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Edward Larkey

Narrative as a Mode of Communication: Comparing TV Format Adaptations with Multimodal and Narratological Approaches

Abstract: This chapter illustrates how a multimodal approach can be combined with narratological knowledge to compare the narrative sequencing, structure, and content of culturally different versions of a sketch television comedy series. The series features archetypical interactions and conflicts of a 30-something heterosexual couple. By combining both narratological and multimodal approaches to compile qualitative and quantitative data on durations of scene and shot sequencing, narrative content, and culturally specific multimodal relationships, the chapter compares television format adaptations cross-culturally to distinguish a variety of discursive positionings towards gender roles, masculinity, and family conflict management strategies as a first step in the process of cross-cultural comparisons. These methodological innovations make a substantial contribution to determining the intercultural and cross-cultural dimensions of multimodal analyses and help concretize and more precisely delineate the nature of globalization processes, global discourses, and hybridization. Furthermore, it is suggested that combining computer software-driven multimodal analyses with narratological approaches offers a more precise and objective foundation for cross-cultural comparative analyses of increasingly prevalent localizations of television formats.

Keywords: multimodality, TV series, adaptation, narrative, cross-cultural

1 Multimodality and Television Format Adaptations

A semiotically based notion of multimodality is an appropriate approach to cross-culturally analyzing television format adaptations for a variety of reasons. Aveyard & Moran (2015) mention the dual nature of the television format as a universal, mobile, and adaptable global cultural product on the one hand, with a capacity for domestic and local modification to achieve cultural proximity to the intended audience on the other:

[...] the new programme's performers and participants will, for the most part, be ethnically familiar, speak one or the other dominant territorial languages; be visually and culturally

anchored in recurring, everyday locations; deal with recognizable situations and issues and behave in customary and familiar ways. (Aveyard & Moran, 2015, 689)

Television formats contain various modes of communication as socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resources for making meaning (Kress, 2010). Multimodal scholars such as Gunther Kress point to the intercultural dimension of multimodality by emphasizing that modes result from the social and historical shaping of materials that differ from one society to another (Kress, 2010, 11). Kress also reminds us that individuals “with their social histories, socially shaped, located in social environments, using socially made, culturally available resources, are agentive and generative in sign-making and communication” (Kress, 2010, 54). Kress furthermore mentions that semiotic resources function differently in different societies since they “differ from culture to culture” (Kress, 2010, 168) such that a particular semiotic resource in one culture may be different to that resource in another (Kress, 2010, 81). Television format adaptations illustrate this admirably, but we need the help of a multimodal analysis to uncover the interrelationships between culture, society, and representation at work in the adaptation of the television format in different countries and societies.

2 Narrative and Cross-Cultural Multimodality

Jewitt (2009, 13) underscores the potential parity among all modes but also the variety of complex interactions and relationships between different modes of communication, concluding that “the interaction between image and writing in a text” has driven much existing multimodal research. Jewitt also provides an approach to intercultural and cross-cultural multimodality by positing that people “orchestrate meaning through their selection and configuration of modes” (Jewitt, 2009, 15). Similar to Kress, we can thus postulate that television format adaptations exhibit inter- and cross-culturally salient and varying configurations of the ensemble of modes, as I will demonstrate further below.

Our approach will therefore follow Jewitt’s advice for multimodal research to investigate the “interplay between modes to look at the specific work of each mode and how each mode interacts with and contributes to the others in the multimodal ensemble” (Jewitt, 2009, 25). In the context of transnational format adaptations, the interplay between modes and their interactions with each other may exhibit culturally specific patterns and interconnections. While I will not be going into detail into each culturally specific pattern in this chapter, I will show at which point a multimodal comparative analysis would be initiated. I will illustrate how

this happens in various versions of the Canadian TV series *Un Gars, Une Fille* (‘A Guy and a Girl’) produced from 1997 to 2002 in the francophone Canadian province of Quebec. The two main protagonists of the series will be designated as ‘the Guy’ and ‘the Girl’ and, in the specific scene I will be investigating, I will also refer to the ‘Mother-in-Law’ when referencing the mother of the Girl from the standpoint of the Guy, and as the ‘Mother’ when referencing the character from the standpoint of the Girl. The analysis will be carried out particularly with regard to the dialog and the music in a shot in which the Girl confronts her Mother about traumas induced by the Mother during her childhood.

For the purposes of the chapter, I will follow the suggestions of Bateman et al. (2017, 132) about the nature of ‘texts’ as concrete artifacts utilizing semiotic modes to produce a predesignated and anticipated organization of material to guide an interpretation based on those modes. I will consider each different version of the series *Un Gars, Une Fille* to be just such an ‘audiovisual text’. The collection of texts investigated in this study can then be considered a “corpus” (Bateman et al., 2017, 152) available for computer annotation with the help of software, even though these texts are technically speaking not necessarily ‘naturally occurring’ but scripted in advance and intentionally adapted to culturally specific situations. Applying the dual concept of discourse proposed by Bateman et al. (2017, 133) which the authors call the ‘big D’, defined as ways of thinking about a particular concept or principle (they mention ‘discourse of gender’), delineated from ‘small d’ discourse as a local, text-based, and fine-grained analysis. In our investigation, therefore, I will look at the instances of ‘small d’ discourse in each of the versions of the series contained in the particular scene, while I will take a comprehensive view of that same scene in several versions to characterize various positionings within contested ‘big D’ discourses of gender roles and family relationships.

The multimodal part of this investigation thus focuses on the micro-level, collecting and discussing “observable traces of meaning-making” (Jewitt et al., 2016, 7) in a particular scene in the various versions of the television format adaption of *Un Gars, Une Fille*. I selected a scene common to most versions and used digital tools (see Bateman et al., 2017; Lim Fei et al., 2015) to compile and correlate quantitative and qualitative data on the durations of segments within the scene, as well as the scene segments and their placement themselves. This shot scene is significant in the narrative not only due to its greater length, but also because it most vividly depicts the values, personalities, gender expectations, and relationships of the Girl with her Mother to a greater extent than other scenes.

Finally, in arguing for the inclusion of narrative structure, content, and sequencing into our analysis, I will rely to a large extent on guidance provided by Bateman & Schmidt (2012), who not only define basic units of measurement in film

and televisual analysis such as shot, scene, and scene shot¹ but also supply the conceptual foundations for approaching multimodality beyond the micro-level. They do this by introducing and reflecting on the Metzian theories focusing on spatiality, temporality, and sequentiality. These are especially crucial for cross-cultural multimodal analyses since they highlight a mesolevel of analysis which, in addition to the micro-level, looks at structures and sequences of televisual narratives—a process they call ‘layouting’—which

are constructed in ways that guide interpretation *even prior* (italics in original, EL) to handing over the task of understanding to some viewer’s ‘common sense’—such that lines of interpretation are—not closed off, remaining open and potentially relevant for understanding” (Bateman & Schmidt, 2012, 1).

Our depictions of the narrative structure of the shot in the Mother-in-Law scene(s) of *Un Gars, Une Fille* will focus on shot sequencing as the prime textual organization of the narrative. Our task in multimodally comparing the selected scene and its position in the episode is simplified to a certain extent in that the scene is monospacial and explicitly staged, taking place in the dining room of the Mother-in-Law, while the temporal sequencing is implicitly constructed but made more explicit in our re-constructed sequencing. Our analysis is further simplified by the fact that the camera—in most versions—is largely immobile, with either a point-of-view shot of the Guy and the Girl facing the Mother-in-Law, or an over-the-shoulder shot of them with the Mother-in-Law either not in the frame, or only barely visible. I will also highlight the complicated and ambiguous role of the transitions between the shots for creating emotional, topical, temporal, and sequential bridges.

