from the play classes before. Gloria then provides an account of what happened at the Gymboree (line 3). Jay leads the assessment activity on the instructor´s decision to expel Joe as he evaluates this sanction as "ridiculous" (line 4). He continues the assessment activity and further establishes his role as the problematizer by referring to Mason as "a big baby" (line 4), which can be interpreted as an insult towards the child. While Jay *problematizes* both the Gymboree and Mason, Gloria invalidates Jay´s argument by reminding him that "everybody there is a big baby" (line 5) and evaluates Joe´s behavior towards other children as "rough" (line 5), which is intensified by the affective stance marker "very" (line 5). Evidently, Jay blames the Gymboree and Mason, but not Joe, while Gloria admits that Joe´s behavior is inappropriate.

Gloria explains that a family curse is responsible for Joe´s misbehavior (lines 5-6). This theory is not supported by her husband, as he evaluates her argument as untrue ("that is not a thing" – line 7).

Scene 1 continued

17	Gloria:	Okay. Maybe it's not the curse . but you know that my family has a very dark side. My
18		cousin Aurelio is a horse thief. My Uncle Carlos fixed soccer games. My aunt--
19	Jay:	Did he teach them to pick the ball up and throw it down the field? 'Cause that's the only
20		way you fix soccer.
21	Gloria:	Manny escaped it, but I am not sure about <*whispers*> Joe.
22	Jay:	Gloria, this is about an uptight teacher. And so what if Joe's a little boisterous? What
23		ever happened to letting kids be themselves?

Subsequently, Gloria aligns with Jay´s opinion, as she now admits that the family curse is not the reason for Joe´s behavior (line 17). However, Gloria provides detail of her family in that she argues that her family has "a very dark side" (line 17). Moreover, she compares her sons as she implicitly evaluates Manny as the *good* son, while Joe may be *bad* (line 21). However, Jay expresses divergence with his wife, since he is convinced that Joe did not misbehave. Instead, he blames Joe´s teacher by referring to her as an "uptight teacher" (line 22).

Gloria and Jay apply two different frames. As a consequence, the stances Gloria and Jay take towards Joe´s misbehavior differ. Jay considers Joe´s "boisterous" behavior as age-

appropriate, a means of expressing his personality and part of his identity (lines 22-23); whereas Gloria detects a recurring issue in this incident that needs to be regulated. Moreover, while Gloria calls his playing style "very rough", Jay downgrades the severity of the situation by characterizing Joe as merely "boisterous". In addition, Jay criticizes society for not letting children express their identities, which apparently used to be different ("what ever happened to" – line 23).

Scene 2

38	Gloria:	(talks to camera) I didn't tell Jay, but sometimes Joe even scares me . .
39		Lucky for me, there are professionals that are trained to deal with such problems.
40		(welcomes the priest at the door) Ay . thank you for coming, padre.
41	Pastor:	Oh:, of course, Gloria . And this must be Fulgencio.
42	Gloria:	Mhm::.
43	Pastor:	What a beautiful little boy . . He's such a sweet nature. I can tell he's a gentle soul. (Joe
44		pulls on the priest's necklace) Ah!
45	Gloria:	Hey, Fulgencio, no, no! Sorry, padre. Ay, that's why I called you, father. I think he's bad.
46		There is evil in my family.
47	Pastor:	Ah, Gloria. He's just a little baby.
48	Gloria:	Last week, his eyes got red, and the dog backed away.
49	Pastor:	He probably just had a cold. All mothers worry. Look at him! Rosy cheeks, he's playing
50		with his blocks--
51	Gloria:	<*gasps*>The six again.

In the mock interview, Gloria confesses that Joe´s behavior occasionally frightens her (line 38). Gloria positions herself as "lucky" (line 39) to have the ability to seek professional help, which in this case is a priest. In this scene, Gloria addresses her son with different names depending on the situation. When she talks about her son in the mock interview she refers to him as "Joe" (line 38), whereas when she communicates with the priest she uses his middle name "Fulgencio" (line 45). This strategy might have two effects: on the one hand, she may attempt to create an alignment with the Colombian priest by using Joe´s Colombian name; and on the other hand, she indicates Joe´s "dark side" which originated from her family. When Joe pulls on the priest´s necklace, which causes him to choke, Gloria immediately attempts to physically and verbally stop her son ("no, no, no" – line 45). Moreover, Gloria accounts for this incident as she apologizes for Joe´s misbehavior ("sorry, padre" – line 45). Seemingly, for Gloria, this incident exemplifies the need for professional help (line 45). Gloria fears that Joe might be "bad" (line 45), which she expresses using an epistemic stance move ("I think" – line 45).

Gloria and the priest apply different frames. While the priest attempts to remind her that Joe is innocent as "he is just a little baby" (line 47), Gloria offers an account of an incident that happened one week ago (line 48). Again the priest presents a rational and logical explanation for Joe´s red eyes and assures her that "all mothers worry" (line 49). Gloria seems to ignore the priest´s advice, as she is concerned with the arrangement of the blocks Joe has just built (line 51).

<u>Scene 3</u>

52	Jay:	(on the phone with Ms. Debbie) So, Joe knocks ONE kid down, he's out. ALL kids do that.
53		Why do you think your whole building is made out of nerf? Yeah, you see where he gets
54		it from. Hey, listen, I'm not afraid of you, Miss Debbie. You're not the- (Miss Debbie
55		hangs up) damn it.

The fact that Jay and Gloria apply different frames becomes evident when considering scenes 2 and 3. While Gloria attempts to regulate Joe´s "very rough" ways by seeking professional help, Jay contacts the teacher via phone in order to persuade her to revoke Joe´s suspension (lines 52-55). Jay emphasizes Joe´s age-appropriate behavior in that he generalizes Joe´s action and compares it with the behavior of all children his age (line 52). Interestingly, Jay not only never apologizes for Joe´s action or accounts for his misbehavior, but also seems to withhold the detail that this had happened before deliberately, as he indicated in scene 1 ("again?" – line 2). Jay continues the assessment of Miss Debbie´s authority, as he challenges her ability to make a rational decision by asking a rhetorical question in a rather mocking tone (line 52). Moreover, Jay positions himself as not being frightened of Miss Debbie or consequences she might implement (line 53). Before Jay could finish his sentence, however, Miss Debbie apparently ends the phone call to which Jay responds with "damnit" (line 55), which demonstrates his anger and frustration.

8.3.   Cam and Mitch Pritchett-Tucker – Same-sex parents and adopted child

Excerpt 5

Excerpt 5 is from season 2 episode 10 "Dance Dance Revelation". The excerpt is divided into five scenes. Scene 1 is set at a local playground. Mitch and Cam´s conversation is interrupted by a woman, who claims that their daughter Lily bit her son. The behavioral issue according to Achenbach and Rescorla (2001) in this excerpt is: "physically attacking people".

1	Lady:	Hey.
2	Mitch:	[Hi!]
3	Cam:	[Hi!]
4	Lady:	Is that your little girl over there . Lily?
5	Mitch:	Yes. Look at her.
6	Cam:	Yes.
7	Lady:	Uh, this is a little bit awkward, but she bit Tyler.
8	Mitch:	Oh!
9	Cam:	Oh, my goodness. I- I don't even know what to say.
10	Mitch:	She's never done anything like that before. How did it happen?
11	Lady:	I don't know. I didn't see it.
12	Mitch:	Uh-huh.
13	Cam:	Mm-hm:.

Upon hearing what Lily has supposedly done, both Mitch and Cam react surprised which they indicate by using the affective stance marker "oh" (lines 8-9). Cam adds another affective stance marker "my goodness" and claims that he is speechless, which has the effect of emphasizing his utter dismay with Lily´s action (line 9). Mitch provides detail of Lily´s personality and simultaneously engages in impression management by positioning Lily as an otherwise well-behaved girl ("she has never done anything like that before" - line 10). Moreover, Mitch attempts to gather information by interrogating the mother ("How did it happen?" – line 10).

When the mother states that she did not observe the incident, Mitch and Cam both believe that their daughter is being suspected because of her parents´ sexual orientation (lines 12-13). This reaction is further elaborated in the following cutaway.

Scene 1 continued

[Cutaway:

14	Mitch:	It's time to play everyone's favorite game. "Let's blame the gay dads." . You know who
15		had straight parents? Adolf Hitler.
16	Cam:	Charles Manson.
17	Mitch:	Shall we go on?
18	Cam:	Naomi Campbell.]

Mitch considers the woman´s accusation as an attack on gay parenting and implies that the parenting of same-sex couples is frequently challenged and scrutinized by society (lines 14-15). Mitch attempts to prove his point by referring to the act of blaming gay parents as "everybody´s favorite game" (line 14). Cam aligns with his partner as he continues the list of bad people that Mitch initiated. This assessment activity of society´s prejudices against

same-sex parents seems nearly orchestrated as Mitch includes Cam in his claim ("shall <u>we</u> go on?" – line 17) and Cam, in turn, provides additional examples.

<u>Scene 1 continued</u>

19	Lady:	I know it happened. He's got bite marks on his arm.
20	Mitch:	Oh, wow, yeah. Oh, gosh. Someone really sunk their teeth INTO ya, huh? It's 'cause
21		you're such a yummy little guy. Ye::s. Our daughter didn't do that.
22	Lady:	But he said-
23	Mitch:	Right. He's probably just confused. You know who I bet did it, though? Billy. Rhymes with
24		"Lily" Plus, he is very aggressive.
25	Cam:	His babysitter is right over there. She's- She's not much of a disciplinarian. Because I can
26		assure you if OUR child did something like this we would be o:n her like white on rice.
27		And I know that sounds a little bit like a racial slur because we're white and she
28		presumably likes rice but I didn't intend it that way.

When the mother states that she believes her son, Mitch initiates an assessment activity of the mother´s claim. Mitch employs affective stance markers and the subsequent question ("Oh, wow", "Oh, gosh" – line 20) to fulfill two purposes: firstly, these markers enable covering his disagreement with sarcasm and secondly, they contribute to belittling her allegation (lines 20-21). Ultimately, Mitch explicitly states that their daughter is innocent (line 21). Mitch implicitly requests Cam to align with him as he includes Cam in the assessment activity by referring to Lily as "<u>our</u> daughter" (line 21). The use of the possessive pronoun "our" (line 21) may also emphasize shared responsibility in raising Lily.

Moreover, Mitch continues the assessment activity in that he positions himself as knowledgeable on who must have done it ("I bet" - line 22). In addition, he employs adverbial intensifiers ("very" - line 23) and a loaded adjective ("aggressive" - line 23) in describing another child, Billy, as the one responsible for the bite marks (lines 23-24). Cam follows Mitch´s request for alignment and, what is more, reinforces Mitch´s assertion. Cam not only points Billy´s babysitter out but also devaluates her discipline strategies by presenting her as "not much of a disciplinarian" (line 25).

In order to prove their point, Cam positions himself as reliable ("I can <u>assure</u> you" – lines 25-26). Additionally, the two social acts referring to Lily as "<u>our</u> child" (line 26) and presenting the parents as a unity ("we" - line 26) fulfill two purposes: on the one hand, Cam emphasizes an egalitarian responsibility of both parents in childcare and, on the other hand, Cam positions both parents as *good* parents, since they would discipline their child. Thus, Cam performs impression management (lines 25-28).

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29	Cam:	I mean the ne:rve of that lady, accusing Lily.
30	Mitch:	Mmm:. You know what? You can't change people, Cam. I mean, we just have to ri::se
31		above.
32	Cam:	OW! Ohh!
33	Mitch:	What happened?
34	Cam:	She bit me!
35	Mitch:	Are you serious?
36	Cam:	Ohh! She did it again. It's like Twilight back here.
37	Babysitter:	(fades in distance) No. No ice cream for you, Billy because the lady say you biting.
38	Cam:	Okay. Go! Go!
39	Mitch:	Yeah!
40	Cam:	Go! Go! Go! Drive!
41	Mitch:	Okay.

In scene 2, Cam and Mitch realize that Lily supposedly injured the child because she also bit Cam. When they learn that Billy is prohibited from getting ice cream (line 37), Mitch and Cam implicitly agree and subsequently leave the scene (lines 38-41). Evidently, both parents seem to be embarrassed and, what is more, concerned to lose face, since they accused an innocent child to defend their daughter.

Scene 3

42	Mitch:	Okay, I don't get it. Why is she biting? Lily, why are you biting?
43	Cam:	She's not biting, she's tee:thing.
44	Mitch:	On people . All right, she starts biting her playdates, she's gonna be a pariah.
45	Cam:	Try piranha.
46	Mitch:	Really . Cam?
47	Cam:	It was right there.

Scene 3 is set at Mitch and Cam´s house, where the parents discuss reasons for Lily´s misbehavior. Mitch positions himself as unknowing of why Lily has this issue (line 42). Accordingly, Mitch attempts to gather information first from his husband, then from his daughter (line 42). However, both questions can be considered rhetorical questions, as Cam is not given the opportunity to respond and Lily is not able to talk yet. While Mitch frames Lily´s action as an issue, Cam applies a different frame in that he considers Lily´s behavior as age-appropriate (line 43). Mitch disagrees with Cam and devaluates his frame with a sarcastic remark (line 44). Moreover, Mitch is concerned with the consequences of Lily´s misbehavior, as he fears that other kids might avoid her (line 44). In turn, Cam devaluates Mitch´s concern with a humorous remark (line 45), which Mitch does not seem to appreciate (line 46).

48	Mitch:	All right, you should also know that I, in NO:: way blame you.
49	Cam:	Thank you. Why would you blame me?
50	Mitch:	I don't.
51	Cam:	Well, good . because I don't blame you.
52	Mitch:	Well, obviously.
53	Cam:	Uh, okay, well, now I'm starting to feel the blame.
54	Mitch:	No. No. Don't. It's just that you're with her all day.
55	Cam:	Oh, wow. I have a daughter who bites and a partner who stings.

Mitch and Cam subsequently continue discussing who should account for their daughter´s misbehavior, before considering strategies on how to discipline Lily´s behavior. Although Mitch initially asserts that he does not accuse Cam of Lily´s actions (line 47) and denies any accountability for Lily´s misbehavior by employing the epistemic stance marker "obviously" which is preceded by the affective stance marker "well" (line 52); he later admits that he holds Cam responsible for Lily´s biting issue (line 54). Mitch bases his claim on Cam´s role in the family. While Mitch is a successful lawyer and the breadwinner, Cam is a stay-at-home dad and responsible for childcare.

Scene 4

62	Cam:	Did you find anything yet?
63	Mitch:	Yes. There's a whole section on biting on this mommy forum.
64	Cam:	Oh, good. What does it say?
65	Mitch:	"My son was biting, so I got a stranger to yell at him. Being disciplined by someone else
66		outside the family scared him into stopping."
67	Cam:	Idiots!
68	Mitch:	Cam.
69	Cam:	I am not hiring some hobo to come over here and traumatize my child. She's already
70		prone to flashbacks <whispers> if you know what I mean.
71	Mitch:	Okay, you know she didn't FIGHT in Vietnam, right?
72	Cam:	I don't know ANYTHING anymore. What else does it say?
73	Mitch:	Okay, well, this one says, "When my daughter bit her brother I put a pinch of pepper in
74		her mouth. She cried and cried, but she never bit again." Smiley face.
75	Cam:	Oh, well, the smiley face makes it okay. I waterboarded our toddler. L O L.
76	Mitch:	All right, what do you suggest we do?
77	Cam:	That we log off the Spanish Inquisition website and handle this with love. Okay, Lily.
78		<sings>Take a bite of an apple Take a bite of a pear Take a bite of the cookie that you left
79		there Here's one thing you should never do Don't bite Taylor or Brandon or Sue Because
80		people aren't food People aren't food Your friends will run away if they're scared of
81		being chewed. And as a side note, private parts are private .
82	Mitch:	Well, problem solved.
83	Cam:	I know you're being sarcastic, but you don't know that it's not- Ow! Honey!
84	Mitch:	Did she just bite you again?
85	Cam:	No:
86	Mitch:	That is it! I am getting the pepper.

87	Cam:	No. No, you are not.
88	Mitch:	Cam, you're not doing her ANY favors by being soft.
89	Cam:	Why don't you just skip the pepper, I'll get some pliers and we'll pull her teeth now!
90	Mitch:	Relax. It's a seasoning.
91	Cam:	Okay, well, then, why don't you try some?
92	Mitch:	Stop it.

Scene 4 is set in Cam and Mitch´s house. They decide to consult the internet for suggestions on how to regulate Lily´s misbehavior. Mitch browses for information on a "mommy forum" (line 63). Subsequently, Mitch and Cam take different stances towards the suggested discipline strategies. While Mitch seems to approve of the two suggestions, Cam considers them as inappropriate and cruel. Cam displays his devaluation through various linguistic means: he insults the people who suggested it ("Idiots!" – line 67), uses derogatory language to refer to strangers ("hobo" – line 69) and loaded language from the semantic field of war ("traumatize" – line 69, "waterboarded" - line 75 and "Spanish Inquisition website" – line 77). Moreover, Cam manifests his position as the primary caregiver by using the personal pronoun "I" (line 69) and the possessive pronoun "my child" (line 69) when commenting on the discipline strategy.

Cam suggests that both parents ("we log off" – line 77) need to find a different approach; therefore, he introduces a song he wrote about the appropriate use of teeth, in order to solve the issue with "love" (line 77-81). Mitch clearly disapproves of Cam´s strategy, by sarcastically exclaiming: "problem solved" (line 82).

When Lily bites Cam again, Cam attempts to save face. By lying, Cam tries not only to protect Lily from, in his opinion, cruel discipline strategies but also to defend his approach (line 85). However, Mitch decides to take action and follows the advice from the "mommy forum" (line 86). In addition, Mitch disapproves of Cam´s discipline strategy by claiming that "being soft" (line 88) might have serious consequences on Lily´s behavior; thus, Mitch assesses Cam´s approach as impractical. Cam strongly disagrees with Mitch´s action ("No. No, you are not!" line 86) and prevents him from getting the pepper, which results in a physical conflict between the parents. Consequently, Cam applies a caring frame, while Mitch applies a judging frame.

Scene 5

| 102 | Mitch: | You know what? This is a milestone . We're accepting that OUR little angel isn't perfect. |
| 103 | Cam: | That's right, and it's okay. |

| 104 | Mitch: | I take it back. She is perfect. |

In scene 5, Mitch and Cam present a united stance towards Lily´s misbehavior. Seemingly, the parents agree that accepting a child´s flaws is a milestone in parenting (line 102). Moreover, Mitch emphasizes their accomplishment as parents by referring to Lily as "our little angel" (line 102).

Excerpt 6

Excerpt 6 is from season 3 episode 13 "Little Bo Bleep". The excerpt is divided into six scenes. Mitch, Cam and Lily are invited to a friend´s wedding. At this wedding, Lily is assigned the task of being the flower girl. For this purpose, Lily received a box containing her dress which the whole family unpacks in their living room. The behavioral issue according to Achenbach and Rescorla (2001) in this excerpt is: "swearing or obscene language".

<u>Scene 2</u>

42	Mitch:	Forget the bride. All the eyes are gonna be on her.
43	Lily:	Oh F(bleeping tone)
44	Cam:	*<giggles> <laughs>*
45	Mitch:	Oh I cannot believe you laughed!
46	Cam:	I am sorry. But you know I have two weaknesses, children cursing and old people
47		rapping.
48	Mitch:	Cam, we have to tell her it's a bad word.
49	Cam:	No! That just gives it more power. The less we make of it, the better. Let's just pretend
50		like it never happened.
51	Mitch:	Okay. Yeah, maybe it-- maybe it didn't. Maybe we-- maybe we misheard.
52	Cam:	Yeah.
53	Mitch:	Maybe she said "truck" Or-- or "duck" Or "luck" She could have said "yuck"

In scene 1, the whole family opens the box together. Scene 2 is set in Mitch and Cam´s living room. Lily has not been a flower girl at a wedding yet; therefore, Mitch and Cam ask her to practice at home. Upon hearing Mitch´s words "all eyes are gonna be on her" (line 42), Lily tosses her bucket of flowers and exclaims "Oh F *(bleeping tone)*" (line 43). A bleep replaces the word, but it can be implied that Lily says "fuck".

Cam first giggles and then bursts out in laughter (line 44). Mitch disapproves of Cam´s reaction to their daughter´s obscene language (line 45). Although Cam apologizes, he asserts that Mitch should know his partner and thus, should be aware of his two "weaknesses" (lines 46-47). Mitch disregards Cam´s apology and excuse, as he now initiates an assessment activity of Lily´s obscene language (line 48). He begins by evaluating the word Lily used as

"bad" (line 48) and claims that it is the responsibility of both parents to discipline her ("we have to tell her" – line 48). Although Cam agrees that they both share the responsibility to deal with this issue ("the less we make of it" – line 49), he divergently aligns with Mitch with the epistemic stance marker "no" (line 49). Hence, Cam introduces a different approach as he suggests ignoring it. Mitch seems to be convinced of Cam´s suggestion, as he aligns with him ("yeah" – line 51). However, Mitch uses the epistemic stance marker "maybe" (lines 51, 53) repeatedly; thus, he indicates uncertainty of whether Cam´s approach will be effective.

Scene 2 continued

54	Lily:	Daddy, can I have some ice cream?
55	Mitch:	No, honey, if you're hungry, you can have some fruit.
56	Lily:	Fruit? F(bleeping tone)
57	Cam:	*<laughs>*
58	Mitch:	I have two children.

Subsequently, Lily enters the room. When Mitch offers Lily some fruit instead of ice cream, Lily unmistakably says "fuck" (line 56), to which Cam has the same reaction as before. Mitch again disapproves of Cam´s behavior in that he devaluates Cam´s position as a parent by referring to him as his second child (line 58).

Scene 3

63	Lily:	I wanna watch aunt Claire!
64	Mitch:	Well, first, honey . we need to talk about something. It's about that word you said this
65		morning.
66	Lily:	What word?
67	Mitch:	You know, the one that starts with "f"?
68	Lily:	"Flower"?
69	Mitch:	No::.
70	Lily:	"Fruit"?
71	Mitch:	No::.
72	Cam:	If she doesn't remember it, we shouldn't remind her.
73	Mitch:	Oh, well, she said it three times.
74	Lily:	Oh, you mean. F*
75	Cam:	*<chuckles>*
76	Mitch:	Cam, leave the room!
77	Cam:	No. I can do this. Lily, that is a bad word, and you are not allowed to say it ever.
78	Lily:	But it makes you laugh.
79	Mitch:	Okay, well, daddy shouldn't be laughing, and you should NEVER say that word. Do you
80		understand?
81	Lily:	Maybe.
82	Mitch:	Okay. This is not a game, all right? If you say that word one more time, I'm gonna take
83		away ALL your toys! I'm serious! *<speaks in a lower voice>* She knows I'm not serious.
84	Cam:	What about the wedding? What if she says it there? She's like a ticking time bomb!

85	Mitch:	Well, what are we gonna do, cancel?
86	Cam:	Yes. Maybe we just call and say, "we're not going to any more weddings - until the gays
87		can get married."
88	Mitch:	Oh, so now we're political? We leave town on gay pride weekend because we don't like
89		the traffic.

Scene 3 is set in the living room. Again Mitch takes the assessment lead, as he requests to discuss the issue with Lily (lines 64-65). When Lily seemingly does not understand which word Mitch is referring to, Cam reminds Mitch of his approach, i.e. ignoring it (line 72). Although Cam engages in the assessment activity as he disagrees with his husband´s strategy, Cam includes himself ("we shouldn´t remind her" – line 72) and thereby expresses shared responsibility in dealing with this issue. Mitch´s reaction to Cam´s approach may have triggered Lily´s memory as she again says "fuck" (line 74). Mitch even attempts to discipline and punish Cam by commanding him to leave the room as he again reacts with laughter (line 76).

Subsequently, Cam takes over the lead in the assessment activity by first disagreeing with Mitch and assuring him that he is capable of disciplining Lily (line 77) and then outlining to Lily that she is using a "bad word" and prohibits her from repeating it (line 77). However, Lily seems to be confused by her father´s reaction as she reminds her father that he considered it funny earlier (line 78). Mitch responds to Lily´s argument by assessing Cam´s behavior as inappropriate ("daddy shouldn´t be laughing" - line 79). Nevertheless, Mitch aligns with his husband´s approach as he reiterates Cam´s statement with slightly different words (lines 76, 78-79).

When Mitch confronts Lily with the consequences she will face if she continues to use expletives, he subsequently reflects on his parenting as he is convinced that he cannot follow through with the plan of taking away her toys (line 83). Cam disregards Mitch´s conflict as he is concerned with Lily´s behavior at the wedding (line 84). He suspects that Lily might say the curse word at the wedding and is, thus, concerned that he or both parents will be held accountable for Lily´s obscene language. Cam reinforces his distress by metaphorically referring to Lily as a "ticking time bomb" (line 84). While Cam considers the possibility to cancel their attendance at the wedding, Mitch disapproves of Cam´s plan (lines 86-89).

90	Claire:	Lily, sweetie, are you excited to be a flower girl? Yeah:? Little bit nervous? Yeah? Why
91		isn't she talking to me? Did she see the debate, too?
92	Mitch:	Nope, she's on verbal lockdown.
93	Claire:	Oh?
94	Mitch:	She's been dropping a certain curse word all day.
95	Cam:	Mm:.
96	Mitch:	Yeah. Yeah, so we're just hoping the next one doesn't happen during the wedding.

Scene 4 is set at the church, shortly before the wedding. Claire, who just delivered a dreadful performance on a debate which was broadcasted live on television, suspects that Lily is not talking to her because she watched the program. However, Mitch, speaking for Lily, explains the situation (line 92), while Cam displays alignment with his partner (line 95). Apparently, Mitch and Cam agreed to prohibit her from talking (line 91). Mitch not only speaks on behalf of his daughter but also of his partner as he emphasizes Cam´s position and responsibility in disciplining their daughter ("we´re just hoping" - line 96).

Scene 5

105	Pastor:	Friends, family, thank you for making- (pastor´s voice disperses)
106	Cam:	*<cries>*
107	Mitch:	Really?
108	Cam:	Well, you know I cry at weddings.
109	Mitch:	Oh, no.
110	Cam:	What?
111	Mitch:	Stop-- stop crying.
112	Cam:	Well, just because you have ice water in your veins, - doesn't mean that—
113	Mitch:	No. No, Lily! No. Lily! He's fine. Daddy's fine.
114	Cam:	Daddy's not sad.
115	Lily:	Daddy, daddy! F(bleeping tone)*<crowd laughs>*
116	Cam:	You see? I told you it was funny.
117	Lily:	F(bleeping tone) F(bleeping tone) F(bleeping tone)
118	Crowd:	*<laughs>*
119	Cam:	(picks Lily up and carries her) Excuse us. Sorry! Congratulations!

Scene 5 is set during the wedding ceremony. Mitch observes that Lily spots Cam crying; thus, he attempts ensuring her that her father is not upset as he suspects that Lily would try to cheer her father up by swearing (lines 109, 113). However, Lily seems to ignore Mitch´s message as she repeatedly exclaims "fuck" (line 117). Although the crowd considers Lily´s behavior as funny, Cam immediately jumps up and collects her from the altar and apologizes (line 119).

8.4.   Discussion

This section aims at responding to the overall research question: *How are parental identities constructed in the sitcom* modern family*?,* by answering the two subquestions:

> *a) How do the individual characters constitute parental identities through taking a stance towards a misbehaving child?*
>
> *b) What are the differences and similarities of the identities and stances taken by the parents towards a misbehaving child in traditional and non-traditional families concerning societal expectations and beliefs of mothers and fathers?*

8.4.1. Identity construction through stancetaking

First of all, it seems to be relevant to compare scripted dialogue in *modern family* with the characteristics of natural conversation presented by Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002: 429-435). Firstly, characters in *modern family* demonstrate a "shared context" by using personal pronouns ("You didn´t tell her, did you?" excerpt 3: line 29) and deictic expressions ("I can´t believe <u>this</u>" excerpt 2: line 149). Secondly, the characters frequently avoid elaboration of meaning which is expressed in, for example, vague expressions ("those <u>things</u> stick to you" excerpt 3: line 48). Thirdly, the speech of the characters confirms that scripted conversations are interactive as the characters indicate that they adapt their speech to the on-going conversation with their interlocutors through, for example, address forms ("buddy" excerpt 1: line 51), single-word responses ("Oh. Wow." excerpt 2: line 51) and discourse markers ("well" excerpt 2: line 45). Finally, since scripted dialogue is non-spontaneous and not "drawn from real-life" in contrast to natural conversation (Richardson 2010: 169), dialogues in *modern family* attempt to simulate spontaneity through, for example, false starts ("So <u>d-What'd</u> they give you?" excerpt 3: line 84), hesitations ("<u>I- I</u> don't even know what to say" excerpt 5: line 9) and pauses ("fine, 'cause you know what happens <u>next? . We</u> CANCEL Christmas!" excerpt 1: lines 22-23). In conclusion, scripted dialogue in *modern family* shares significant similarities with the characteristics of natural conversation, in particular concerning lexical and grammatical items. The sociocultural, situational, lexical and grammatical cues help to create an imitation of naturally occurring conversation and the "illusion of spontaneity" (Rossi 2011: 45).

Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that identities can be constructed through repeated stancetaking acts as suggested by Johnstone (2007: 52) and Jaffe (2009: 11). Moreover, the analysis supports Du Bois´s (2007: 162) claim that the three subsidiary acts positioning, evaluation and alignment create one unified stance act and can ultimately constitute identity.