Un Gars, Une Fille has been reproduced with domestic casts, settings, and languages in 28 other countries and regions to date. Table 1 contains a list of official adaptations produced up to the present, while Table 2 contains a list of more or less blatant unofficial and unauthorized versions ‘inspired by’ *Un Gars, Une Fille*.

¹ It should also be mentioned here that I am not employing these concepts exactly as they are defined by Bateman and Schmidt. I will be using ‘segment’ in a more general sense to mean any kind of measurable spatiotemporal portion of the televisual narrative, while the ‘scene’, due to the idiosyncratic nature of the shot structure and sequencing which includes both topical as well as spatiotemporal configurations in the television series, is loosely defined by the transitions inserted into the narrative to both distinguish as well as bridge topical, emotional, and temporal gaps.

Tab. 1: All officially recognized versions of *Un Gars, Une Fille* and their adaptations until the present Courtesy of Avanti Cine Groupe

Number	Country	Date of First Broadcast
1	Canada	1 May 1997
2	Belgium	August 1998
3	France	11 October 1999
4	Sweden	November 1999
5	Portugal	May 2000
6	Greece	Autumn 2000
7	Spain	22 September 2000
8	Bulgaria	2002
9	Hungary	2002
10	Netherlands	2002
11	Israel	9 July 2002
12	English Canada	September 2002
13	Poland	3 September 2002
14	Germany	13 October 2002
15	Mexico	31 July 2003
16	Russia	20 September 2003
17	Italy	15 December 2004
18	Ukraine	14 January 2005
19	Lebanon	27 February 2006
20	Latvia	20 October 2006
21	Lithuania	29 August 2007
22	Turkey	2 October 2008
23	Cyprus	8 October 2010
24	Kazakhstan	8 October 2012
25	Abu Dhabi	July 2013
26	Czech Republic	10 September 2013
27	Serbia and Montenegro	5 October 2015
28	Slovenia	6 March 2016
29	French Africa	13 November 2017

The chapter will compare the particular scene selected for analysis across 14 different versions² in which the couple visits the Girl’s Mother. The scene is divided into two parts, each positioned differently both within the approximately 24-minute

² Besides the original Quebec version this paper will draw on the Spanish, Italian, Turkish, French, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Serbian, Slovenian, Greek, German, and Israeli versions. The French, Spanish, and Italian versions were produced as short segments between longer series in the respective broadcast schedule and are therefore strictly speaking not episodic. In spite of that, I will draw upon relevant examples from the Spanish version to illustrate relevant analytical points.

Tab. 2: These are “non-official” versions of *Un Gars*, *Une Fille* produced in various countries without authorization or legal foundation

Title of Series	Country of Origin	Year(s) of First Broadcast
Sousou et Nounou	Algeria-Arabic	2007
Timsal n Wexxam	Algeria-Kabyle	2014
Le Couple	Morocco	2013
Ilyz m'tsam	Madagascar	2013–2018
Love Bytes	India	2015–2017
Mann/Frau	Germany	2014–2015
Bent Walad	Tunesia	2012
Polovinki	Russia	2012–2013
Sasho i Sashka	FYR Macedonia	2005–2006

episodes, and distributed differently among the episodes of those versions, as can be seen in Table 3.

All 29 official versions of the series feature interactions and conflicts between the non-married, yet cohabitating childless 30-something heterosexual couple as it negotiates its relationship between the pressures of what family relations researchers have called the ‘de-institutionalization of marriage’ and the erosion of the ‘heterosexual marriage monopoly’ (de Vaus, 2011). Contemporary couples, including those depicted in various versions of *Un Gars*, *Une Fille*, must continually re-negotiate both the division of domestic labor as well as the degree of autonomy of each participant in the relationship, without necessarily relying on behavioral patterns and ways of thinking of previous generations. Still, Allen & Walter (2000, 4), summarizing their own and others’ previous research, have determined that “both old and new ideas about gender and old and new gender practices coexist” in the same families simultaneously. Therefore, various versions of *Un Gars*, *Une Fille* display a wide variety of culturally specific negotiating strategies over gender roles, conflicts, and negotiations within the narrative framework of the television format. While I will not delve into the cultural specifics of each depiction, I will display the differences which form the starting point of further analyses of culturally specific negotiating strategies.

The life of the Guy and the Girl deviates from the traditional sequence of events for family formation, consisting of courtship, engagement, marriage/co-residence, sex, children, empty nest, etc. The couple illustrates what de Vaus points to as a re-ordering of those sequences which depart from conventional social scripts while pursuing the construction of one’s own life narrative. De Vaus underscores the ambivalent nature of this undertaking: on the one hand, its complexity can

Tab. 3: Table showing the lengths of the episodes containing versions of *Un Gars*, *Une Fille*, the lengths of the Mother-in-Law scenes within those two episodes, and the percentage proportion of the Mother-in-Law scenes within those episodes, along with the percentage of the pre-visit scenes to the both Mother-in-Law visit scenes. Notice the outlier German version which will not be scrutinized in this chapter. (Time details: mm:ss)

Versions	Total Length of Episode(s)		Total Length both Episodes	Length of Mother-in-Law Visit(s)	Proportion of Mother-in-Law Visit Seg-ments to Episodes	Previsit Segment Lengths	Proportion of Pre-Visit Scene(s) to Visit Scene(s)
German	24:01			08:14	34.3%	07:41	93.3%
	Part 1	Part 2					
Quebec	23:24	22:50	46:14	14:20	31.0%	00:59	6.9%
Israeli	23:45	24:34	48:19	14:31	30.0%	00:51	5.9%
Bulgarian	23:14	25:21	48:35	15:55	32.8%	01:04	6.7%
Slovenian	27:24	27:26	54:50	14:17	26.0%	01:11	8.3%
Turkish	24:50	27:30	52:20	15:44	30.1%	01:25	9.0%
Ukrainian	25:04	27:58	53:02	16:26	31.0%	01:07	6.8%
Russian	22:07	21:37	43:44	14:53	34.0%	01:12	8.1%
Serbian	26:19	26:07	52:26	11:05	21.1%	01:10	10.5%
Latvian	21:09	23:06	44:15	15:12	34.4%	00:55	6.0%
Polish	21:38	21:30	43:08	14:39	34.0%	01:09	7.8%
English	23:00	23:00	46:00	14:07	30.7%	00:53	6.3%
Canada							

be welcoming and liberating, but it can also be “profoundly unsettling” (de Vaus, 2011), particularly without the guidance of those established social scripts. In addition, the continual re-negotiation of domestic roles can be both exhilarating yet exhausting and complicated for the couple.

The study will incorporate several of the narratological notions of exposition, narrative dilemma, cause-effect chain, and protagonist and antagonist as described by Butler (2012) to explain how the series achieves a genre-specific degree of narrative cohesion. The study will apply notions of chronicity, spatiality, and sequentiality (Bateman & Schmidt, 2012) to a multimodal comparison of the narrative structure, sequencing, and content to elaborate a loosened narrative cohesion compared to the tighter narrative of a situation comedy.