As a significant component of the stancetaking act, evaluation of an object or another subject can indicate various stances. For example, while Claire makes assessments to manifest her role as the primary caregiver by opening frames for discussion (excerpt 1: line 12), Jay portrays himself as the problematizer and "family judge" by positioning others as problematizees (excerpt 5: lines 4, 7, 22). Thus, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 149) claim, assessments can establish hierarchies. In addition, both examples reveal the interrelatedness of the key entities positioning and evaluation. Moreover, in excerpt 1, Claire and Phil demonstrate that evaluation is frequently performed as an "assessment activity" which is an interactive process in which interlocutors monitor and adapt to each others´ evaluations (Gordon 2007: 80).

Through positioning, the individual situates the self or other interlocutors (Du Bois 2007: 143). For example in excerpt 5, Cam positions himself as the primary caregiver; thus, he performs a "self-expression" (Englebretson 2007: 16) by using the personal pronoun "I" in indicating his responsibility in childcare and the possessive pronoun "my" in referring to his daughter Lily. Moreover, Cam´s position as the primary caregiver is confirmed by his partner Mitch as Mitch emphasizes Cam´s role as the stay-at-home dad in that Mitch states that his partner is "with her all day" (excerpt 5: line 54). Similarly, Phil positions Claire as the primary caregiver and himself as the secondary caregiver (excerpt 1: line 52). Consequently, Phil ´s alignment with the traditional role distribution of mothers and fathers in families produces and reproduces "systems of cultural value" regarding this traditional perspective on the responsibility of parents in childcare (Du Bois 2007: 173).

Alignment implies a speaker´s agreement or disagreement with interlocutors (Du Bois 2007: 144). For example in excerpt 1 (line 41), Phil aligns with Claire´s discipline strategies which indicates that he intends to "calibrat[e] [their] relationship" (Du Bois 2007: 144). Similarly, Cam´s alignment with his partner Mitch (excerpt 6: lines 25-28, 95) and his passive role in the assessment activity that is initiated and led by Mitch reveals that Cam positions himself as the

assistant of Mitch and Mitch as the primary caregiver. The second example demonstrates that alignment indicates positioning.

Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that affective and epistemic markers are beneficial in detecting and interpreting the three key entities of the stance triangle. For example, Claire ("the hell" excerpt 1: line 1, "ugly" excerpt 1: line 10) and Gloria ("very rough" excerpt 4: line 5) use affective stance markers to reinforce their evaluative stances (Tomczak & Jaworska-Pasterska 2017: 5). Phil uses affective stance markers, in this case, a term of endearment ("honey" excerpt 1: line 76) to create alignment with Claire. Epistemic stance markers are frequently employed to "legitimate further acts of evaluation" (Jaffe 2009: 7). For example, Claire uses the epistemic stance marker "obviously" (excerpt 1: line 1) to manifest her position as the problematizer, while Phil not only uses them to legitimize his evaluations (excerpt 2 lines 110-111) but also to demonstrate alignment with Claire (excerpt 1: line 41). Whereas Phil and Claire employ epistemic stance markers to indicate evaluation or alignment, Jay attempts to establish authority ("I thought", "maybe" and "kind of" excerpt 3: line 12) by employing epistemic stance markers (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 149). Thus, the results support Ochs´s (1996: 420) argument that affective and epistemic stance markers index stance and ultimately, identities.

Moreover, the analysis confirms Sillars´s, Koerner´s and Fitzpatrick´s (2005: 103) assertion that stances are frequently determined by the applied frames. For example in excerpt 4, Jay perceives Joe´s behavior as age-appropriate, while Gloria considers her son´s misbehavior as a severe issue that needs to be regulated. The different frames become apparent when investigating the parents´ use of language in describing Joe´s behavior. Whereas Jay considers Joe´s personality as "a little boisterous" (line 22); Gloria characterizes her son as "very rough" (line 5). Similarly, in excerpt 5, Cam perceives Lily´s behavior as age-appropriate ("she´s teething" line 43), thus, he attempts to fix the issue "with love" (line 77); whereas Mitch devalues Cam´s frame ("on people" line 44) and attempts to regulate Lily´s misbehavior by taking physical action (line 86).

Consequently, the analysis of the excerpts demonstrates that the characters in *modern family* construct parental identities through stancetaking. Furthermore, it reveals that the stance act comprises of the three key entities evaluation, positioning and alignment and is

indicated by discursive and linguistic means, partly through affective and epistemic stance markers and dependent on frames applied.

The following section presents the individual stances taken and identities constructed in relation to the first subquestion of the research question.

>   a) *How do the individual characters constitute parental identities through taking a stance towards a misbehaving child?*

The following paragraphs compare and contrast the results of this study with research on the traditional discourse of family roles. Specifically, they discuss societal expectations of, on the one hand, the mother´s role as the primary caregiver (Gordon 2007, Schlenker 2012, Talbot 1998) and the mother´s display of intimacy with her children (Tannen 2007, Talbot 1998, Adelswärd & Nilholm 2000); and on the other hand, the father as the secondary caregiver and assistant of the mother (Sunderland 2009, Kendall 2007) and the father as the problematizer (Tannen 2007, Talbot 1998) in relation to parental identities that are constructed by the characters.

Claire and Phil – the standard North American family

Parental identity – Claire

In both excerpts, Claire constructs an identity by manifesting her role as the primary caregiver, demonstrating intimacy with her children and employing the care orientation.

As the primary caregiver, Claire frequently takes the lead in assessment activities of her children´s actions and opens frames for discussion (excerpt 1: line 12). Since Phil generally follows Claire´s assessment activities and adopts her frames, Phil implicitly confirms her position. Claire seems to be concerned with losing face in various circumstances. For example, when threatening to take away Christmas Claire exclaims that "they´ll write songs about us" (excerpt 1: line 42). Although she does not specify who "they" are, it can be assumed that she refers to society. In order to save face, Claire engages in impression management by positioning Phil and herself as *good* parents (excerpt 1: lines 82-84). Engaging in impression management is linked to mothers (Gordon 2007: 83). However, Claire´s role as the primary caregiver is not only established by herself, but also by Phil, as he frequently assigns responsibility to her, in particular, the implementation of punishments

("Claire, you want to handle this?" excerpt 1: line 52). In addition, in alignment with societal expectations, Claire typically employs the care orientation (Sheldon 1993: 89). For example, considering the cigarette burn, Claire frames the situation as a violation of trust, as none of her children admit to causing the stain (excerpt 1: lines 1-2, 4, 6).

Claire displays intimacy with her children on two levels: on the one hand, she frequently refers to her children with the possessive pronoun "my" (excerpt 1: lines 21, 45) and uses affective stance markers ("hell" excerpt 1: line 1, excerpt 2: line 71). These affective stance markers reinforce Claire´s evaluative stances (Jaffe 2009: 7). On the other hand, Claire often performs the social act *gathering detail*, for example, when Haley was released from the police station (excerpt 2: lines 71, 79-80) or when she requested her children to confess having caused the cigarette burn (excerpt 1: lines 1-2, 4, 8). Furthermore, Claire ties her identity to the identity of her children which is also congruent with societal expectations (Adelswärd & Nilholm 2000, referred to in Gordon 2007: 74). For example in excerpt 2, Claire refers to Haley as "my" daughter on two occasions: when she emphasizes that Haley has only been in college for a short period and when she defends Haley at the police station (lines 21, 45). Using the possessive pronoun "my" indicates that Claire might anticipate being accused of Haley´s misbehavior. In addition, although the role of the problematizer is typically ascribed to fathers (Talbot 1998: 75), Claire explicitly functions as the primary assessor of her children and Phil (excerpt 1: lines 1-2, 22), but also of Haley and the police (excerpt 2: lines 25, 28, 45-47). In addition, Claire uses epistemic stance markers in her assessment activities ("obviously" excerpt 1: line 6) to establish "relative authority" (Jaffe 2009: 7). Moreover, Claire uses the position of the problematizer in combination with epistemic stance markers to reinforce her position as the primary caregiver.

In conclusion, Claire´s stances are mostly linked to sociocultural expectations and beliefs of social acts performed by a mother. Consequently, Claire takes on a maternal identity by positioning herself as the primary caregiver, including leading assessment activities, developing and displaying intimate bonds with her children and aligning her identity with the identity of her children.

Parental Identity – Phil

While Claire creates an identity as the primary caregiver, Phil confirms Claire´s position by constructing his identity as the secondary caregiver and assistant of Claire which is congruent with societal expectations (Sunderland 2009: 123). Firstly, Phil frequently assigns the task of disciplining their children to Claire ("Claire, you want to handle this?" excerpt 1: line 52). Secondly, Claire generally leads the assessment activities while Phil either follows her lead or aligns with her evaluation and further elaborates it. For example, in excerpt 1, Phil claims that he employed a specific discipline strategy because he suspected that Claire would have expected him to react this way (line 41). Finally, while Claire commands Haley what to do, Phil offers Haley a recommendation (excerpt 2: lines 165-166). Furthermore, Phil embraces the stereotype as the entertainer of his children by using humor (excerpt 1: lines 13-15). Thus, he attempts to appear as the "cool dad". The role of the "baby entertainer" is socioculturally linked to the father (Sunderland 2000: 254).

As discussed above, the position of a secondary caregiver is linked to the identity of a father (Sunderland 2009: 123); in the same way, fathers are said to apply the *justice* orientation in conflict talk (Sheldon 1993: 90). In fact, Phil employs said orientation, for example, when he evaluates Haley´s underage drinking as appropriate behavior for a college student (excerpt 2: lines 26-27) or when he asks Haley for a subjective account of the event (excerpt 2: line 72). Thus, he appreciates independence and values logic and rationality.

However, Phil does not always position himself as the secondary caregiver. He frequently suggests an egalitarian structure by considering Claire and himself as a unity in using the personal pronoun "we", but in particular when he expresses achievements of the parents ("we´ve raised our kids right", excerpt 1: lines 46-47, "everything your mother and I worked so hard to give you", excerpt 2: line 113). Moreover, although interest in detail is linked to the identity of a mother, Phil provides the police officer with information on Haley´s life (excerpt 2: lines 54-56). Evidently, Phil attempts to emphasize his responsibility and accomplishments in childcare on various occasions.

In conclusion, by aligning with Claire, Phil creates a supportive stance towards his wife and thereby, manifests the socioculturally assigned role as a secondary caregiver, while positioning Claire as the primary caregiver. Moreover, Phil employs the justice orientation which is linked to

men and fathers in conflict talk. However, Phil suggests an egalitarian structure in certain situations. Thereby, Phil attempts to disrupt the expectation of the father as the "bumbling assistant" of the mother which is against societal expectations of fathers (Kendall 2007a: 131).

Gloria and Jay – the blended family

Parental Identity – Gloria

Similar to Claire, Gloria constructs her parental identity by performing social acts that are linked to the primary caregiver, including displaying intimacy (Tannen 2007, Gordon 2007). Firstly, Gloria is frequently concerned about losing face. For example, Gloria seems to anticipate that her and her son´s reputation may be harmed as she defends Manny in front of the principal (excerpt 3: line 37). Plus, she requests Manny not to inform Jay of his mother´s action (excerpt 3: line 74). Therefore, Gloria engages in impression management, for example, by portraying Manny as a good child in front of his principal, who accused him of stealing a locket (excerpt 3: lines 1-2). In addition, she explicitly takes responsibility for raising Manny by using the personal pronoun "I" in "this is not the way I raised you" (excerpt 3: line 74).

Secondly, Gloria frequently displays the intimate bond she has with both her children by providing detail of her children´s lives which displays intimacy (Gordon 2007: 77). For example, Gloria informs the principal of Manny´s heritage (excerpt 3: lines 1-2) and shares an account of a situation involving Joe´s misbehavior that occurred the week before with the priest (excerpt 4: line 46). Furthermore, Gloria ties her identity to the identity of her children. For example, she declares her way of speaking to the principal appropriate since he accused her son ("my Manny" excerpt 3: lines 5-8) of a crime, she speaks for Manny in order to save face (excerpt 3: lines 82, 85, 88) and she accounts for Joe´s misbehavior by apologizing, as she seems to feel responsible for her child´s shortcoming (excerpt 4: "sorry, sorry, padre" – line 45). Consequently, Gloria´s defensive position towards her children´s misbehavior indicates her role as the primary caregiver (Talbot 1998: 76).

In both excerpts, Gloria applies the care orientation in dealing with her children´s misbehavior. When Manny stole the locket, Gloria decides to return it; thus she is willing to make exceptions to the rule (excerpt 3: line 71). Plus, when Joe´s "rough" encounter with

other children repeatedly shows, Gloria attempts to resolve the issue by aiming at fostering and maintaining relationships by trying to regulate his misbehavior with professional help (excerpt 4: line 39). The care orientation is linked to the role of a mother (Sheldon 1993: 89).

In conclusion, Gloria constructs a maternal identity that exclusively consists of social acts that are linked to women and mothers, since she positions herself as the primary caregiver, displays intimate bonds with her children and employs the care orientation. Consequently, Gloria is the only character whose parental identity and social acts fully align with societal expectations.

Parental Identity – Jay

Jay mainly constructs his parental identity by embracing the role of the primary assessor in both excerpts. In excerpt 3, Jay detects that Manny committed a crime, thus, he persuades Manny to first confess to his mother and then to the principal (line 23). However, Jay´s role as the problematizer is not solely constructed by him but also by Gloria. For example, she requests Manny not to inform Jay of her action. Hence, Gloria might be concerned to lose face and seems to fear being judged or positioned as the problematizee by Jay ("don´t tell Jay" – line 74). In excerpt 4, Jay evaluates the Gymboree´s sanction as "ridiculous" (line 4), judges the other child Mason (line 4), refers to Miss Debbie as an "uptight teacher" and challenges her qualification (lines 22, 52-53), and considers Gloria´s blame on a curse as wrongful (line 7). Consequently, Jay positions the Gymboree, Miss Debbie and Gloria as the problematizees. To conclude, through the repeated evaluative stance acts and the use of epistemic stance markers ("maybe" excerpt 3: line 12), Jay creates a stance towards the actions of others and, thus, establishes a hierarchy (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 149) with him on the top as the problematizer or "family judge".

Moreover, Jay clearly positions Gloria as the primary caregiver of his stepson Manny, yet he suggests an egalitarian structure in raising his biological son Joe. Concerning Manny, Jay demands his stepson to first confess to his mother and then to his principal (excerpt 3: lines 23-24). Additionally, he requires Gloria to accompany Manny to the principal´s office (excerpt 3: lines 52-53). Thus, Jay ascribes the responsibility to discipline Manny to Gloria. In contrast, considering his biological son Joe, Jay contacts Joe´s teacher who expelled him from class. Moreover, he engages in impression management by presenting Joe as a child who acts according to his age, deliberately withholds information and challenges the

teacher´s qualification in order to persuade her to revoke the expulsion (excerpt 4: lines 52-55).

Furthermore, Jay displays intimacy with both children, his stepson Manny and his biological son Joe, but on two different levels. In excerpt 3, Jay provides details of Manny´s personality and claims that he knows Manny (lines 95-97). Moreover, he attempts to get involved in Manny´s life by requesting information on the meeting with the principal (lines 81, 84, 86). Considering Joe, Jay engages in two impression management activities. Firstly, he attempts to convince Miss Debbie that Joe merely expresses his identity and acts similar to other children (excerpt 4: lines 52-55). Secondly, during the phone call with Miss Debbie Jay withholds the relevant information that Joe physically attacked another child before (lines 52-55). Thus, Jay employs characteristics of a mother´s stereotypical behavior he engages in impression management (Gordon 2007: 83) and he displays intimate father-son bonds with both his biological son and his stepson (Gordon 2007: 77).

In both excerpts Jay attends to the justice orientation which is linked to fathers (Sheldon 1993: 90). In excerpt 3, Jay attempts to convince Manny to confess to his mother and the principal (lines 23-24, 52-53); thus he requests individual justice. While the justice orientation is only implied in Jay´s talk with Manny, he explicitly requests individual justice from Miss Debbie, Joe´s Gymboree teacher, by claiming that Joe´s behavior is aligned with that of other children. He also attends to rights and respect, meaning that Joe needs to be able to express his identity (excerpt 4: 52-54).

In conclusion, Jay confirms his status as the patriarch of the family by reinforcing his role as the problematizer and employing the justice orientation. Thus, Jay constructs an identity that is socioculturally linked to social acts performed by fathers and men. However, he constructs different identities with his stepson Manny and his biological son Joe as he performs social acts that are linked to mothers specifically in terms of raising Joe.

Mitch and Cam – same-sex parents and an adopted child

Parental Identity – Mitch

Mitch employs a combination of strategies that are linked to both the identities of mothers and fathers. On the one hand, Mitch ascribes the role of the primary caregiver to Cam by emphasizing Cam´s role in the family structure, i.e. a stay-at-home dad, and claiming that he

is "with her all day" (excerpt 5: line 54). Thus, Mitch constructs his own identity as the secondary caregiver by denying responsibility for Lily´s misbehavior (excerpt 5: line 54). On the other hand, Mitch performs certain social acts that are associated with expectations of mothers: providing and gathering detail, engaging in impression management and being concerned about being held accountable for a child´s shortcoming (Gordon 2007: 83, Tannen 2007: 12). Firstly, in conversation with the mother of the child who Lily supposedly bit, Mitch provides details of Lily´s personality in order to save face; thus, he simultaneously performs impression management by positioning Lily as a well-behaved child (excerpt 5: line 10). Secondly, he gathers detail first from the mother, then from Cam and ultimately Lily in order to inquire into the circumstances of the event and to determine reasons for Lily´s misbehavior (excerpt 5: lines 10, 42). In addition, Mitch ties his identity to the identity of his child by speaking on behalf of her (excerpt 6: lines 92, 94, 96).

Mitch embraces the *Father knows best* phenomenon, as he functions as the problematizer (Ochs & Taylor 1992b: 447). In excerpt 5, Mitch evaluates the mother´s and her son´s assertion as untrue and Billy´s behavior as "aggressive" which he enforces by using the epistemic stance marker "very" (lines 20-21, 23-24). In addition, he disapproves of Cam´s song (line 82) and considers Cam´s disciplining strategies as "soft" (line 88). Moreover, Mitch holds Cam accountable for Lily´s biting issue as he is the stay-at-home father (line 54). In excerpt 6, Mitch evaluates Cam´s reaction as inappropriate and even devalues his position as a parent by referring to him as his second child (line 58). Furthermore, Mitch considers accepting Lily´s shortcoming, i.e. biting issue, as a milestone in parenting. Thus, it becomes evident that Mitch asserts ideal qualities of a *good* parent. In addition, Mitch initiates and leads the majority of assessment activities (excerpt 5: lines 20-21, excerpt 6: lines 45, 46).

Furthermore, in both excerpts, Mitch applies the justice orientation in conflict talk, which most likely roots in the way Mitch frames these situations. In excerpt 5, Mitch considers Lily´s behavior as inappropriate and emphasizes potential consequences for her interaction with other children (lines 44). Thus, Mitch intends to employ "tough love" (line 86) in regulating Lily´s behavior in order to restore individual justice. Furthermore, Mitch seems to have the same response to Lily´s misbehavior in excerpt 6 as he again frames Lily´s language as inappropriate. Consequently, Mitch decides to value logic and rationality in telling her

that she is using a "bad word" (line 48). Both reactions align a male conversational style in conflict talk. The justice orientation is linked to the role of a father (Sheldon 1993: 90).

Consequently, Mitch constructs his parental identity by taking on stances that are associated with both mothers and fathers. On the one hand, he is the family judge (Ochs & Taylor 1992a: 329) and applies the justice orientation (Sheldon 1993: 90). Both acts are socioculturally linked to the identity of a father. On the other hand, although Mitch positions Cam as the primary caregiver, he displays intimacy with Lily (Gordon 2007: 77) and performs other social acts that are expected of mothers, such as providing details of his daughter´s life (Tannen 1994: 713).

Parental Identity – Cam

Cam constructs his parental identity by alternating between the roles of both the primary and the secondary caregiver. The most significant indication of him being the primary caregiver is in excerpt 5 when Cam attempts to convince Mitch that the discipline strategies presented on the "mommy forum" are cruel and inappropriate. Firstly, he positions only himself of having the responsibility to execute discipline strategies ("I am not hiring some hobo to [...] traumatize my daughter" – line 69). Secondly, he considers the discipline strategy as inappropriate for his daughter and provides detail of her personality to emphasize his point (lines 69-70). Finally, Cam imposes his own disciplining strategy (lines 77-81) by verbally and physically preventing Mitch from applying the approach suggested on the "mommy forum" (line 69). Moreover, in excerpt 6, Cam is concerned about losing face at the wedding due to Lily´s obscene language use and, thus, considers to cancel their attendance at the wedding (lines 86-87). In the same excerpt, Cam rushes to Lily, because she has exclaimed the curse word in front of the crowd, and carries her outside while repeatedly apologizing (line 119). Evidently, Cam seems to be concerned that he will be held accountable for Lily´s misbehavior, which is why he attempts to save face by carrying her out. Therefore, Cam ties his identity to the identity of his daughter by apologizing. However, Cam also depicts social acts that are linked to the secondary caregiver. For example, he frequently positions himself as Mitch´s assistant. In particular when Mitch defends their daughter in public Cam follows Mitch´s assessment activities (excerpt 5: lines 25-28) or he takes on a passive role and aligns with his partner (excerpt 6: line 95). Consequently, Cam embraces both characteristics of a mother by attempting to save face (Gordon 2007: 77) and

positioning himself as the primary caregiver (Porta & Howe 2012: 519), while also positioning himself as the "bumbling assistant" of Mitch which is expected of fathers (Sunderland 2009: 123).

Cam´s reason for the use of the care orientation, which is generally linked to mothers (Sheldon 1993: 89), may be based on the frames he applies. In excerpt 5, when Lily bites another child, Cam perceives her behavior as age-appropriate, which is why he intends to handle this issue with "love" (line 77). In excerpt 6, Cam considers Lily´s obscene language as humorous. Additionally, he suggests ignoring the issue (lines 49-51). In both situations, Cam values maintaining interpersonal relationships, acts compassionate towards others and makes exceptions.

In conclusion, Cam is both the primary and the secondary caregiver depending on, on the one hand, the setting, and on the other hand, Mitch´s actions. Thus, it can be argued that Cam constitutes his identity by contributing to construct Mitch´s identity.

8.4.2. Representation of parental roles and social implications

b) What are the differences and similarities of the identities and stances taken by the parents towards a misbehaving child in traditional and non-traditional families concerning societal expectations and beliefs of mothers and fathers?

The Dunphy family, consisting of Claire, Phil and their children Haley, Alex and Luke, fit the description of a standard North American family suggested by Smith (1993) in every way. The parents implement the traditional ideal, as Claire is responsible for domestic work and childcare, while Phil is the breadwinner (Kendall 2007a: 124). Furthermore, by performing social acts that are associated with that of a primary caregiver and a display of intimate mother-child bonds (Gordon 2007: 77), Claire constructs an identity that is congruent with societal expectations of a mother; whereas Phil constitutes a paternal identity by aligning with Claire and, thus, positions himself as the secondary caregiver and assistant of Claire. Moreover, both parents follow the respective orientation in conflict talk, i.e. women use the care orientation, while men use the justice orientation (Sheldon 1993: 89-90). Thus, Claire and Phil meet societal expectations of a standard North American family, not only because of the traditional distribution of roles but also because they construct paternal identities that are in accordance with societal expectations.

The Pritchett family consists of Jay, his wife Gloria, his stepson Manny and their biological son Joe; thus, they represent the blended family. Likewise to the SNAF, Gloria and Jay both assume the dominant roles from a traditional ideal (Kendall 2007a: 124). Jay is the breadwinner, while Gloria is the primary caregiver. In fact, Gloria manifests her position as the primary caregiver with both children, for example, by displaying intimacy and providing detail of her son´s lives (Gordon 2007: 77). Moreover, Jay constitutes his identity as the patriarch by positioning himself as the problematizer, which is expected of a father according to societal expectations (Talbot 1998: 75). Jay displays different stances with his stepson Manny and his biological son Joe. While Jay does not intend to overstep the boundary of getting involved in disciplining Manny and instead ascribes Gloria this task, he accepts the responsibility to discipline Joe. However, contrary to Golish and Caughlin´s (2002: 79) findings on restricted information between stepparents and stepchildren, Jay displays an intimate relationship with Manny, as he is actively involved in his life. Likewise, Jay establishes intimacy with his biological son Joe. Thus, the parental identities of the Pritchett family are in accordance with societal expectations regarding the childcare of Manny, as Gloria takes on the role of the primary caregiver and Jay the role of the problematizer and breadwinner. However, this blended family proves to be an "incomplete institution" (Cherlin 1978: 636), since Jay´s involvement in childcare is dependent on the child, while Gloria displays a consistent identity.

The Pritchett-Tucker family, consisting of Mitch, Cam and their daughter Lily, represent the other non-traditional family, i.e. same-sex parents and an adopted child. Goldberg (2012) suggests that same-sex parents typically establish an egalitarian structure considering the distribution of roles. However, Mitch and Cam support the distribution of roles (Kendall 2007a: 124), which is prevalent in traditional families such as the SNAF (Smith 1993), since Mitch is the breadwinner and Cam is responsible for domestic work and childcare. However, the parental identities they construct cannot be unequivocally ascribed to either a mother´s or a father´s identity. Instead, Mitch and Cam construct identities that can be defined as an accumulation of both typical maternal and paternal characteristics. While Mitch performs acts that are associated with the identity of a father, i.e. he functions as the problematizer (Talbot 1998: 75), positions himself as an assistant of his partner (Cowan et al. 2008: 66) and applies the justice orientation (Sheldon 1993: 90); he also displays acts that are associated with the identity of a mother: he shows interest in detail and ties his identity to the identity

of Lily (Gordon 2007: 77). Similarly, Cam constitutes an identity that consists of characteristics of mothers and fathers. For example, he constructs a maternal identity by positioning himself as the primary caregiver (Kendall 2007a: 124), tying his identity to the identity of his child (Adelswärd & Nilholm 2000, referred to in Gordon 2007: 74) and applying the care orientation (Sheldon 1993: 89). Simultaneously, he frequently positions himself as the assistant of Mitch, which is socioculturally linked to the role of a father (Sunderland 2009: 123). Consequently, Mitch and Cam both construct parental identities by selecting and then applying specific gendered social acts that are linked to either the role of fathers or mothers to different situations depending on the circumstances. Hence, the societal expectations for fathers and mothers are displayed in this family as well, however, not within one person. Consequently, Mitch and Cam adapted the ideological code of the standard North American family and modified it to meet their needs.

Furthermore, Mitch and Cam explicitly state that they are confronted with homophobia and marginalization. As Biblarz et al. (2014: 116) argue, the parenting of same-sex couples is frequently challenged and scrutinized by society. Mitch and Cam address this issue in a cutaway by claiming that accusing same-sex parents in the context of parenting is "everyone´s favorite game" (excerpt 5: lines 14-18). Therefore, Mitch and Cam frequently form a parental unit and avoid losing face. For example, when they attempt to convince the mother at the playground of Lily´s innocence they both refer to Lily as "our" child (excerpt 5: lines 21, 26) and they speak for their partner by using the personal pronoun "we" (excerpt 5: lines 26, 85, 96). Moreover, Mitch and Cam prioritize saving face in public, which is why they decide to leave the scene when they realize that they have made a mistake defending their daughter (excerpt 5: lines 38-41) and speak for their daughter as they prohibited her from talking (excerpt 6: lines 32, 94, 96).

The unified stance that Mitch and Cam frequently display is created by the use of personal and possessive pronouns, in particular when evaluating their child´s misbehavior and displaying a joint accountability of raising their daughter. The analysis reveals that Mitch and Cam use the personal pronoun "we" and the possessive pronoun "our" when they refer to their daughter, specifically in public; thereby, both intend to demonstrate an egalitarian distribution of roles in childcare. Whereas in the standard North American family, Phil attempts to create parental unity by including Claire ("we" excerpt 1: lines 46-47), in

particular when he emphasizes their children´s accomplishments. In contrast, Claire emphasizes her role as the primary caregiver by frequently using the personal pronoun "I" (excerpt 1: lines 6, 12) when disciplining her children and the possessive pronoun "my" (excerpt 1: lines 21, 45) when defending or assessing her children´s misbehavior. Similarly, Gloria assumes accountability for her son´s misbehavior with the personal pronoun "I" (excerpt 3: line 74) and defends her son using the possessive pronoun "my" (excerpt 3: line 1-2), while Jay does not use either pronoun to refer to their sons, which indicates that he perceives himself of having little responsibility in raising Joe and Manny. To conclude, while the same-sex parents attempt to constitute a unified stance concerning raising their child, the parents of both the SNAF and the blended family seem to have conflicting attitudes towards childcare responsibility.

In addition, during the analysis of stancetaking and constituting identities of the individual characters, two similar gender stereotypes have been detected. Firstly, when attempting to find an appropriate and effective discipline strategy for Lily, Mitch and Cam consult a website called "mommy forum" (excerpt 6). The fact that they put their trust in a forum which is seemingly organized by and for mother confirms two stereotypes. Firstly, mothers are expected to have an intimate bond with their children. Intimacy can be displayed by providing and gathering details (Gordon 2007: 77-78, Tannen 1989: 12). Secondly, mothers are assigned the task of the primary caregiver, which means that they are responsible for the caregiving of the children (Kendall 2007: 124) and raising the children properly (Porta and Howe 2012: 519). Thus, Mitch and Cam index societal expectations for women by consulting this forum.