As film and television studies scholar Jason Mittell (2004, xiv)³ has stated, genre pre-determines the cultural and discursive expectations of viewers about the content and structure of the narrative, its cohesion and the outcome of narrative dilemmas. Scholars in the fields of television studies as well as in multimodality concur in this general outlook on the notion of genre. Bateman et al. (2017, 129) emphasize that genre creates patterns and conventions to accomplish communicative work, whereby narrative fulfills “storytelling work.” According to them consumers allocate artifacts to particular communicative events containing interpretive frames and expectations which assist in their meaning-making process. This is evident even in the idiosyncratic combination of the sketch comedy with a situation comedy found in *Un Gars, Une Fille*.

The narrative cohesion of a situation comedy features a return to an original state of equilibrium after the resolution of at least one of perhaps several dilemmas within the narrative. A sketch comedy, however, neither aims for a temporally configured narrative cohesion nor equilibrium consisting of, for instance, the beginning and a definitive end point of a storyline in each episode. Instead, viewers expect brief and perhaps non-sequential fragmentary comedic (parodic, satirical, ironic, or hyperbolic, stereotypical) illustrations of different disputes and encounters between the protagonist(s) and antagonist(s), without a resolution. *Un Gars, Une Fille* is a peculiar combination of sitcom and sketch comedy in that the short sketch segments may relate a coherent narrative, but these may be either incomplete or unresolved, in addition to their lack of diegetic sequentiality and linear chronicity. One of the crucial devices for creating narrative cohesion in *Un Gars, Une Fille* is paradoxically the specific type of *transition* between shots and scenes incorporating audio and visual elements.

The addition of multimodal quantitative and qualitative data can make a unique contribution to cross-cultural comparisons of the different versions of *Un Gars, Une Fille*. When combined with computer software-compiled quantitative and qualitative data, a multimodal approach achieves a precise measurement of durations of additions, modifications, and omissions in relevant narrative segments, particularly within the modes of dialog, music, voice, and length of shots and scenes.⁴ Multimodal quantitative and qualitative data also allow for more definitive and objective supplemental information for a cross-cultural comparative interpretive analysis. These data may also facilitate identifying previously unknown or obscured patterns and systems of multimodal interconnections and

³ Mittell states that genres “work to categorize texts and link them into clusters of cultural assumptions through discourses of definition, interpretation, and evaluation.” (Mittell, 2004, xiv)

⁴ For a more detailed study of different kinds of adaptations based on narrative structure, sequencing, and content see Larkey et al. (2016).

interplay in support of hermeneutic interpretation. The unique ensemble of communication modes works on a qualitatively different level than merely the additive sum of each separate mode. Finally, quantitative data on the durations of narrative segments and structure may help pinpoint and determine subtle but culturally relevant narrative and cultural differences and similarities.

In the narratological mesoanalysis I will utilize quantitative data collected with computer software, primarily Adobe Premiere Pro and Atlas.ti, with which approximately 10 narrative segments—shots and conversations—of multiple modes of communication were measured, correlated, and compared from one particular shot within the Mother-in-Law scene. A ‘meso’-description of shot sequencing will first describe a bathroom scene prior to the couple’s visit to the Mother-in-Law, in which the Girl has to seduce the Guy in order to convince him to visit her Mother due to the antagonism between him and her Mother. This shot in a sequence of others in the bathroom prepares the viewer for the later visit in the episode and pinpoints the emotional bond between mother and daughter as the primary motivation for the visit. The next step will be to examine the longest shot in most versions, a confrontation between the female protagonist, the Girl, and the female antagonist, the Mother or Mother-in-Law depending on which person in the couple’s relationship is being referenced. In this shot, the Girl initiates a conversation with her Mother about mother-induced traumas from her past. The detailed multimodal analysis will focus on the confrontation between the mother and daughter, during which the daughter breaks down and cries after encountering her mother’s insensitivities to her traumas as an adolescent. The addition of a ‘sad music’ cue during the segment can be read as guiding the viewer toward an identification with the Girl and directs the viewer’s sympathy away from the Mother.

2.1 Narrative Sequencing and Structure as ‘Meso’ Level

In the approximately 21- to 24-minute episodic versions of the series, the sequencing of the encounter in the Mother-in-Law scene(s) is divided into three distinct—and non-consecutive—segments:

1. the Girl’s aforementioned pre-visit seduction of the Guy to entice him to visit her mother, usually located in the same episode as Part 1;
2. Part 1 of the Mother-in-Law scene(s), which features an afternoon coffee and cake sitting at the Mother-in-Law’s, during which a major confrontation between the Guy and his Mother-in-Law erupts whereby the Guy attempts to get

at the heart of their animosity towards each other (for a detailed analysis of Part 1 see Larkey 2019)

3. Part 2 of the Mother-in-Law scene in a later episode in which the daughter tries to communicate with her mother about what the Girl asserts are mother-induced traumas in their relationship during the Girl's adolescence.

These three Mother-in-Law segments therefore have a beginning, i.e., the seduction of the Guy to induce him to visit the Girl's Mother, and an end point, in which the Guy and Girl leave the Mother-in-Law's home laden with leftover food from the visit. For the purposes of this investigation, I will consider these segments as a coherent narrative, even though both segments themselves are neither chronologically nor temporally consecutive, as can be evidenced by the different clothing worn by the couple in Parts 1 and 2. In addition, there is a temporal gap in the broadcast of the episodes between Part 1 and Part 2. In effect, therefore, we are re-constructing a chronologically coherent narrative from a non-sequential chain of shots and segments.⁵

A large portion of shots is devoted to discussions of and reactions of the Girl to the expectations and desires of her Mother for a grandchild. The Mother makes several references to her wish for family offspring, even going so far as to inquire about when they have sex, urging them not to use contraception. The lack of this step in the expected life-course of the couple generates some of the animosity between the Guy, who is less than enthused about the idea of his partner's possible pregnancy, and his Mother-in-Law. Several shots in the narrative center around a presumed pregnancy on the part of the Girl, whose assumption is based on a merely two-hour delay in the onset of her period. The Guy displays great relief when, at the end of the first part of the scene, the Girl announces the start of her period, to her great disappointment.

In almost all of the versions in the corpus, the selected scene takes place—monospatially (Bateman & Schmidt, 2012, 205)—in the dining room of the Mother-in-Law's home. In more recent versions such as the Slovenian, the shots take place in different rooms of the Mother-in-Law's house and are therefore 'multispatial', and later versions also move away from using a stationary camera. However, most

versions feature a narrative sequencing of the segments of the scene which closely follows that of the original version but with minor modifications, additions, or removals which may or may not result from culturally specific factors.

Each shot—separated by a distinctive transition—of the Mother-in-Law scene(s) forms a part of what Jeremy Butler would call the 'cause-and-effect-chain' of the narrative dilemma, which would be the antagonism between the Guy and the Mother-in-Law as the protagonist and antagonist, first revealed in the seduction scene. The animosity serves both to justify the male protagonist's unwillingness to visit the Mother-in-Law, and also raises the question as to why the antagonism exists between them. This animosity prepares the narrative foundation for the confrontations later on in the episode. Each segment of the scenes assigns culpability or justification for the mutual animosity between the two. Some segments appear to designate the one or the other 'victorious' in the contest, although ultimately there are no clear 'winners', and the relationship is never completely resolved in the segments under scrutiny here. This is particularly the case with the confrontation between the Guy and the Mother-in-Law in Part 1 (see also Larkey, 2018), but this also characterizes the dispute between the daughter and her mother in the segment of Part 2 in this study. Emerging from these squabbles is a multi-faceted field of conflict between the younger-generation couple and the older-generation Mother-in-Law, which assigns culpability for perceived deficits in family organization and performance to different actors as will be pointed out further below.

The bar graph (Figure 1) illustrates the narrative sequencing of the Part 2 segments of the Mother-in-Law scene(s) of 10 different versions. The larger bars of each version represent the different shots, while the narrower segments comprise the transitions. The transitions are an integral part of the narrative and consist of

1. a fade-out to black and fade-in to the next shot;⁶
2. fade-in of graphics of writing and objects commenting on the previous shot and fade-out of these graphics;
3. specific transition music cues and sound effects which act as punctuation and commentary to the previous shots.

⁵ The Greek version diverges from this sequencing by adding two longer segments not part of the other versions: a longer segment discussing the internet in Episode 9, and a 07:40 minute segment in Episode 18 in an Italian restaurant visited with the Mother-in-Law. The confrontation between the daughter and her mother, i.e., the focus of this comparative study that is a contiguous sequence with other shots in Part 2, is inserted as a single shot into Episode 12 and therefore does not precede the room-renting segment as in the other versions.

⁶ The one exception to this pattern of transition is the English Canadian version, which has no fade-to-black, but instead superimposes the white writing portions of the transitions onto the non-faded clip as transition. One of the reasons for the varying lengths of the bar graph elements of each version is the imprecise location of the transition boundaries. Different modes of audio and visual communication may bleed into the next shot, or into the preceding shot. I have set the transition boundaries when at least two modes are still operating at once. The bleeding of single communication modes into the shot, e.g., dialog, signals the beginning of the new shot.

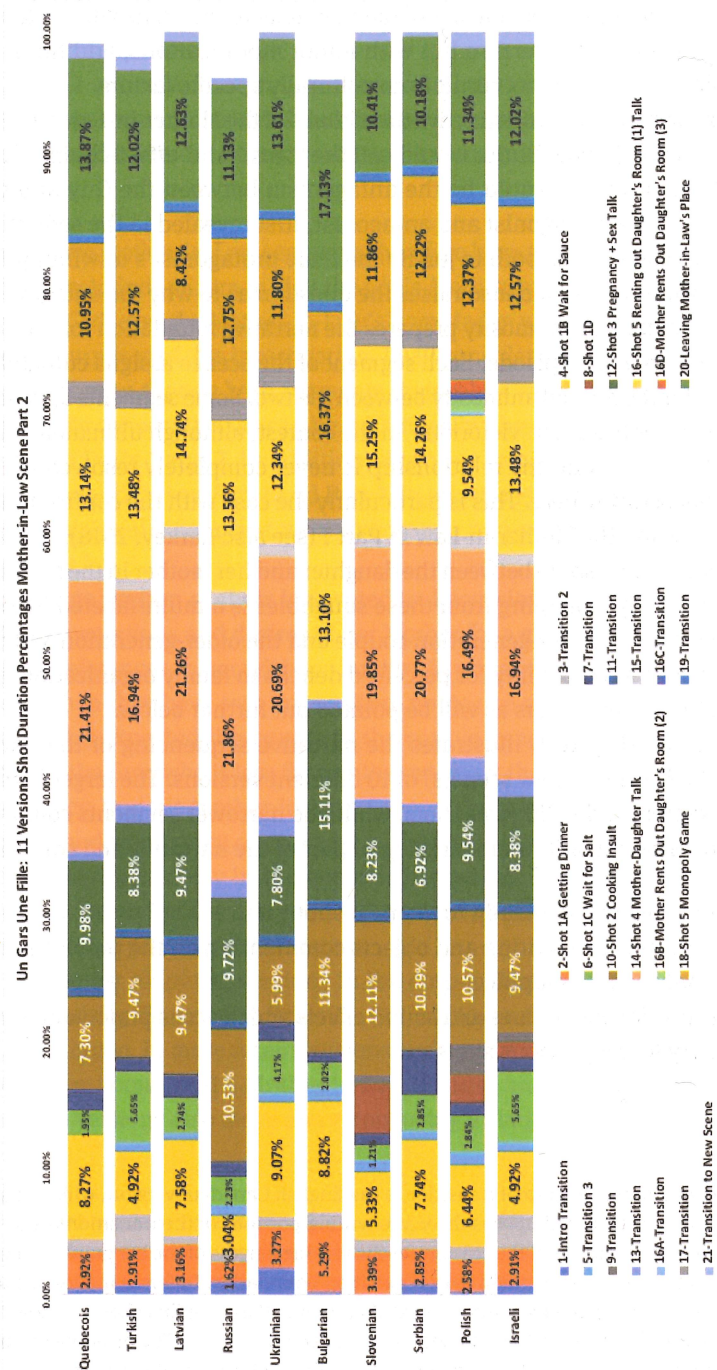


Fig. 1: Bar graph laying out the shots in 10 versions of *Un Gars, Une Fille*, Part 2, containing the confrontation between the daughter and her mother located in the middle of the scene. Notice the lack of this shot in the Bulgarian version.

Each of the scenes in the episodes is introduced by a complete fade-out to black of the previous scene, insertion of the series logo between the scenes, and fade-in to the first shot of the new scene. The bar graph, which is based on a table of extensive data compilation, demonstrates not only the lack of a Mother-Daughter conversation shot in the Bulgarian version, but also the additions in the Polish version, along with the relative lengths of the shots and transitions common to all versions. The transitions form and fill temporal, topical, emotional gaps to bridge and help construct a coherent televisual narrative by additively signaling the beginnings and ends of the shots. In the face of the monospaciality of the scene, the transitions are what Bateman & Schmidt (2012, 251) would call hypotactic, i.e., they help construct temporal and sequential relations between the shots, even as they—paradoxically—implicitly distinguish and separate each shot.

The final shot of the scene(s) culminates in a seemingly never-ending departure of the couple from the Mother-in-Law's, laden with leftovers from the meal, while the Mother-in-Law delays the departure, extending the conversation further by urging the couple to call her by telephone every day, even if she is not at home, leave a message on the answering machine, etc. The mounting impatience and exasperation of the Guy at the continually delayed departure climaxes in his declaration that he will go outside and warm up the car to prepare to leave. Replying to the Mother's and Girl's look of astonishment and surprise at the reference to the winter—the scene takes place in the summer—the Guy states that by the time they are finished the cold winter weather will already have arrived.

This analysis will now focus on the multimodal micro-level of the dispute between the mother and the daughter in the Part 2 section of the Mother-in-Law scene(s). As one can see in Table 3, the Mother-in-Law scenes comprise approximately 30% of the respective episode, with the Quebec original versions approximately 31% for both parts, while the adaptations vary between 26% for the shortest Part 1 segment (Israeli version) and 36% for the longest Part 1 segment (Bulgarian version). The differences in the Part 2 segments range from 25% for the shortest version (Slovenian) to 38% for the longest version (Russian). Due to the idiosyncratic nature of the Greek version explained above, I have not included this in the calculations of the table.

The components of the episodic versions of *Un Gars, Une Fille* exhibit the sketch comedy 'heritage' of what I call the 'non-episodic' version of between 5–10 minutes. The sitcom-like episodic versions usually consist of three different and unrelated scenes in the 21- to 26-minute episodes which are deployed as autonomous segments in their own right in the non-episodic versions, as bridges between longer series in their respective national television broadcasts. The seemingly random assemblage of scenes into "episodes" can be found in the non-episodic versions as well. Early adapted versions of the series—such as the Israeli version—combined

the different shorter segments to construct a 24-minute “episode” long enough to occupy a typical broadcast slot in that country, similar to the Italian, French, and Spanish versions.