Secondly, in excerpt 4, the priest claims that Gloria´s behavior is appropriate since "all mothers worry" (line 49). Evidently, he reinforces society´s expectations of mothers being the primary caregiver. Moreover, it is confirmed that mothers more than fathers are held accountable for a child´s misbehavior. Consequently, *modern family* generally supports the traditional discourse of role distribution.

Since *modern family* confirms the ideology of a traditional discourse of role distribution, the audience may be influenced by stereotypes of mothers and fathers that are concealed in actions, attitudes and values of the characters (Dalton & Linder 2005: 1), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the characters´ use of language (Quaglio 2009: 12). As Gordon (2007: 25) advises, in order to constitute parental identities, it is relevant to consider the

sociocultural context. The three families belong to the upper-middle class of US American society, live in a nice neighborhood in Southern California and can afford expensive vacations and a high education for their children while only one parent in each family works fulltime. Therefore, the traditional role distribution, i.e. the mother as the primary caregiver and the father as the breadwinner (Kendall 2007a: 124), can be enabled. While this may not reflect the reality of the average viewer, the audience can identify with the characters as the characters in the sitcom use similar language and depict real-life events (Quaglio 2009: 12, Winzenburg 2004: 11). Since the six characters approach disciplining a misbehaving child and communicating with their partner in different ways, the sitcom presents a variety of potential strategies for creating parental identities through stancetaking to the audience.

Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that only one parent of the heterosexual couples, i.e. Gloria, can fully meet societal expectations of parents concerning the responsibility in childcare; since Claire generally takes on a maternal identity, while Jay and Phil generally assume a paternal identity. Consequently, both families demonstrate that parents may not need to follow stereotypes strictly but can rather slightly modify and adapt these stereotypes. This might lead to the conclusion that the current ideology of a traditional discourse should not be understood as rigid and stable but as flexible and adaptable depending on the situation. Therefore, *modern family* suggests that the three families, i.e. the traditional and the two non-traditional families, are in the process of developing their own ideological code (Smith 1999: 175). In particular, the same-sex parents Mitch and Cam indicate that societal expectations of mothers and fathers can be detected in this non-traditional family, however, neither one of the parents clearly represents the father or the mother. Instead, Mitch and Cam select and reject certain traits of mothers and fathers depending on the circumstances; hence, they alternate and modify the traditional discourse of parental roles. Consequently, it can be argued that the audience might be influenced to sympathize with the gay couple since Mitch and Cam "provoke a sense of recognition in viewers" (Cooper 1997: 91). While some of the strategies to influence the audience might be implicit, the sitcom occasionally attempts to explicitly affect its viewers. For example in excerpt 5, Mitch and Cam directly speak to the camera and reveal an issue concerning marginalization and homophobia. Thus, the characters intend to directly persuade the audience to challenge this social issue.

In conclusion, the sitcom *modern family* attempts to influence the audience by implicitly and explicitly revealing sociocultural stereotypes of mothers and fathers and discussing societal attitudes towards gay parenting.

9.   Conclusion

This study employs a qualitative sociolinguistic approach to analyze how stancetaking towards an object or another subject in combination with performing social acts contributes to constituting parental identities in traditional and non-traditional families.

The theoretical foundation of the thesis introduced the composition and characteristics of the three relevant types of family for this paper, i.e. standard North American family (Smith 1993), blended family and same-sex parents with adopted children. In connection to this, the importance of language for creating meanings and social regulations in families was emphasized. The subsequent sections defined identities as portraits of the self which are displayed by the individual but can be constructed by the self and others. In addition, the closely related concept of performance was introduced. Moreover, studies from various perspectives were discussed which suggest that identities can be constituted through linguistic means and discursive practices, including the act of stancetaking (Buchholtz & Hall 2005, Johnstone 2007, Jaffe 2009).

This study focused on constituting identities by taking up stances towards other interlocutors and a specific speech event. Since conflict is a potent generator of identity construction, specifically in the context of family interaction by creating relationships between parents and their children, the speech event disciplining a misbehaving child was selected. The study was not conducted on natural conversation, but on scripted dialogue from selected episodes of the US American sitcom *modern family*. Through this, a second layer of analysis could be added. As the research on television studies reveals, analyzing scripted dialogue by employing sociolinguistic methods is valuable for various reasons, for example, natural conversation and scripted dialogue share linguistic core features (Quaglio 2009) or a sociolinguistic analysis of scripted dialogue might evoke new methodology for analyzing natural conversation (Lakoff & Tannen 1994). It further confirmed that television, as one of the most dominant mass media, is not only influenced by social ideologies but also influences societal norms and beliefs (Winzenburg 2004: 11). As a consequence, the

construction of parental identity through displaying stances could be combined with how identities of mothers and fathers are represented on television.

Firstly, this study is concerned with the construction of identities of parents in traditional and non-traditional families through stancetaking. For the analysis, the three key elements of Du Bois´ (2007) stance triangle, i.e. evaluation, positioning and alignment, along with affective and epistemic stance markers and framing theory were employed to detect and interpret stances. The analysis of six excerpts reveals that the characters create identities by positioning the self and other subjects, assessing objects or other subjects and aligning with other subjects.

The following paragraphs compare and contrast the results of this study with research on the traditional discourse of family roles. Specifically, they discuss societal expectations of, on the one hand, the mother´s role as the primary caregiver (Gordon 2007, Schlenker 2012, Talbot 1998) and the mother´s display of intimacy with her children (Tannen 2007, Talbot 1998, Adelswärd & Nilholm 2000); and on the other hand, the father as the secondary caregiver and assistant of the mother (Sunderland 2009, Kendall 2007) and the father as the problematizer (Tannen 2007, Talbot 1998) in relation to parental identities that are constructed by the characters.

Secondly, stances and social acts are linked to societal expectations of mothers and fathers. According to these expectations, being a mother means to display intimate mother-child bonds (Gordon 2007), provide and gather detail of their children´s lives (Tannen 2007), account for children´s misbehavior and representing the role of a primary caregiver (Gordon 2007). In contrast, being a father means to be the secondary caregiver and assistant to the mother (Sunderland 2009), while embracing the role of the family judge (Talbot 1998). The analysis reveals that the traditional family, the Dunphy family, generally depicts the ideal standard North American family. Claire is not only the primary caregiver but also constructs her identity by taking up stances and performing social acts that are linked to the identity of a mother. In addition, Phil is the breadwinner and assistant of Claire. The Pritchett family, i.e. the blended family, also confirms societal expectations. While, similar to Claire, Gloria is responsible for domestic work and the primary caregiver, Jay is the breadwinner and family judge. In particular, since Jay displays different stances in dealing with misbehavior of his stepson Manny and his biological son Joe, he confirms the assumption that an identity is, in

fact, locally produced and dependent on the setting, or in his case, dependent on the relationship to the child. The other non-traditional family, i.e. same-sex parents and an adopted child, follows a traditional discourse concerning the distribution of roles similar to the other two families. However, the analysis reveals that Mitch and Cam construct their identities by taking stances and performing social acts that are associated with the identity of both a mother and a father. Although the same identities that are displayed in the SNAF and in the blended family can also be found in the family with the same-sex parents, neither of the parents can unequivocally be considered as the father or the mother. Instead, Mitch and Cam draw on stereotypically male and female stance and social acts in order to constitute their individual identities. In addition, the results show that *modern family* principally reinforces gendered stereotypes, in particular of mothers. For example, two characters look for parenting advice on a "mommy forum", or one character asserts that "all mothers worry". Both issues imply that mothers are, in fact, portrayed and perceived as the primary caregivers. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the sitcom critically engages with the marginalization and homophobia same-sex parents have to face in American society. To conclude, the findings suggest that *modern family* confirms common gender stereotypes and reinforces a traditional discourse concerning the distribution of parental roles.

Due to time and space constraints, but also to achieve a close, thorough analysis only two episodes per family were considered in the present study. Although stance patterns of the individual characters could be detected and meaningfully interpreted, the study could be expanded on a larger scale to observe identity construction in connection with character development. For example, later in the series, in the blended family, Jay retires from his business, in the standard North American family, Claire accepts a full-time job and in the family with same-sex parents, Cam and Mitch attempt to adopt a second child. Despite limited data, this study achieved a small contribution in not only raising awareness on how stancetaking in conflict can constitute parental identities in both traditional and non-traditional families but also on how television produces and reproduces stereotypes of parental roles in families.

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11.   Appendix

Excerpt 1

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Claire:	What the hell is that? What IS that? That looks like a cigarette bu:rn.
2		Was one of you smoking a cigarette?
3	Children:	(simultaneously) No!
4	Claire:	Which ONE of you was smoking?
5	Phil:	Not me. I have a respiratory problem.
6	Claire:	Obviously, it wasn't you! NOW I've got a family of liars and smokers.
7	Frank:	(on video call) Honey, come here! You gotta see this.
8	Claire:	Did you shoplift your Christmas presents too?
9	Frank:	(on video call) Philip?
10	Claire:	Haley! Keep that ugly sweater on!
11	Phil:	Anyway . merry CHRISTMAS!

<u>Scene 2</u>

12	Claire:	This is unacceptable and I want to know who did this . Hm:?
13	Phil:	Nobody, huh? I guess the couch did it to itself. Guess it came home after a tough day, lit
14		up a cigarette and then it burned itself. Is that what happened? Because that makes no
15		sense.
16	Claire:	If whoever is responsible doesn't come forward, your father and I are just gonna have to
17		punish all three of you.
18	Haley:	What?
19	Luke:	That´s not fair!
20	Claire:	Yeah. Mhm.
21	Phil:	I can forgive the smoking, but I can't forgive the lie.
22	Claire:	No.
23	Phil:	Or the smoking. No one wants to confess, huh? No? That's fine, 'cause you know what
24		happens next? . We CANCEL Christmas!
25	Luke:	That's not fair!
26	Hayley:	Okay, Dad. Su::re.

[FLASHBACK:

27	Claire:	Phil has a habit of making BIG pronouncements to the kids.
28	Phil:	One time I told Luke that if he didn't put his dirty dishes in the dishwasher, we would put
29		them in his bed.
30	Claire:	Phil's problem is . follow-through <chuckles>
31	Phil:	We had no more dishes, so we were eating cereal out of the goldfish bowl.]
32	Phil:	Okay. Guess where I'm headed? To take down the tree! That's right.
33	Claire:	Come on, guys. THIS is your last chance. Whoever did this, just take responsibility.
34		Don't put the rest of us through this. . . Luke? No?
35	Phil:	This is really it. Okay? . Here we go! Three . two . one . Okay! Goodbye, Dunphy
36		Christmas. . Haley, I guess you're not getting that car.
37	Haley:	I was getting a CAR?
38	Phil:	Nope. I was lying, because that's what we do now. Dunphys are LIARS.

<u>Scene 3</u>

39	Claire:	How does it work again? . We're gonna pass into legend. The parents who cancelled
40		Christmas.

41	Phil:	I thought YOU'd be happy.
42	Claire:	They'll write songs about us . . , make one of those Christmas specials with those ugly
43		little clay people . .
44	Phil:	You're the one who ALWAYS says I shouldn't be such a pushover with the ki:ds.
45	Claire:	So THIS is where you decide to make your stand? Really, Phil?
46	Phil:	Okay. Okay, look! Don't wo:rry. We're going to have Christmas. We've raised our kids
47		right. Whoever did it will come forward. <whispers> Or the other two will rat 'em out.
48	Luke:	Mom, Dad.
49	Phil:	Hey, Luke. What, uh- What can we do for you?
50	Luke:	I did it. I was playing with matches . I'm sorry.
51	Phil:	You, uh- You did the right thing- Yeah. By confessing, but, um- This is bad, buddy.
52		I mean, really bad, okay? Claire, you want to handle this? (leaves the room)
53	Claire:	Um, Luke, why didn't you say something?
54	Luke:	Mm:, I don't know.
55	Claire:	Okay, well, your father and I are extremely disappointed in you, so- Go up to your room.
56		Go on.
57	Luke:	Alex!
58	Claire:	We'll be up to talk to you in a minute. Just go.
59	Luke:	Haley!
60	Haley:	[What?]
61	Alex:	[What?]
62	Luke:	Say something!
63	Alex:	About what?
64	Luke:	Uh, I take it back!
65	Claire:	What is going on?
66	Luke:	These guys were gonna say they did it too, and you were gonna be proud of all of us.
67	Alex:	Why would we do that?
68	Haley:	I don't know what to believe with this kid.
69	Luke:	LIARS! I didn't do it!
70	Haley:	Well, it wasn't me.
71	Alex:	Don't look at me.
72	Claire:	SERIOUSLY?
73	Phil:	(enters the room) Wait. <panting> Nobody did it AGAIN? <groans> No, that's fine . Guess
74		what? Christmas is still cancelled. That's fine by me. Let's start working on next year .
75		Hey, and memo to New Year's Eve and Easter- Watch your back!

Scene 4

76	Phil:	Honey?
77	Claire:	Hmm?
78	Phil:	Would it really be SO bad to back down?
79	Claire:	And have the kids never take any of our threats seriously again?
80	Phil:	Yeah.
81	Claire:	Mhm:. .
82	Phil:	OR the kids could realize that we're making a supreme sacrifice by giving up ou:r power
83		to save their Christmas.
84	Claire:	Which would, in a way, be the greatest gift that we could ever give them.
85	Phil:	And which would paradoxically make them respect us even more. <Claire groans>
86		Okay, forget that. Go back one.
87	Alex:	(Alex enters the room)Hey, guys. <sighs> It- It was me.
88	Claire:	[What?]

89	Phil:	[What?]
90	Alex:	I found a cigarette at school, and when no one was home, I- I tried it . And I-I guess I held
91		it too close to the couch. I'm SO sorry. You can take MY Christmas away, but don't take it
92		from everyone else.
93	Phil:	That is very noble of you.
94	Claire:	Mhm:
95	Phil:	To care about the family, but you still smoked and lied. That's really bad.
96	Claire:	Mhm.
97	Phil:	Now help me grab the tree!
98	Claire:	Phil! Phil, Alex, come on back! Starting December 26, you are grounded for a full week,
99		and that includes New Year's Eve.
100	Alex:	But, I was-
101	Claire:	Yeah, non-negotiable. So-
102	Phil:	Yeah.
103	Alex:	Fine.
104	Phil:	*<yells>* Everybody! It's official! Christmas is back on!
105	Luke:	It is? What happened?
106	Phil:	Doesn't matter. Stockings, lights, ornaments, wreath! Go, go, go! *<trips>* Okay.