As a part of this multimodal comparison of the different versions, we compiled and correlated both quantitative and qualitative data which include aspects of the dialogs, content, music, the behavior of the Guy, who is at first largely indifferent to the Girl’s growing emotional crisis but later slowly engages with his partner (the Girl), and the physical positions and movements of the Girl, the main protagonist during the discordant exchange. In all but the Greek version of the series, the Mother-in-Law is the clear antagonist in the conflict, while she ultimately deflects responsibility for the daughter’s increasing distress to accuse the Guy of culpability. Instead of assuming at least part of the responsibility for her daughter’s troubles, as in the Greek narrative, the Mother-in-Law in other versions reinforces her animosity towards the Guy by accusing *him* of causing the Girl’s anguish. The common thread running through the Mother-in-Law scenes is the performance and display of the animosity between the Mother-in-Law and the Guy, already signaled in the seduction scene prior to the actual visit.

Further below I will contextualize the Mother-in-Law scene(s) within the framework of the Girl’s contradictory efforts at attaining greater autonomy from her mother on the one hand, yet retaining the emotional bond with her on the other. The Guy, the male protagonist, exhibits qualities I attribute to what I call the ‘new patriarchy’ in which the Mother-in-Law disparages him for not fulfilling his role as main breadwinner and head of the family, seen as the result of greater agency and autonomy of the female protagonist prompted by feminist gains in re-defining gender roles. However, the new role, a result of more recent developments of families which deviate from older models of convention (same-sex couples, grandparent families, single-parent families, childless families, etc.), are less able to rely on conventional life-course scripts for gender role performance, which brings them into conflict with the conventional role models of the previous generation of parents. The tension between these generations is played out in the various versions of this series in a variety of culturally specific and different ways.

In all versions, the Mother-in-Law is out of frame and is therefore participating in the conversation only off camera as the sole mode of communication in the dialog. She therefore has no visible physical position, no gesture, no facial expression, no movement, with the exception of the Turkish version, which I will discuss further below. The only perception of the Mother-in-Law for the audience is a disembodied voice in the conversation and the reactions and movements of the Girl, who is the most important figure in the scene. This lack of embodiment places the Mother-in-Law at a distinct disadvantage in the conversation with regard to her visible authority and presence—with the exception of the Bulgarian version,

in which the Mother-in-Law is in the frame, albeit from a medium side shot. The mise-en-scène also configures the conversation between the Mother-in-Law and the couple as an interrogation of the couple by the Mother, in which the interrogator is out of sight and semi-anonymized. Although the Guy never participates actively in the conversation apart from at times following the turn-taking with his head movements and eyes, the Mother-in-Law nevertheless accuses him of causing the daughter’s hardship. In the Ukrainian version, the viewer sees the extended arm of the Mother-in-Law in the final seconds of the shot, pointing at the Guy whom she accuses of causing the Girl’s distress. With the exception of the Slovenian version and the leaving shot in the Spanish version, all the shots in Part 2 take place monospacially in the dining room of the Mother-in-Law.

The mother represents what Klein & Milardo (2000) define as a ‘third party’ in couple conflicts, i.e., friends or family members to whom authority is delegated in decisions of whom to ask for advice. According to Klein and Milardo the ‘third party’ offers informal guidance and helps interpret the couple’s conflicts, while also endorsing strategic choices to promote measures and attitudes conducive to more accommodative strategies for resolving conflicts. In this connection I will ask what power the couple has delegated to the mother as a ‘third party’ participant, for whom does the mother advocate, and how is the mother’s advocacy multimodally staged in particular versions?

2.2 The Girl Argues with her Mother: Multimodal Escalation of Emotionality

The major conflict in Part 2 of the Mother-in-Law scene consists of the daughter’s attempt to justify and circumscribe her autonomy and independent selfhood and subjectivity vis-à-vis her mother by initiating a discussion about a (real-life) book on the topic entitled *My Mother, My Mirror*, by psychologist Laura Arens Fuerstein. Fuerstein proposes that the mother’s—necessarily distorted—self-image is implanted in the daughter’s mind and imprints her behavior during childhood as what she calls a “carnival-mirror self-image”, in which the mother sees the daughter “through her own inaccurate lens” (Fuerstein, 2008, 4).⁷ Fuerstein’s psychoanalytical approach is intended to help the daughter achieve greater autonomy

⁷ The original printing of the book was in 1996 and has had at least 10 printings, judging from the information in the book itself, even though ‘first printing’ is also imprinted. However, the actual book used by the screenwriters was by Nancy Friday (1977) entitled “My Mother, My Self. The Daughter’s Search for Identity”. This book goes into greater academic depth about the daughter’s struggle for autonomy vis-a-vis the mother, focusing specifically on the discrepancy between

and a 'truer self-image': "When you see that your mother's skewed image of herself no longer has to cause your skewed image of yourself, you gain a truer self-image" (Fuerstein, 2008, 4). Mentions of this book in the original and all other versions of the series—one of the longer shots in the series—initiates the discussion between the daughter and her mother.

A multimodal approach in analyzing the different versions of this shot documents the variety in the interplay of communication modes underlying the escalating emotionality in the shot and prepares the foundation for a comparative interpretative analysis of the different versions: the voice of the Girl, the behavior of the Guy, the music, the dialog content, and the positions and gestures of the Girl's body during the conversation. The Girl's voice evolves from a cheerful beginning through at least two stages—a stage in which her voice seems insecure and hesitant, and a further stage in which her voice starts to break—until she breaks down and cries at the table, bowing her head down and, in some cases, turning her body toward the Guy for consolation in his arms. Examples of these different responses can be seen in the screen shots in Table 4.⁸

The Guy's body posture and actions shift from indifference—mild to extreme (looking at his mobile phone, eating, sitting silently at the table watching the two others)—at the outset of the shot into more or less actively consoling the Girl when she is upset, distressed, and crying. Only the Serbian version differs. In this version, the Girl herself de-escalates the emotionality and the Guy remains entirely unmoved—in all senses of the word⁹—throughout the entire conversation. With one exception—the Greek version—the Guy does not participate in the dialog between the Mother and the Girl but turns to the Girl to console her after she starts crying towards the end of the segment. In the Turkish version the Guy also verbally tries to calm his partner down by urging her to act appropriately for dinner. The Guy in the Ukrainian version also does not turn his body toward the Girl in

what the Mother says and what she does with regard to enjoying sexual pleasure as a woman and denying it as mother. Friday describes how mothers attempt to avoid this confusing deception when communicating with the daughter.

8 The screenshots on the left are taken at the beginning of the conversation, whereas the screenshots on the right are taken at its conclusion. Notice the Serbian version at the bottom in which the daughter de-escalates the emotionality while the other versions conclude with the daughter in tears, with the Mother blaming the Guy.

9 That is: no change in his indifferent expression on his face, no change in propping up his head with his elbows planted on the table and his hands under his chin, and staring emptily mostly at the Mother-in-Law, but sometimes at the daughter. Since the daughter de-escalates the emotionality of the conversation in this version on her own, there seems little need for him to offer consolation.

Tab. 4: Screen shots of the mother-daughter conversation initiated by the daughter's mention of the book *My Mother, My Mirror*



Quebec: Beginning of Mother-Daughter dispute. Guy is mildly disengaged.