Scene 5

107	Phil:	Here's another one for Luke. Looks like a book.
108	Luke:	I have a book already.
109	Claire:	*<points at the couch>* What is that? Oh, my God! The couch is smoking!
110	Phil:	Whoa.
111	Claire:	Whoa, whoa, whoa.
112	Phil:	Whoa. It's sunlight!
113	Haley:	*<points at the ornament>* It's the ornament.
114	Luke:	Cool! It's like a magnifying glass.
115	Haley:	Hey, how weird is that? It's burning a hole in the exact same spot that Alex was smoking
116		in.
117	Claire:	Oh. ., Haley.
118	Phil:	Alex, why'd you take the blame?
119	Alex:	I didn't want to lose Christmas.
120	Phil:	Hmm. That is so stinking beautiful.
121	Claire:	Mm-hmm.
122	Phil:	Get in here.
123	Children:	(simultaneously) No.
124	Phil:	Yes.
125	Children:	(simultaneously) Oh, no.
126	Phil:	Yes. Oh, yes!
127	Luke:	Bear hug!
128	Alex:	Wait a- You were going to take Christmas away for something that none of us did?
129	Phil:	Well ., um ., Christmas is about moving forward.
130	Alex:	I've never heard that.
131	Claire:	Actually, honey, you did kinda shoot your mouth off.
132	Luke:	You called us all liars.
133	Phil:	And- Yeah, and then- It's hard to say. I don't know.
134		[Let's-]
135	Haley:	[Yeah, you did, and then-]
136	Phil:	Let's not all get worked up. I made a mistake! I made a mistake. And people make

137		mistakes. And they make up for those mistakes
138	Claire:	Mm-hmm.
139	Phil:	By taking their family to Italy!
140	Claire:	Oh Phil.

Excerpt 2

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Phil:	(phone is ringing in the middle of the night) Night!
2	Claire:	No!
3	Phil:	Middle of the phone. I got it!
4	Claire:	Get it!
5	Phil:	Oh! My arm's asleep! My arm's asleep!
6	Claire:	Get the phone! Phil, get the phone!
7		(talks on the phone) Oh! That's me. Hello! Hi. Yes, this is she. Who is it? Okay. Oh, God.
8	Phil:	Tell me what's happening!
9	Claire:	Haley has been arrested.

(Claire calls her brother Mitch)

10	Mitch:	Hey!
11	Claire:	Hey Mitchell! I´m sorry to wake you up, but Haley got arrested.
12	Mitch:	Oh God. (talks to Cam) Haley got arrested. What did she get arrested for?
13	Claire:	Uhm she got caught drinking at some party. Look could you drive up to the College with
14		us. I think we´re going to need a lawyer.

(Claire calls her father Jay)

15	Gloria:	Ay! Answer! Answer!
16	Jay:	(on the phone) This better be good.
17	Claire:	Haley got arrested for drinking. We gotta go bail her out. Do you still have a connection
18		to that judge upstate?
19	Jay:	He died.

<u>Scene 2</u>

20	Mitch:	Hey, Claire, do you wanna pick it up a little bit? Since when do you drive the speed limit?
21	Claire:	My daughter has been arrested for drinking. I would like her to sit in jail and think about
22		that. As a matter of fact, I might stop and do a little outlet shopping. Who wants a pair of
23		last year's sunglasses, huh?
24	Phil:	Honey. Try to relax.
25	Claire:	I don't FEEL like relaxing, Phil! She has been in college for SIX weeks.
26	Phil:	Yeah, and EVERYONE goes a little crazy at first. I remember one night freshman year, a
27		bunch of us on the frisbee golf team got a case of zima. Enough zaid.
28	Claire:	Mo:re than enough.

[Cutaway

29	Claire:	I'm not gonna lie. Sometimes it bothers me how calm Phil is under pressure. It's like -
30		like I'm the one who's overreacting.
31	Phil:	That's goo:d. Let it out. It's g—
32	Claire:	I'm going to KILL you.]

<u>Scene 3</u>

33	Phil:	Can you believe how many waffle places we passed?
34	Mitch:	I can't believe how much dad belittles me.
35	Phil:	What were there? Five? Six?
36	Mitch:	I edited the law review. I passed the bar on my first try. I have a briefcase.

37	Phil:	I'm counting them on the way back.
38	Claire:	Can we focus?
39	Phil:	Uh, hi.
40	Mitch:	We're here for Haley Dunphy. I'm Mitchell Pritchett. I'm Miss Dunphy's attorney.
41	Officer:	She won't be needing a lawyer today.
42	Mitch:	Oh, I think I'LL be the judge of that. I'd like to confer with my client now. Thank you.
43	Officer:	All you have to do is post bail, and she's all yours.
44	Mitch:	Really? Oh. That--that's fantastic.
45	Claire:	Sir, I am in NO mood to defend my daughter today, believe me.
46		But do you think it is the best use of resources to lock up college kids who've had a few
47		drinks?
48	Officer:	Ma'am, your daughter was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police
49		officer.
50	Phil:	What?
51	Claire:	Oh. Wow.
52	Mitch:	You probably should have called a real lawyer, - 'cause I don't I'm not –
53	Claire:	Shh!
54	Phil:	Look, this has gotta be some kind of mistake. Our daughter's tiny. There's no way she
55		assaulted anyone. Insulted, maybe. Was- was the cop wearing white socks and dark
56		shoes? 'Cause that really sets her off.
57	Officer:	Maybe you should watch this.

[ON TAPE:

58	Stop! Put your hands where I can see 'em!]
59	Mitch:	Okay. Now that's very blurry footage. How can we be sure that's Haley?

[ON TAPE:

60	Officer:	Don't you move!
61	Haley:	Don't hurt me! I'm just a student! I'm Haley Dunphy!]
62	Claire:	So hot. *<waving dollar bills>* Ho:t in here.
63	Mitch:	No.

Scene 4

64	Phil:	What is ta:king so lo:ng?
65	Mitch:	Well, in my experience, these things can take time. So settle in. This- this could be a
66		while.
67	Phil:	There she is!
68	Mitch:	Damn it.
69	Claire:	Oh, thank God. You're okay?
70	Haley:	Yeah, I'm fine, mom.
71	Claire:	Oh! What the hell were you THINKING?
72	Phil:	What happened?
73	Haley:	It's not a big deal, okay? There was a party, and people were drinking
74	Phil:	[Mhm::]
75	Claire:	[Mhm:::]
76	Haley:	So the police showed up, and everybody ran, so I did, too. And I started climbing down
77		this fire escape And then I heard a cop yell to put your hands up, so I did and I fell . onto
78		him.
79	Claire:	You could have been killed. Haley . you're supposed to be an adult. How could you do
80		something SO childish?
81	Phil:	Okay, okay, okay, okay.
82	Claire:	And so stupid!

83	Phil:	Let's calm down. We're all a little tired and cranky. Best thing we can do right now is get
84		out of here, go get some waffles
85	Claire:	I don't want waffles, Phil, okay? I'm upset and I want to deal with THIS.
86	Mitch:	All right, I got some bad news here. Uhm. , this afternoon, Haley has to appear before a
87		disciplinary board, which will decide whether or not she gets kicked out of school.
88	Claire:	What?
89	Phil:	Ohh.
90	Mitch:	Oh, wait. . Wait. , no! I got that wrong. Oh, no, I got it right! Yes! Score!

Scene 5

91	Mitch:	Who lives like THIS? When I had a dorm room, it was Oh- it was spotless.
92		Can we just agree that girls are dirtier than boys?
93	Claire:	What should we do?
94	Mitch:	Well, I'd like to start by picking up some of these clothes. Then—
95	Claire:	I meant about the hearing, Felix. Do we have a game plan?
96	Phil:	I think the best thing we can do is walk in there as a family and let them know we
97		support Haley NO matter what.
98	Claire:	At this rate, we are going to be supporting Haley for the REST of our lives.
99	Phil:	Okay.
100	Mitch:	Oh, I- I just sat on half a peach, so I-- no. I can't do this. I'm- I'm waiting outside.
101		Disgusting!
102	Claire:	What are you WEARING?
103	Haley:	What? What's wrong with it?
104	Claire:	Honey . you are fighting for your future in front of a disciplinary committee, not
105		entertaining the secret service.
106	Haley:	In "Legally Blonde," Elle won her case because she was true to herself and dressed cute.
107	Phil:	Haley, this is real life, not an excellent movie.
108	Claire:	Honey, just put on something else, and take down the makeup.
109	Haley:	Why are you guys acting like this is MY fault? Everybody was drinking, everybody ran. I
110		just got caught. If anything, I'm the victim here.
111	Phil:	What? Just stop-- just stop talking, Haley. You're not the victim here. You're the one
112		who screwed up! You made one bad decision after another, and now you're about to
113		blow everything your mother and I worked so hard to give you. And the worst thing is,
114		you don't seem to care. We all got up at 3:00 A.M. this morning to bail you out of jail!
115		We haven't eaten a thing, and you know what I haven't heard from you yet? "I'm sorry,
116		mom. I screwed up, dad. Please forgive me." Now put on some real clothes! We'll see
117		you at the hearing. Do NOT be late! Come on! (storms out of the room)
118	Haley:	Where are you going?
119	Claire:	To get that man a waffle!

Scene 6

120	Dean:	Haley Dunphy?
121	Haley:	Yes, that's me.
122	Dean:	I'm Dean Miller with admissions. This is Professor Williams.
123	Haley:	Hi.
124	Dean:	And this is our student representative, Aidan Feldman.
125	Haley:	Nice to meet you.
126	Dean:	Seriously? We sit next to each other in Econ.
127	Haley:	Oh, right. You--
128	Aidan:	Don't. It insults both of us. Mostly me.

129	Dean:	Move it along, Aidan. This is a disciplinary hearing, not JDate.
130	Aidan:	You are charged with public drunkenness, resisting arrest, and assaulting a police officer,
131		all of which obviously violate our school's code of conduct.
132	Mitch:	Sir, if I may speak on behalf of my client
133	Aidan:	Who are you?
134	Mitch:	I'm Mitchell Pritchett, I'm miss Dunphy's attorney.
135	Aidan:	We require students to speak for themselves. There are no attorneys allowed. You
136		shouldn't even be here.
137	Mitch:	What if I just sat in this chair and I was really super quiet and I just listen?
138	Aidan:	I'll allow it.
139	Dean:	Knock it off, Aidan. Miss Dunphy, is there anything you would like to say in your defense?
140	Haley:	Actually, I have no defense. I was drinking. I am underage. I ran from the police. And
141		even though it was an accident, I injured an officer . . I am very, very sorry. I've made a
142		lot of bad decisions since I've been here, and it's time I take some responsibility. Like
143		sometimes in the dining hall, I slip my pinky under the scale when they weigh my salad.
144		Also, I've missed more morning classes than I've been to.
145	Phil:	She's kidding.
146	Haley:	I don't know what the policy is on dating TAs but I think I broke it.
147	Phil:	Huh?
148	Haley:	Twice.
149	Phil:	Oh, man.
150	Haley:	Oh, and if we're gonna be completely honest, on my application to get in here, - I lied
151		about the fact that I was--
152	Phil:	Uh, objection!
153	Dean:	On what grounds?
154	Mitch:	Oh, he gets to say it?! He gets to—
155	Dean:	Miss Dunphy, miss Dunphy, we appreciate your candor. Is there anything else you'd like
156		to add?
157	Haley:	Go, Wildcats?
158	Dean:	Oh, boy.
159	Aidan:	That's not even our mascot.

Scene 7

160	Haley:	I really a:m sorry.
161	Claire:	We appreciate that.
162	Phil:	It´s good that you stepped up today.
163	Claire:	Yeah:. Sometimes it´s healthy to get a fresh start.
164	Haley:	Ugh. I can´t believe this. What am I gonna do?
165	Phil:	Well, they said you could reapply next year.
166	Claire:	In the meantime, you´re gonna get a jo:b, you´re gonna take some cla:sses.
167	Haley:	Well I´m gonna buckle down and get a lot more serious.
168	Phil:	Good for you.
169	Claire:	Yeah.
170	Phil:	Where are my keys?
171	Haley:	Oh they are right there on the make up table.
172	Claire:	Oh honey . that´s a desk.

Excerpt 3

Scene 1

1	Gloria:	(to the principal) No, YOU calm down! THIS is how I talk when somebody accuses MY

2		Manny of stealing.
3	Jay:	Who is that?
4	Gloria:	(to Jay) It's the principal. He's saying that Manny stole some girl's locket. (to the
5		principal) What? Do you think that all Colombians are criminals because a Colombian
6		necktie is a symbol of violence all over the world? No, no, I'm not threatening you. Okay.
7		Apology accepted. No, I didn't mean anything about the necktie. I just- I was trying to
8		make a point.

Scene 2

9	Manny:	AH:::!
10	Jay:	You're a little jumpy tonight, Manny. Anything wrong?
11	Manny:	No. Well . ., I'm just gonna—
12	Jay:	Have a seat, kid. . You know, maybe it's me, but I thought you were kinda squirrelly
13		tonight, you know, before when your mom was on the phone with the principal. Almost
14		like you wanted to say something . but you just couldn't. Anything you wanna say NOW,
15		Manny?
16	Manny:	No. I have nothing to say.
17	Jay:	You sure about that? Think REAL hard.
18	Manny:	Could I get a glass of water?
19	Jay:	That girl's locket-- you took it, didn't you?
20	Manny:	Um::.
21	Jay:	Didn't you?
22	Manny:	Yes. Yes, I took it! I didn't mean to.
23	Jay:	I don't wanna hear any excuses. You're gonna tell your mom, and you're gonna set this
24		right. Do you understand? All right, get out of here! . Just one more thing. You're not-
25		Uh:m- You're not wearing that locket, are you?
26	Manny:	No! Of course not. It's a girl's. Why would I want to wear it?
27	Jay:	It's no reason.
28	Manny:	Mom, hurry up! I don't want to be late for school.
29	Jay:	You didn't tell her, did you?
30	Gloria:	What's the hurry this morning? Okay, what's with the looks? . It's like a silent movie in
31		here.
32	Manny:	Okay. I was walking behind this girl Alicia, who's moving away, and I was working up the
33		courage to get her new address so I can write her. I express myself a lot better on paper
34		than—
35	Jay:	Tick-tock, kid.
36	Manny:	Well ., she dropped her locket, and I picked it up . , but she kept walking, and I--
37	Gloria:	You STOLE the locket! After I told the principal that you could have never done
38		something like that, and I threaten him with the Colombian necktie! Manny ., why?
39	Jay:	Don't worry. It wasn't 'cause he wanted to wear it.
40	Manny:	I thought I could keep it as something to remember her by. But then you were yelling at
41		Mr. Vickers, and I-I was just too scared to tell you.
42	Gloria:	Go to the car!
43	Manny:	I'm really sorry.
44	Gloria:	(to Jay) Go! Why would he do something like that? . It's bad enough that he's the boy
45		with the pan flute and the puffy shirts and--and the poems. Now he's the jewelry thief.
46	Jay:	Might be an upgrade.
47	Gloria:	Ay, Jay, this is not funny. Those things stick to you. My cousin Rosa Marina-- when she
48		was 14, she stole something, and after that, everybody thinks of her as the girl who
49		steals cars.

50	Jay:	She stole a car?
51	Gloria:	CARS. But after she got that label, what else could she do?
52	Jay:	Listen, you can't control what kids think, but you can make sure he learns from this. You
53		take him to the principal's office, he owns up to it, he never does it again.
54	Gloria:	Okay.
55	Jay:	Okay.

Scene 3

56	Manny:	What do you think the principal's going to do to me? I am a first-time offender. Oh,
57		great! NOW I'm tardy. Strike two.
58	Gloria:	Manny . think of this in a positive way . like it is your "ha ha" moment.
59	Manny:	What does THAT mean?
60	Gloria:	That means that one day, you're gonna laugh about it.
61	Manny:	Ah, I should've just given that stupid necklace back to Alicia when she was standing right
62		next to her locker. This is the worst day of my life . till tomorrow
63	Gloria:	Oh.
64	Manny:	And every day after that.
65	Gloria:	Oh.
66	Manny:	Come on, Mom. Let's get this over with.
67	Gloria:	Wait!
68	Manny:	What?
69	Gloria:	Which one did you say that it was her locker? . This one?
70	Manny:	Mhm::. The one that smells like rose oil. Mom?
71	Gloria:	Keep the lookout. (Gloria breaks the locker open and returns the locket) Now promise
72		me that you will never, EVER do anything dishonest again
73	Manny:	I promise.
74	Gloria:	Okay, because that's not the way I raised you. Don't tell Jay anything, okay?
75	Manny:	Mh::m.

Scene 4

76	Jay:	I spend half my life waiting on you. How many times do you have to change your outfit?
77	Manny:	Sorry, Jay. Too many choices is a prison.
78	Gloria:	Just drive before he rethinks the pants.
79	Manny:	What's wrong with my pants?
80	Gloria:	Go! Go! Go!
81	Jay:	So, Manny, how'd it go with the principal today?
82	Gloria:	It was terrible, but he was brave, and now it's over. Right, Manny? Mhm:.
83	Manny:	Mhm:::.
84	Jay:	So d- What'd they give you? Detention? Suspension?
85	Gloria:	No, just a warning because it was first offense. So how was work?
86	Jay:	Great. Just a warning, huh?
87	Manny:	Like SHE said.
88	Gloria:	So I ask about work, and you change the subject. Are you trying to hide something?
89	Jay:	No:, I just wanna make sure he's okay. You okay? 'Cause, I mean, it looks like you're
90		sweatin' bullets back there, kid.
91	Gloria:	Stop grilling him. First the principal, now you. This poor boy has been screamed at all
92		day.
93	Manny:	Well, not to mention—
94	Gloria:	QUIET! I've got this.

Scene 5

95	Jay:	Just so you know, I'm o:n to you. You never took Manny to the principal . . Okay, play it
96		like that, but I know Manny. He has more of a conscience than you have. He's not gonna
97		be able to live with this.
98	Gloria:	You'd be surprised what people can live with, Jay.

Scene 6

99	Jay:	And in that spirit, I would like to propose a toast to Manny. This week, he did something
100		he wasn't supposed to do. Like we all do--
101	Gloria:	Like we all do! Salud to Manny!
102	Jay:	Uh:, not yet. But Manny stood up like a man . He admitted he was wrong . and he took
103		his licks . and I'm damn proud of him.
104	Gloria:	Ah, NOW we clink!
105	Jay:	No, we clink when I say we clink. So Manny made a mistake, but he didn't take the easy
106		way out. He's got guts, he's got integrity. As far as I'm concerned, he's the best little b—
107	Manny:	Okay, stop! STOP! I didn't do any of that. Mom broke into the locker and threw the
108		necklace inside, and then we ran away like cowards. I'm sorry, Jay! I'm sorry!
109	Jay:	I knew it! I was right! I was right!

Excerpt 4

Scene 1

1	Gloria:	I have bad news, Jay! . Joe was thrown out of the Gymboree.
2	Jay:	AGAIN. What happened?
3	Gloria:	He pushed Mason. He made him cry. The teacher said that we CANNOT go back.
4	Jay:	That's ridiculous. Mason's a big baby!
5	Gloria:	Everybody there is a BIG baby. But Joe plays very rough. And we know why.
6		<*whispering*> It's the curse.
7	Jay:	Not that I'd ever want to discourage you from whispering, but that's not a thing.
8	Gloria:	There is a mark of the devil in my family.

[Cutaway:

9	Gloria:	My grandfather was given the location of an emerald mine in exchange for his soul.
10	Jay:	There's, like, paperwork or something that proves this?
11	Gloria:	And they say that the day of his daughter's wedding, a great bird came from the sky and
12		snatched him with his claws and took him far, far away.
13	Jay:	You're aware that a remarkable number of your stories end with a family member being
14		carried off by a giant bird.
15	Gloria:	I only know what I was told, Jay.
16	Jay:	I'm just saying after the third time, we might think about moving the party inside.]
17	Gloria:	Okay. Maybe it's not the curse . but you know that my family has a very dark side. My
18		cousin Aurelio is a horse thief. My Uncle Carlos fixed soccer games. My aunt--
19	Jay:	Did he teach them to pick the ball up and throw it down the field? 'Cause that's the only
20		way you fix soccer.
21	Gloria:	Manny escaped it, but I am not sure about <*whispers*> Joe.
22	Jay:	Gloria, this is about an uptight teacher. And so what if Joe's a little boisterous? What
23		ever happened to letting kids be themselves?
24	Manny:	Ready!
25	Jay:	Lose the hat.
26	Manny:	I guess I'm supposed to see "Sound of Music" in a regular hat.
27	Jay:	Nothing against "Sound of Music," but there's a lot of other things we could do this
28		afternoon. You ever hear of "Death Wish"?

29		
30	Gloria:	Oh, I LOVE "Death Wish". Manny, that's the charity where the sick kids go to, like, a
31		concert with Madonna or to the Super Bowl with Justin Bieber, or they--
32	Jay:	No, no, no, no, no! It's a movie New York, '70s, Charles Bronson's a firm family man, and
33		he--
34	Manny:	Who's pushed to the limit until one day he decides to fight back.
35	Jay:	You've seen it?
36	Manny:	It's called "Death Wish". I doubt it ends with him trading banter in an apartment with
37	Marsha Mason.	

Scene 2

38	Gloria:	(talking to the documentarian) I didn't tell Jay, but sometimes Joe even scares me . .
39		Lucky for me, there are professionals that are trained to deal with such problems.
40		(welcomes the priest at the door) Ay . thank you for coming, padre.
41	Pastor:	Oh:, of course, Gloria . And this must be Fulgencio.
42	Gloria:	Mhm::.
43	Pastor:	What a beautiful little boy . . He's such a sweet nature. I can tell he's a gentle soul. (Joe
44		rips on the priest's necklace) Ah!
45	Gloria:	Hey, Fulgencio, no, no! Sorry, padre. Ay, that's why I called you, father. I think he's bad.
46		There is evil in my family.
47	Pastor:	Ah, Gloria. He's just a little baby.
48	Gloria:	Last week, his eyes got red, and the dog backed away.
49	Pastor:	He probably just had a cold. All mothers worry. Look at him! Rosy cheeks, he's playing
50		with his blocks--
51	Gloria:	<*gasps*>The six again.

Scene 3

52	Jay:	(on the phone with Ms. Debbie) So, Joe knocks ONE kid down, he's out. ALL kids do that.
52		Why do you think your whole building is made out of nerf? Yeah, you see where he gets
53		it from. Hey, listen, I'm not afraid of you, Miss Debbie. You're not the- (Miss Debbie
54		hangs up) damn it.
55	Manny:	Sounds like someone needs a relaxing trip to Nazi-occupied Austria.
56	Jay:	Can't believe she hung up on me.
57	Manny:	Well, you WERE yelling at her.
58	Jay:	Standing up for yourself is not the same thing as-- (kid bumps into him) uh . Excuse me.
59	Manny:	Uh, come on, Jay!
60	Jay:	So no one ever taught you manners, huh?
61	Kid:	Whatever, dude.
62	Jay:	No, you bump into somebody, you apologize. And since I'm teaching you something
63		here, here's a little class
64		[called intro to pa--]
65	Manny:	[Jay, stop!]
66	Kid:	Get off me!
67	Manny:	I go to school with those kids. You know how embarrassing that was?
68	Jay:	Manny-
69	Manny:	No. Why do you always got to be like this judgmental, hot-tempered, loud? These are a
70		few of my least-favorite things.

Scene 4

71	Jay:	Here you go. I got you Sno-Caps, 'cause, you know, at the end, they escape across the
72		alps.

73	Kid:	Thanks for ruining it.
74	Jay:	Calm down. The movie's 50 years old.
75	Manny:	Making friends everywhere ., aren't you?
76	Jay:	Listen, you always say "Express your feelings". When I get mad, that's what I do.
77	Stranger:	(on the phone) Hello? Yeah, I can talk. My parents dragged me into this stupid movie.
78	Manny:	Go ahead, Jay. Feed him his phone.
79	Kid:	Yeah.
80	Jay:	You're telling me that doesn't bother you?
81	Kid:	I can't hear you. Talk louder.
82	Manny:	I'm just saying
83	Kid:	Uh-huh? Yeah.
84	Manny:	If we give in to every impulse, we're no better than wild animals.
85	Jay:	But if we push it down, it eats you alive!
86	Manny:	Not if you just let it go.
87	Kid:	The chick from that crapfest "Mary Poppins".
88	Manny:	That's it.
89	Kid:	(Manny attacks the kid) Hey, hey, hey, hey!

[Cutaway:

90	Manny:	A lot of cold, lonely nights in that apartment by myself while my mom was driving a taxi,
91		and only one thing kept me company. So, you got a problem with Poppins, you got a
92		problem with me.]

<u>Scene 5</u>

93	Gloria:	Ay, father, I am so sorry. I didn't even know that he could hold a fork.
94	Pastor:	No, no, no, I blame myself. I probably shouldn't have taken his nose.
95	Gloria:	No ., <whispers> it's my family. The girls are very chesty, but the men ., they're kissed by
96		the devil.
97	Pastor:	Gloria ., the fact that you are so concerned is only proof that you are a loving and caring
98		mother.
99	Gloria:	Huh?
100	Pastor:	It's the parents who shape the child. And your son is growing up in a wonderful home.
101	Manny:	DIE, scum!
102	Jay:	No, no, no! LOUDER, like you did at the drive-through.
103	Manny:	Mom, Jay and I saw "Death Wish". . Amazing.
104	Jay:	Manny got in a fight at "The Sound of Music," got kicked out. I've never been so proud.
105	Pastor:	Well, I guess every household could use a little fine-tuning, huh? Let me give you my
106		card with my cell number on it.
107	Gloria:	Please.
108	Pastor:	And what did I do with my wallet?

Excerpt 5

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Lady:	Hey.
2	Mitch:	[Hi!]
3	Cam:	[Hi!]
4	Lady:	Is that your little girl over there . Lily?
5	Mitch:	Yes. Look at her.
6	Cam:	Yes.
7	Lady:	Uh, this is a little bit awkward, but she bit Tyler.

8	Mitch:	Oh, no!
9	Cam:	Oh, my goodness. I- I don't even know what to say.
10	Mitch:	She's never done anything like that before. How did it happen?
11	Lady:	I don't know. I didn't see it.
12	Mitch:	Uh-huh.
13	Cam:	Mm-hm:.

[Cutaway:

14	Mitch:	It's time to play everyone's favorite game. "Let's blame the gay dads." . You know who
15		had straight parents? Adolf Hitler.
16	Cam:	Charles Manson.
17	Mitch:	Shall we go on?
18	Cam:	Naomi Campbell.]
19	Lady:	I know it happened. He's got bite marks on his arm.
20	Mitch:	Oh, wow, yeah. Oh, gosh. Someone really sunk their teeth INTO ya, huh? It's 'cause
21		you're such a yummy little guy. Ye::s. Our daughter didn't do that.
22	Lady:	But he said-
23	Mitch:	Right. He's probably just confused. You know who I bet did it, though? Billy. Rhymes with
24		"Lily" Plus, he is very aggressive.
25	Cam:	His babysitter is right over there. She's- She's not much of a disciplinarian. Because I can
26		assure you if OUR child did something like this we would be o:n her like white on rice.
27		And I know that sounds a little bit like a racial slur because we're white and she
28		presumably likes rice but I didn't intend it that way.

Scene 2

29	Cam:	I mean the ne:rve of that lady, accusing Lily.
30	Mitch:	Mmm:. You know what? You can't change people, Cam. I mean, we just have to ri::se
31		above.
32	Cam:	OW! Ohh!
33	Mitch:	What happened?
34	Cam:	She bit me!
35	Mitch:	Are you serious?
36	Cam:	Ohh! She did it again. It's like Twilight back here.
37	Babysitter:	No. No ice cream for you, Billy because the lady say you biting.
38	Cam:	Okay. Go! Go!
39	Mitch:	Yeah!
40	Cam:	Go! Go! Go! Drive!
41	Mitch:	Okay.

Scene 3

42	Mitch:	Okay, I don't get it. Why is she biting? Lily, why are you biting?
43	Cam:	She's not biting, she's tee:thing.
44	Mitch:	On people . All right, she starts biting her playdates, she's gonna be a pariah.
45	Cam:	Try piranha.
46	Mitch:	Really . Cam?
47	Cam:	It was right there.
48	Mitch:	All right, you should also know that I, in NO: way blame you.
49	Cam:	Thank you. Why would you blame me?
50	Mitch:	I don't.
51	Cam:	Well, good, because I don't blame you.
52	Mitch:	Well, obviously.

53	Cam:	Uh, okay, well, now I'm starting to feel the blame.
54	Mitch:	No. No. Don't. It's just that you're with her all day.
55	Cam:	Oh, wow. I have a daughter who bites and a partner who stings.
56	Mitch:	Okay. Okay, you want to know the truth? Sometimes you send her some mixed signals.

[Cutaway:

| 57 | Cam: | I'm gonna bite your feet. I'm gonna bite 'em right off.] |
| 58 | Cam: | Oh, I'm not the one who uses my teeth like a multi-tool. |

[Cutaway:

59	Mitch:	Here we go. Cookies for Lily wine for us. Okay.]
60	Mitch:	I can't believe you would equate that!
61	Cam:	Don't bite my head off. I'm not a pack of batteries.