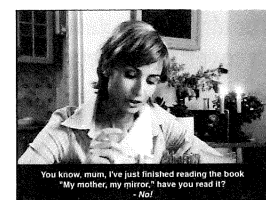
Quebec: End of Mother-Daughter dispute. Guy is engaged in physical consolation of Girl.



Ukraine: Guy is mildly interested in the conversation between Mother and Daughter, but looking at the Mother-in-Law.



Ukraine: Guy exhibits no change in facial expression nor body position and offers no consolation to Girl.



Poland: Girl initiates conversation while Guy is absent.



Poland: Guy returns to table to find Girl in tears and attempts consolation without knowledge of conversation.



Serbia: Guy is completely disengaged in conversation and appears to be day-dreaming.



Serbia: Girl de-escalates emotionality. Guy continues to be disengaged.

consolation and retains a detached but astonished facial expression while looking at the Mother-in-Law during her accusation.

2.3 The Monolog and Music Cues

The diegetic music underscores the Girl's performance in the face of her Mother's insensitivity during a part of the segment I am calling the monolog. The monolog is an uninterrupted and extended speech segment of the Girl describing the trauma she has experienced during her adolescence but also relativizing the role of the Mother by referring to the 'difficulties' faced by the Mother and the fact that both seem to be 'stubborn'. The monolog is initiated after the Mother states that she is not familiar with the book *My Mother, My Mirror* and has not read it. The sad music cue sets in when the Mother replies that she cannot recall the traumatic experiences of the daughter. The music therefore signals to the audience what emotions are appropriate in the scene and with whom the audience should sympathize and empathize during the Girl's remarks. The Girl's initial emotional state of sadness stands in stark contrast to the Girl's explicit and insistent denials that her Mother's insensitivity affects her.¹⁰

The music cue therefore creates a tension between the increasing emotional content of the monolog on the one hand, the lack of appropriate response of empathy by the Mother, and the Girl's ultimately unsuccessful attempt at de-escalation, at least in most versions. The music cues prepare and accompany the escalating emotionality in the Girl's voice and brace the audience for her ultimate breakdown into crying at the end of the segment.¹¹ There are six parts to the music:

1. a slow, two-note introduction and upward progression covering an octave or 5th;
2. a single note downward progression for a measure or two;
3. a downward chord progression of 2-3 measures;
4. a one-measure musical pivot point which interrupts the downward progression;
5. a continuation of the previous downward chord progression (as coda);
6. the finale consisting of a final chord.

The monolog indicates which topics and behaviors in the discussion upset and distress the Girl. They are rooted in the insensitivity and lack of the Mother's

empathy for the daughter's traumatic experiences while growing up. The dialog demonstrates two problems in the relationship with the Mother: not only does the Guy have a problem with his Mother-in-Law, but the Girl also has a problem with her Mother, who in most of the versions denies any memory or knowledge of wrongdoing. The two most prominent traumatic experiences that the Girl mentions are the Mother washing her teddy bear in the washing machine with bleach and the Mother's prohibition for the daughter to bathe with the father.

While a quantitatively significant part of the dialog consists of the daughter's questioning the Mother about what the daughter calls past traumatic events, along with the monolog, a qualitatively significant (but quantitatively insignificant) portion of the dialog comprises the response of the Mother to the daughter's questions. In most versions, the Mother denies with monosyllabic responses awareness, or being the cause, of the daughter's traumatic experiences. In most versions, the Mother replies with a simple 'no' to the question if her Mother remembers washing the teddy bear with bleach. In the Polish version, the Mother tries to excuse her actions as a 'careless mistake that can happen' to anyone, but in most of the other versions the Mother does not acknowledge her responsibility. Contrary to almost all the other versions, the daughter in the Serbian version refuses to accept the Mother's denial and keeps insisting that the Mother remember the event, which the Mother grudgingly acknowledges after her daughter's repeated insistence.

The negative response of the Mother increases the insecurity of the daughter to speak with her Mother about intimate issues, manifested in some versions with a change in voice of the daughter through hesitations, stuttering, repetitions, a reduction in the rate of speech, and a switch to a lower (Serbian) or higher (Russian, Ukrainian) pitch. The music cue sets in in most cases soon after the first denials by the Mother, and accompanies the continued monolog of the daughter until the daughter breaks down crying. The crescendo of music signals not only the daughter's increasing emotional agitation at the Mother's lack of empathy with and sensitivity to the daughter's plight, but also the guilty conscience of the Mother at the daughter's insistence of the Mother's responsibility for the daughter's trauma. Looking at the beginning and end points of both the dialog and the sad music cues in Table 5, one notices considerable variation in both the duration of the dialog in the different versions, as well as the duration of the corresponding music cue, with the Greek version containing the longest dialog and the most extended sad music cue of all the versions with 01:35 (mm:ss) in the segment lasting 02:09, in which the dialog encompasses almost the entire segment at 02:06. The shortest segment duration is the Polish at 01:08, while the dialog in that segment is 00:53 long (i.e., 78% of the segment) and the sad music portion 00:51 in length, or 75% of the segment. The shortest extent of sad music can be found in the Canadian English version with only 00:35, or 42% of the 01:23 dialog portion of the segment.

¹⁰ The Russian version is an exception to this in that the Girl states explicitly that she is angry at the Mother for causing the Girl's trauma.

¹¹ The absence of this music cue in the Slovenian version means that the actress must produce the emotionality without the help of the music. This lack of this subtle but crucial mode of communication is especially glaring when compared with the other versions.

Tab. 5: This shows the length of the sad music segments in the Mother-daughter conversation in Part 2 of the Mother-in-Law scenes, with the beginning and end points, the percentages of music in the total shot, and the length of the dialog in which the music was embedded (Time details: mm:ss)

	Total length of segment	Start of Sad Music Segment	End of Sad Music Segment	Total Length of Sad Music Segment	Length of Sad Music in Segment Percent	Beginning of dialog (daughter)	End of Dialog (daughter)	Length of Dialog in Segment	Length of Dialog in Segment Percent	Proportion of Music to Dialog in Percent
Quebec	01:30	00:38	01:25	00:47	52.2%	00:01	01:24	01:23	92.2%	56.63 %
Canada-ENG	01:23	00:42	01:17	00:35	42.1%	00:03	01:16	01:13	87.95%	47.95%
Israel	01:36	00:43	01:28	00:45	46.88%	00:01	01:29	01:28	91.67%	51.14%
Turkish	02:07	00:47	01:52	01:05	51.18%	00:02	01:55	01:53	88.98%	57.52%
Greek	02:09	00:27	02:05	01:38	75.97%	00:01	02:07	02:06	97.67%	77.78%
Russian	01:54	00:43	01:37	00:54	47.37%	00:08	01:44	01:36	84.21%	56.25%
Ukrainian	01:59	00:48	01:41	00:53	44.54%	00:01	01:43	01:42	85.71%	51.96%
Latvian	01:41	00:41	01:35	00:54	51.92%	00:10	01:35	01:25	81.73%	63.53%
Polish	01:08	00:07	00:58	00:51	75.00%	00:02	00:55	00:53	77.94%	96.23%
Spanish	01:42	00:44	01:38	00:54	52.94%	00:01	01:36	01:35	93.14%	56.84%
Serbian	01:48	00:47	01:39	00:52	48.15%	00:03	01:41	01:38	90.74%	53.06%