Scene 4

62	Cam:	Did you find anything yet?
63	Mitch:	Yes. There's a whole section on biting on this mommy forum.
64	Cam:	Oh, good. What does it say?
65	Mitch:	"My son was biting, so I got a stranger to yell at him. Being disciplined by someone else
66		outside the family scared him into stopping."
67	Cam:	Idiots!
68	Mitch:	Cam.
69	Cam:	I am not hiring some hobo to come over here and traumatize my child. She's already
70		prone to flashbacks <whispers> if you know what I mean.
71	Mitch:	Okay, you know she didn't FIGHT in Vietnam, right?
72	Cam:	I don't know ANYTHING anymore. What else does it say?
73	Mitch:	Okay, well, this one says, "When my daughter bit her brother I put a pinch of pepper in
74		her mouth. She cried and cried, but she never bit again." Smiley face.
75	Cam:	Oh, well, the smiley face makes it okay. I waterboarded our toddler. L O L.
76	Mitch:	All right, what do you suggest we do?
77	Cam:	That we log off the Spanish Inquisition Web site and handle this with love. Okay, Lily.
78		<sings>Take a bite of an apple Take a bite of a pear Take a bite of the cookie that you left
79		there Here's one thing you should never do Don't bite Taylor or Brandon or Sue Because
80		people aren't food People aren't food Your friends will run away if they're scared of
81		being chewed. And as a side note, private parts are private .
82	Mitch:	Well, problem solved.
83	Cam:	I know you're being sarcastic, but you don't know that it's not- Ow! Honey!
84	Mitch:	Did she just bite you again?
85	Cam:	No:
86	Mitch:	That is it! I am getting the pepper.
87	Cam:	No. No, you are not.
88	Mitch:	Cam, you're not doing her ANY favors by being soft.
89	Cam:	Why don't you just skip the pepper, I'll get some pliers and we'll pull her teeth now!
90	Mitch:	Relax. It's a seasoning.
91	Cam:	Okay, well, then, why don't you try some?
92	Mitch:	Stop it.
93	Cam:	No, try a little.
94	Mitch:	Stop it!
95	Cam:	No, try a little bit.
96	Mitch:	Stop it!
97	Cam:	Don't you hit me.
98	Mitch:	Stop IT.

99	Cam:	Here, put some in there.
100	Mitch:	Ow! You bit me.
101	Cam:	Well, why don't you sing me a song about it.

<u>Scene 5</u>

102	Mitch:	You know what? This is a milestone . We're accepting that OUR little angel isn't perfect.
103	Cam:	That's right, and it's okay.
104	Mitch:	I take it back. She is perfect.

Excerpt 6

<u>Scene 1</u>

1	Mitch:	Hey, Lily! Come here, honey! (Lily enters the room) Hi! Do you know what this is?
2	Lily:	A box.
3	Mitch:	Containing?
4	Cam:	She doesn't know CONTAINING.
5	Mitch:	Well, that's how she learns new words, by US using them.
6	Cam:	Or, that's how we lower her self-ESTEEM, by bombarding her with confusing vocabulary.
7	Lily:	What's the box containing?
8	Mitch:	Told you.
9	Cam:	Okay. It's your dress. It's finally here!

[FLASHBACK:

10	Cam:	It's every little girl's dream to be a flower girl in a wedding.
11	Mitch:	It's Lily's chance to shine.
12	Cam:	I was a 3-time ring bearer-
13	Mitch:	It's Lily's chance to shine.]
14		[Oh!]
15	Cam:	[Oh!]
15	Lily:	Pretty!
16	Mitch:	Oh, no, Cam—CA::M, she's gonna look like little bo peep.
17	Cam:	Or little bo cheap. Look at this fabric! It's ALREADY pilling.
18	Mitch:	Maybe it´ll look better on.
19	Cam:	You mean "turned on?"
20	Mitch:	No, it does not—Ca::m!
21	Cam:	Oh!
22	Lily:	I love it!
23	Mitch:	[No, you don't.]
24	Cam:	[No, you don't.] Oh, my gosh. Are we really gonna let her wear this?
25	Mitch:	You know what? If the bride wants to have a tacky wedding, she can have a tacky
26		wedding! Lily will be the bright spot.
27	Cam:	Literally.
28	Mitch:	Heard it as soon as I said it.

<u>Scene 2</u>

29	Cam:	And it's this (drops flower petals), and it's this. Not this, but this.
30	Mitch:	Okay. Okay, that's good, Cam.
31	Cam:	And this.
32	Mitch:	Save-- let's save some petals for Lily, all right? Okay. Let's do it over here, sweetheart.
33	Cam:	Right over here.
34	Mitch:	Okay.
35	Cam:	There you go:. Oh, like you're coming down the aisle!

36	Mitch:	Yeah.
37	Cam:	Yeah.
38	Mitch:	Okay.
39	Cam:	Not too many at once! That's good.
40	Mitch:	Okay. You're doing great, Lil.
41	Cam:	Oh, she is, isn't she?
42	Mitch:	Forget the bride. All the eyes are gonna be on her.
43	Lily:	Oh F(bleeping tone)
44	Cam:	*<giggles> <laughs>* (Cam leaves the room)
45	Mitch:	Oh I cannot believe you laughed!
46	Cam:	I am sorry. But you know I have two weaknesses, children cursing and old people
47		rapping.
48	Mitch:	Cam, we have to tell her it's a bad word.
49	Cam:	No! That just gives it more power. The less we make of it, the better. Let's just pretend
50		like it never happened.
51	Mitch:	Okay. Yeah, maybe it-- maybe it didn't. Maybe we-- maybe we misheard.
52	Cam:	Yeah.
53	Mitch:	Maybe she said "truck" Or-- or "duck" Or "luck" She could have said "yuck"
54	Lily:	Daddy, can I have some ice cream?
55	Mitch:	No, honey, if you're hungry, you can have some fruit.
56	Lily:	Fruit? F(bleeping tone)
57	Cam:	*<laughs>*
58	Mitch:	I have two children.

Scene 3

59	Cam:	Do you have any idea what station this is on?
60	Mitch:	Here, I'll look online.
61	Cam:	It's a Webcast? That would have been helpful to know 900 channels ago.
62	Mitch:	No, it's on public access or something.
63	Lily:	I wanna watch aunt Claire!
64	Mitch:	Well, first, honey . we need to talk about something. It's about that word you said this
65		morning.
66	Lily:	What word?
67	Mitch:	You know, the one that starts with "f"?
68	Lily:	"Flower"?
69	Mitch:	No::.
70	Lily:	"Fruit"?
71	Mitch:	No::.
72	Cam:	If she doesn't remember it, we shouldn't remind her.
73	Mitch:	Oh, well, she said it three times.
74	Lily:	Oh, you mean. F*
75	Cam:	*<chuckles>*
76	Mitch:	Cam, leave the room!
77	Cam:	No. I can do this. Lily, that is a bad word, and you are not allowed to say it ever.
78	Lily:	But it makes you laugh.
79	Mitch:	Okay, well, daddy shouldn't be laughing, and you should NEVER say that word. Do you
80		understand?
81	Lily:	Maybe.
82	Mitch:	Okay. This is not a game, all right? If you say that word one more time, I'm gonna take
83		away ALL your toys! I'm serious! *<speaks in a lower voice>* She knows I'm not serious.

84	Cam:	What about the wedding? What if she says it there? She's like a ticking time bomb!
85	Mitch:	Well, what are we gonna do, cancel?
86	Cam:	Yes. Maybe we just call and say, "we're not going to any more weddings - until the gays
87		can get married."
88	Mitch:	Oh, so now we're political? We leave town on gay pride weekend because we don't like
89		the traffic.

Scene 4

90	Claire:	Lily, sweetie, are you excited to be a flower girl? Yeah:? Little bit nervous? Yeah? Why
91		isn't she talking to me? Did she see the debate, too?
92	Mitch:	Nope, she's on verbal lockdown.
93	Claire:	Oh?
94	Mitch:	She's been dropping a certain curse word all day.
95	Cam:	Mm:.
96	Mitch:	Yeah. Yeah, so we're just hoping the next one doesn't happen during the wedding.
97	Phil:	If it does, it'll be the SECOND most embarrassing thing to happen to our family today.
98	Claire:	Phil, you said it wasn't that bad.
99	Phil:	That was in the car. We're in a church now.
100	Claire:	Honey-
101	Luke:	Somebody turn her off. I think I'm having a seizure.
102	Phil:	Oh, buddy.
103	Gloria:	Oh, good. I thought that we were going to miss Lily.
104	Cam:	Ships at sea wouldn't miss Lily.

Scene 5

105	Pastor:	Friends, family, thank you for making- (pastor´s voice disperses)
106	Cam:	*<cries>*
107	Mitch:	Really?
108	Cam:	Well, you know I cry at weddings.
109	Mitch:	Oh, no.
110	Cam:	What?
111	Mitch:	Stop-- stop crying.
112	Cam:	Well, just because you have ice water in your veins, - doesn't mean that—
113	Mitch:	No. No, Lily! No. Lily! He's fine. Daddy's fine.
114	Cam:	Daddy's not sad.
115	Lily:	Daddy, daddy! F(bleeping tone)*<crowd laughs>*
116	Cam:	You see? I told you it was funny.
117	Lily:	F(bleeping tone) F(bleeping tone) F(bleeping tone)
118	Cam:	(picks Lily up and carries her) Excuse us. Sorry! Congratulations!

Abstract (English)

Television became the dominant mass medium towards the end of the millennium. One of the most influential genres is television series, such as the sitcom. In sitcoms, characters portray real-life actions and imitate the speech of *real* people. Since the audience sympathizes with the characters, viewers can be influenced by ideologies displayed in the sitcom. For entertainment purposes, the characters in sitcoms frequently demonstrate stereotypes. In particular, the stereotypes of the mother as the primary caregiver and the father as the breadwinner seem to be persistent. Therefore, the domestic sitcom *modern family* was selected for this study. This sitcom depicts the lives of three interrelated families, one traditional family, i.e. a standard North American Family (Smith 1993) and two non-traditional families, i.e. a blended family and same-sex parents with an adopted child. Since conflict is a potent site for identity construction, the speech event *disciplining a misbehaving child* was chosen. This diploma thesis is interested in analyzing how the parents construct identities through stancetaking and in linking these parental identities to societal expectations of mothers and fathers.

This study employs a qualitative sociolinguistic analysis on six episodes of the sitcom *modern family*. Each type of family is represented in two excerpts. The study applies Du Bois´s (2007) stance triangle and its entailed three key principles evaluation, positioning and alignment, in addition to detecting and interpreting affective and epistemic stance markers and the framing theory.

The analysis of the six excerpts reveals that the characters create identities by positioning the self and interlocutors, typically their partner, assessing other family members and aligning with interlocutors, typically with the other parent. Furthermore, *modern family* displays societal expectations of mothers and fathers since the women generally take on stereotypical maternal identities, while the men in the heterosexual relationships assume paternal identities. In contrast, the analysis of the same-sex parents reveals that the parents construct their identities by adapting and modifying stances and social acts that are connected to both mothers and fathers. Thus, neither one of the two parents can be considered unequivocally as the mother or the father.

Primarily, the study gives insight into how individuals construct parental identities. Secondarily, this study provides significant evidence that a sociolinguistic approach to scripted dialogue is not only possible but also scientifically valuable. Moreover, the study indicates that *modern family* influences its audience to challenge persisting stereotypes of mothers and fathers regardless of a traditional or non-traditional family.

Key words: television studies, stance, identity construction, sociolinguistics, modern family

Abstract (German)

Das Fernsehen ist seit der Jahrtausendwende das dominierende Massenmedium. Zu den einflussreichsten Genres zählen Fernsehserien, wie beispielsweise die Sitcom. In Sitcoms stellen Charaktere lebensnahe Situationen in einer humorvollen Weise dar und imitieren die Sprache von realen Menschen. Da die Zuschauer mit den Charakteren mitfühlen, können diese von den Ideologien, die die Sitcom oftmals verbreitet, auch leicht beeinflusst werden. Aufgrund des Unterhaltungsfaktors präsentiert dieses Genre häufig Stereotype. Insbesondere die Stereotypen der Mutter als Hausfrau und primäre Erzieherin und des Vaters, als der Geldverdiener, scheinen persistierend zu sein. Deshalb wurde die US-amerikanische Familiensitcom *modern family* als Gegenstand dieser Diplomarbeit ausgewählt. Diese Sitcom porträtiert drei verwandte Familien: eine traditionelle Familie, die „Standard-North-American-family" (Smith 1993) und zwei nicht-traditionelle Familien: eine Patchwork-Familie und eine Familie mit gleichgeschlechtlichen Eltern, die ein adoptiertes Kind haben.

Da Konflikte ein hohes Potenzial für die Konstruktion von Identitäten generiert, wurde die Situation des „Disziplinieren eines schlecht-verhaltenden Kindes" gewählt. Die Studie beschäftigt sich damit, wie Identitäten primär durch Stances (soziale Positionierung) und sekundär durch soziales Handeln konstruiert werden.

Für die Studie wurde die Methode der qualitativen soziolinguistischen Analyse ausgewählt. Dafür wurden insgesamt sechs Ausschnitte aus der Sitcom *modern family* gewählt. Jede Familie ist in zwei Ausschnitten repräsentiert. Die theoretische Grundlage dieser Studie bildet das Stance Triangle-Konzept (Stance-Dreieck) von Du Bois (2007), welches die drei Bestandteile, Positionierung, Evaluierung und Angleichung, beinhaltet. Diese stehen in

einem engen Zusammenhang mit der Theorie von Deutungsrahmen und der Feststellung und Interpretation von affektiven und epistemischen Kennzeichen.

Die Analyse der sechs Ausschnitte zeigt, dass die Eltern, in allen drei Familien, Identitäten durch die Positionierung des Selbst und der anderen, üblicherweise des anderen Elternteils, durch das Bewerten anderer, üblicherweise ihrer Kinder oder des anderen Elternteils, und durch die Angleichung der Stellungen, üblicherweise mit dem anderen Elternteil, konstruieren. Des Weiteren verstärkt *modern family* gesellschaftliche Erwartungen an Mütter und Väter, da die Eltern der heterosexuellen Paare die Frauen generell als stereotypische mütterliche Identitäten annehmen, während die Männer eher väterliche Identitäten verkörpern. Die Analyse der Familie mit gleichgeschlechtlichen Eltern zeigt, dass beide ihre Identitäten durch das Adaptieren und Modifizieren von Handlungen und des Verhaltens von Müttern oder Vätern annehmen. Demnach übernimmt kein Elternteil eine eindeutige Mutter- oder Vaterrolle. Generell verstärkt die Serie die Ideologie einer traditionellen Rollenverteilung, insbesondere stereotypische Aufgaben einer Mutter.

Primär bietet die Studie einen Einblick dahingehend, inwieweit Individuen elterliche Identitäten konstruieren. Sekundär liefert die Studie den Beweis dafür, dass eine soziolinguistische Methode nicht nur möglich ist, sondern auch als wissenschaftlich wertvoll bezeichnet werden kann. Zudem verweist die Studie auf mögliche Auswirkungen der Ideologien und Stereotype, die in der Sitcom präsentiert werden. Die Serie intendiert ihr Publikum dazu zu bewegen vorherrschende Stereotype von Müttern und Vätern in Frage zu stellen, unabhängig davon, ob man in einer traditionellen und einer nicht-traditionellen Familie lebt.

Schlüsselwörter: Stance, Identitätskonstruktion, Geschlechterstereotype, Soziolinguistik, Sitcoms, modern family