The lengthy Greek version avoids the brief and superficial mention of the teddy bear and the prohibition of bathing with the father. Instead, the daughter opts for a much more detailed and extended listing of 'oppressions' perpetrated by her unaware Mother, but only after emphasizing that she is not criticizing the Mother, since the Mother raised her to be a 'good Christian' and a Greek patriot, remarks culminating in reciting a poem in unison that the Mother taught her when she was younger. However, the Greek monolog contains the most detailed and extensive list of all versions of how the Mother oppressed the Girl. In addition, the Greek version's longer duration is the product of several snide interjections by the Guy wondering about his partner's recalcitrance. Furthermore, the Greek version features a series of self-reflections by the Girl in which she states how difficult it is to discuss the topic with her Mother. The Greek version diverges in important ways from the other versions in that the Mother not only explicitly sympathizes with her daughter, but she apologizes for having unwittingly oppressed her daughter in the past. Another divergence from other versions is the Guy's lack of support for his partner's distress, so instead of consoling her in his arms at the end of the conversation, he tells the Mother-in-Law that she should continue oppressing the daughter since the daughter 'lives in her own world' and deserves the oppression. The Guy in the Greek version is the most active of all versions not just due to the multiple snide interjections against the Girl, but also because he opposes both the Girl and her Mother in the conversation.

The music cue in this Greek segment is extended to accompany most of the extended dialog, and especially the monolog of the Girl. In order to do this, the entire music cue is repeated for a second time, while in other versions only a coda of the third part, the downward chord progression, is inserted after the pivot point. In the short Canadian English version of this segment, conversely, the music cue dispenses with the coda of the third downward progression altogether, also dropping all mention of bathing with the father. The dialog diverges in another way as well in the Canadian English version. Instead of either implicitly or explicitly blaming the Mother for the daughter's oppression as in most of the other versions, the daughter in the Canadian English version apologizes for not being around to support the Mother in her 'very difficult' life. The daughter perceived her Mother's vacillation between wanting to be either her Mother or her friend, or both at the same time, as a cause of the daughter's confusion. This statement was also included in other versions of the series. Thus, in most versions, the daughter blames *her Mother* for the confusion, while in the English Canadian version the daughter blames *herself* for being confused.

The increasing anguish of the daughter throughout the conversation is evinced in a variety of different—multimodal—ways in the various versions under scrutiny in this study. In the Russian version, for instance, the daughter starts to hyperventilate

during her monolog while nervously jiggling a spoon back and forth in her right hand during the tensest moments. In most versions, the most frequent physical movements of the Girl are her use of hand gestures, opening and closing the palms in front of her torso for emphasis, while the elbows and forearms are usually resting on the table. In the majority of versions, the Girl's body is mostly rigid and immobile with the exception of the forearms and hands, while only the upper body and torso are visible to the audience.

In the unique situation of the Turkish version, the Mother leaves the dining room altogether to go to the kitchen when the conversation begins to become uncomfortable, and the Girl has to turn her head to her left towards the kitchen, lean over the table to look in that direction, and yell in a loud—and breaking—voice to make her point. The Turkish version also modifies the causes of the daughter's trauma in mentioning that she was not allowed to sleep with the Mother (*not* take a bath with the father) when much younger. In the Ukrainian version, the Mother ends up crying at the end of her daughter's monolog in addition to the daughter, but still accuses the Guy of causing the hardship and distress. In the Polish version, the entire conversation between the Mother and her daughter takes place in the absence of the Guy, who went to the bathroom and only returns after the Girl has broken down crying, rendering the accusation of the Mother against the Guy—that he is to blame for her anguish—patently absurd. The Polish version is distinguished from the others in that the Girl mentions not the disfigurement of her teddy bear and the prohibition of taking a bath with the father, but instead that her father got first portions of porridge at breakfast and was the first to read the Father Christmas poem during the Christmas holidays.

These examples illustrate that subtle and not-so-subtle differences in the same scene and shots may lead to different kinds of interpretive conclusions based on the descriptive cataloging of the similarities and differences in the various versions within the framework of a micro-level multimodal method combined with a macro- and meso-level narratological approach. The behaviors of the Girl, her Mother, and the Guy reflect culturally specific discourses of gender identities, family relations, and ultimately, the meaning of families in the reproduction of the nation in each of the different versions.

The functionalist sociological literature on family relationships claims that the family is the smallest unit of the nation in which the gendered values, customs, and behaviors are transmitted to the younger generation through socialization (Dempsey & Lindsay, 2014, 51). In this view, the masculine is oriented toward the public sphere and economic sustenance of the family, assuming an 'instrumental' and active role. The feminine, on the other hand, is oriented toward the private realm and unpaid labor, and adheres to an 'expressive' and passive role. While the female protagonist in the various versions of *Un Gars, Une Fille* performs the

expressive and emotional gender role by means of her crying with the support of the sad music cue, it could be argued that in most versions the female character is the active person in the confrontation with her Mother. The male character, on the other hand, exhibits an uncharacteristic passivity towards the entire conversation he is witnessing and only acts when his partner is in her most distressed state.

This can also be seen in the traumas detailed in the criticism of the Mother by the daughter. Both the Mother and daughter help construct the culturally and politically specific discursive context of competing narratives of national identity as they are realized in the description of the daughter as well as the response of the Mother.

3 Concluding Thoughts: Multimodality, Interculturality, and Family Conflict Management Strategies

In an essay on intercultural screenwriting, Patrick Cattrysse (2017) suggests applying Gert Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability to adaptations of television formats and films to create greater identification with characters and cultural proximity to new audiences in the adapted versions. These dimensions of cultural variability, which are the mainstays of empirical positivist orientations of intercultural communication research, are binary pairs which supposedly categorize national cultures and assist in comparing cultures of different countries and regions: high and low power distance, individualism and collectivism, masculinity and femininity, high context and low context styles of communication, and others. Critics (Holliday, 2013; Martin & Nakayama, 2012; Sorrells, 2016) have noted the essentializing and reifying nature of these categories in denoting whole cultures, but Cattrysse (2017, 14) proposes to deploy them as hermeneutic tools of intercultural analysis and screenwriting, a path I have pursued in previous studies (Larkey, 2009) of various versions of the TV series *The Office* (BBC 2001–2003; Gervais & Merchant, 2004), in which I have examined the countervailing use of camera position, camera movements, and dialog in a particular scene to parody gender and power distance violations between the main male protagonist and his female superior. Er, in another co-authored article (Larkey et al., 2016), examined how a humorous music cue helped mitigate the violation of power distance conventions among two characters in the Turkish version of the US TV series *Monk*.

Cattrysse (2017) scrutinizes the binary pair of universalism and particularism, which is the most relevant for our purposes and suitable for closer study.

According to Catrysse, universalist and particularist attitudes are manifested in people being “rule-oriented” or “person-oriented”: “Whereas the universalist stipulates that society must be ordered by laws that apply equally to everyone always, the particularist will say that interpersonal relationships prevail” (Catrysse, 2017, 12). I would argue that underlying the Mother-in-Law scene are the Mother’s universalist expectations about the conventional life-course progression of institutionalized marriage toward the couple on the one hand, and her particularist critique of the behavior of the male protagonist on the other, who is made personally responsible for the violation of those conventions within the framework of the family in question in this chapter. The Mother’s expectations correspond to older generations’ expectations of a conventional life-course management of the couple: courtship-marriage, children/child-rearing, male breadwinner, etc. Wilcox et al., who investigate “America’s retreat from marriage” along with the resulting “growing class divide in marriage” (Wilcox et al., 2015), also identify factors they believe influence the shift away from the conventional institution of heterosexual marriage:

[s]hifts in attitudes, aspirations, and norms, coupled with declining participation in secular and religious institutions, have undercut the social pressure to marry, to have children within marriage, and to stay married. (Wilcox et al., 2015, 113)

Wilcox and his fellow co-authors present a ‘deficit’ attitude toward the demise of the institution of marriage in US society¹² (as well as others) by asserting the increasing prominence of a “less family-oriented, more individualistic approach to relationships, marriage, and family life” (Wilcox et al., 2015, 112) since the 1960s. This development is characterized by the transition from a “cornerstone” to a “capstone” marriage model proposed by (Cherlin, 2010, 114), whereby “[m]en and women become less likely to see marriage as a foundation for adulthood, as the exclusive venue for sexual intimacy and parenthood”. This is also demonstrated in the interactions of the Guy and the Girl in *Un Gars, Une Fille* and is at the heart of the conflicts between the Mother and the Guy, as well as the Mother and the daughter in almost all versions of the series. The characters seem to uphold the conclusion about the more modern forms of marriage that have become:

¹² This is manifested in their view “that adults are less likely to thrive emotionally, physically, and economically outside of marriage, and because children who grow up outside of an intact, two-parent married family are more likely to suffer from psychological and social problems, and less likely to acquire the education and life experiences they need to realize the American dream of stable work and comparatively high income” (Wilcox et al., 2015, 112).

an opportunity for men and women to consecrate their arrival as successful adults, to signal that they were now confident they could achieve a fulfilling romantic relationship built on a secure, middle-class lifestyle (Wilcox et al., 2015, 114).

The male protagonist adheres to this different set of universalist assumptions based on the de-institutionalization of marriage, the Girl’s ambivalent attempts at autonomy, and the lack of validated male gender life-course scripts, which necessitates continuous negotiations between the couple. The Guy is only able to offer a particularist response to the Mother’s universalist critique. Since there is no historical script for the more enlightened male character who nonetheless still comprises a pillar of patriarchy, there is a need for negotiation, conflict management, and experimentation. Even though the couple is unmarried, their relationship closely resembles that of a married household in that they cohabitate and have been committed to each other for many years (cf. Allen & Walter, 2000, 13).

As the ‘third party negotiator’, the Mother character in the various versions displays a wide variety of attitudes toward accepting responsibility for the traumas imposed on the daughter. The attitude prevalent in most of the versions is the denial of responsibility for the traumas of the daughter (Israeli, Latvian, Russian, Slovenian, Spanish), while the Mother in the Turkish version avoids the conflict altogether by escaping the conversation into the kitchen. The Serbian Mother only grudgingly admits to causing the trauma, while the daughter de-escalates the emotionality. The daughter in the English-Canadian version assumes responsibility for her own ‘confusion’ and absolves the Mother of any responsibility whatsoever, while the Polish Mother confesses to responsibility but downplays its significance. Only the Greek Mother confesses to her unwitting responsibility for the traumas after the daughter’s extensive listing of them. Regardless of the question of culpability for the daughter’s traumas, the sad music cues and the transformation of the daughter’s speech from talking in a normal voice to breaking down and crying uphold the morally justified position of the daughter and create empathy with her regardless of how the Mother positions herself with regard to causing the daughter’s trauma.

Further research would be needed to interconnect the narratives in each of the different versions to local discourses on evolving gender and family relations in each of the countries investigated here. Further research would show how additional shots in the scene reinforce the Mother-in-Law’s animosity towards the Guy in the Turkish version by portraying him as a loser with regard to conventional family life-course scripts. This is in keeping with the more conservative outlook of Turkish television series intent on maintaining ‘Turkish’ family structures and identities in the face of rapid social and economic change. Further research would also illustrate more support for the male protagonist, who, despite being a pillar of pa-

triarchy, is nonetheless willing to negotiate greater autonomy and self-realization for his female partner.

A multimodal approach to comparatively analyzing different versions of global scripted television formats, expanded to include software-compiled qualitative and quantitative data, along with supplemental data on narrative structure, content, and sequencing, might offer a path to resolving Kress' assertion on the significance of cross-cultural and intercultural differences in a semiotic object. He states: "The more pronounced the cultural differences, the greater are the differences in the resources of representation and in the practices of their use" (Kress, 2010, 10). While we are not yet ready to make pronouncements about the correlation between the degree of cultural differences and the quantity of cultural resources deployed in representations, our methodology does work in the same general direction by collecting evidence and data on what that might mean.

This touches upon notions of cultural (Moran, 2009; Aveyard & Moran, 2015; Straubhaar, 2007; Chalaby, 2015) and aesthetic proximity (van Keulen, 2016) at the heart of research on global television formats. Kress's hypothesis implies that culturally specific configurations of televisual aesthetic techniques and practices are manifested in a specific configuration in the ensemble of communication modes specific to a particular society. There is currently a gap between what Kress is envisioning on the one hand, and the sophistication of multimodal and narrative research and knowledge on the other such that many more cross-cultural multimodal comparative studies of different television formats must be conducted in order to examine how concepts such as 'cultural differences' are configured in the 'resources of representation', and what the 'practices of their use' look like. For instance, it is not clear how a scholar would quantify or provide qualitative data on 'cultural differences'. The methodology suggested in this paper can be considered some first steps towards quantifying the difficult notion of cultural differences.

A further challenge is the nature of multimodal knowledge and its visual models. Currently, each mode of communication tends to have its own model to represent the knowledge of that specific mode. Music notation, dialog transcriptions, video sequences, editing, conversation analysis, and even Labanotation for physical movement are specific to each single mode of communication and are merely linked together by simultaneous use or depiction in models of audiovisual media such as film and TV. However, what does multimodal knowledge look like when many modes are combined and correlated with each other? At present, there needs to be a way to model multimodal knowledge apart from attempts to bring together disparate (audio-)visual representations. This paper is also a product of this dilemma in that I have chosen tables and bar graphs created with Microsoft Excel to make my points. It would seem that multimodal research also needs to develop

its own, qualitatively more appropriate visual models for presenting multimodal knowledge.

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Learning Science through Generating Multimodal Digital Explanations: Contributions to Multimodality in Educational Practice

Abstract: Communicational, technological, and cultural shifts within science have substantially impacted how scientific understanding is developed and communicated. Accordingly, science learners need to experience teaching and learning approaches that utilize a wide range of multimodal forms and representations to develop content knowledge and communications skills. 'Blended media', for example, provide opportunity for science learners to develop a range of important competencies while working with multimodal representational forms. Research in multimodality has yet to move into the complex learning space of student-generated digital explanations and we contribute to research in the field through this interdisciplinary work that examines the nature of knowledge building as university science students create multimodal digital products. In this research, we have gathered samples of digital products (n=60) created by science learners, interviewed creators and instructors, and conducted case studies to capture the creation process. We have also developed a series of analysis tools to map the field and frame a focused look into how learners use semiotic resources to create the digital media product and examine the effect of the process on the quality of students' learning. This chapter introduces the project while bridging several research areas as we illustrate in our analyses. We draw from theoretical perspectives in science education, cognitive psychology, educational semiotics, and the sociology of education to understand meaning making processes. The chapter introduces our approaches to this interdisciplinary research and develops emerging theoretical and analytical insights as we theorize the learning processes involved in student-generated multimodal digital text creation.

Keywords: multimodality, learning, education, blended media, digital explanations