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Unveiling Monolingualism Issues in Sense8 Series

Tesis de Licenciatura en Lengua Inglesa

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ABSTRACT

The spread and influence of the English language all over the world is a topic of current debate, especially when this may represent a danger for the survival of cultural customs and/ or local languages. In this context, the study of the different ways in which a language can assume the role of a lingua franca, as well as the consequences that this situation may lead to, constitute an enlightening matter of analysis. The use of English as an exclusive language in the Hollywood film productions exemplifies the ideas previously mentioned and demands careful thought and consideration. Even though some research on the topic has been conducted, the peculiarities of the TV series selected for the study propose a new perspective for thorough enquiry. The purpose of this investigation is to examine the extent to which the use of English as a monolanguage in the TV series *Sense8* opposes the human values fostered by the show. Also, the analysis of some strategies used in Hollywood films will be performed to confirm or deny that the use of English can be included into these strategies and does not represent any danger for the ideals promoted in the TV series. In order to demonstrate the concepts aforementioned, qualitative content analysis will be carried out, since the examination of three episodes of the TV series and the literature related to this topic will constitute the corpus of analysis. The present research suggests that even though the exclusive use of the English language is a resource frequently applied in Hollywood industry, it influences and challenges the promotion of the human principles the show encourages.

Keywords: monolingualism – linguistic imperialism – Hollywood industry – *Sense8* – human values.

RESUMEN

La propagación e influencia de la lengua inglesa alrededor del mundo es un tema de debate vigente, especialmente cuando esto podría representar un peligro para la supervivencia de costumbres y/o lenguas locales. En este contexto, el estudio de las diferentes formas en las que una lengua como el inglés podría asumir el rol de lengua franca, así como las consecuencias que esta situación podría acarrear constituyen un revelador tema de análisis. El uso del inglés como lengua única en las películas de Hollywood ejemplifica las ideas mencionadas anteriormente y demanda una cuidadosa reflexión y consideración. Aunque han sido realizadas algunas investigaciones sobre el tema, las particularidades de la serie televisiva seleccionada para este estudio proponen una nueva perspectiva para una cuidadosa indagación. El propósito de esta investigación es examinar hasta qué punto el uso del inglés como monolingua en la serie televisiva *Sense8* se opone a los valores humanos fomentados por el show. Así también, se llevará a cabo el análisis de algunas estrategias utilizadas en las películas de Hollywood para confirmar o negar que el uso del idioma inglés pueda ser incluido dentro de estas estrategias y no representa ningún peligro para los ideales promovidos en la serie. Para demostrar los conceptos mencionados anteriormente, se llevará a cabo un análisis de contenido de tipo cualitativo, considerando que los materiales a analizar están constituidos por los tres episodios seleccionados de la serie y la literatura referente a este tema. La presente investigación sugiere que aunque el uso exclusivo del idioma inglés constituye un recurso usado de manera frecuente en la industria de Hollywood, el mismo influye y desafía la promoción de los valores humanos que la serie promueve.

Palabras claves: monolingua –imperialismo lingüístico – producciones de Hollywood – Sense8 – valores humanos.

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INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM STATEMENT

In 2015, the American film and television directors, writers and producers Lana and Lilly Wachowski composed the science fiction drama named *Sense8*. The show includes two seasons which are available for streaming on Netflix.

The story portrays the lives of eight strangers from around the world who discover at some point of their lives that they belong to a distinctive group of human beings who possess a mental and emotional bond, the so-called 'sensates.' As the story unfolds, they learn they have certain abilities, such as travelling through time, communicating telepathically with each other and being able to speak the same language, among others. Throughout the story, the characters are confronted with diverse obstacles, many of them in relation to identity, sexuality and gender which may be overcome with the help of their peers.

Many cities around the world were chosen as real-world settings to shoot most of the scenes. The on-location shooting may be considered an asset as it collaborates with the overall understanding of the story and, more importantly, it contributes to procure an accurate perception of the characters' realities. However, the fact that the protagonists are provided with the possibility of interacting with peers in their local environment does not mean that all of them may use their own native languages to do so. In fact, English is the only language used as a means of communication, to the detriment of the local languages. Even though the use of the English language may be justifiable for some of the characters due to their nationalities, occupations or social status, acceptable reasons for its use are hard to find in the case of others who are not American or belong to lower social classes.

It is widely known that the economic power of the United States of America has led to an extraordinary spread of the English language throughout the world. In the same vein, the American cinematographic industry has flourished since its very beginning, becoming an unquestioned leader in the field with films and TV shows being broadcasted in many countries all over the world. These affirmations originate the thought that the American supremacy mentioned above may be the reason why the cinematographic industry is allowed to make certain choices as regards the content and features of the shows they produce. This may constitute a valid argument since there is an audience which accepts and consumes the products in the way they are presented. Nevertheless, the fact that the TV series *Sense8* is based on the ideas of acknowledgement and promotion of individual values, the use of English as an only language appears to be a contradiction.

This finding has resulted in great interest to begin conducting this study. The lack of investigations on this matter has motivated the development of this work, in which diverse aspects regarding monolingualism in the TV series *Sense8* will be examined to confirm or deny its interference with the principles this show intends to emphasize.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Audiovisual media is regarded as complex texts in which elements such as image, sound and speech are combined in different ways to convey meaning. This multi sensorial experience has led to the development of many theories which intend to explain and differentiate this particular art from others, including literary texts and theatre plays. This is the case of David Bordwell, whose work *Narration in the Fiction Film* (1985) presents a full description of the process carried out to elaborate the

principles that rule films and explains how new ideas were replacing previous concepts throughout the years. Moreover, the role of the spectator is also depicted starting with a passive viewer who little by little assumes a more active position.

In relation to this, we strongly believe that the analysis of aspects regarding the spectator's reactions towards films is essential, since the promotion of individual rights is highlighted in the TV series *Sense 8* and the omission of local languages as one of those rights may pass unnoticed by the audience. In his work, *Film Language* (1971), Christian Metz provides a psychological explanation as to how the impression of reality affects the spectator's responses towards films. In the same manner, the anthology *The Philosophy of Film* (2005) presents Murray Smith's theory about the internal processes necessary to create emotional responses to fictional characters. He describes recognition, alignment and allegiance as the three levels of engagement that make possible the sympathy with the protagonists, allowing not only an understanding of the characters and their contexts, but also a judgement of their actions and behaviour.

The supremacy of the English language and its use in the American industry are issues illustrated by different authors. In his essay, *English as a Global Language* (1997), David Crystal examines historical, political and economic questions in relation to the spread of the English language and how it came to be considered a global language. In addition to this, notions of linguistic imperialism and the term 'linguicism' have been elaborated by Robert Phillipson in his work *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992). Here, the author sheds light on ideas about the global dominance of the English language and demands fundamental changes to protect local languages. In more recent works, Phillipson has referred to Hollywood cinema as one of the factors that have contributed to the spread of 'linguistic imperialism', and calls for actions to try to reverse this situation in favour of the minorities' cultures and languages.

OBJECTIVES

The TV series *Sense8* has proved to be a real success mostly among minority groups which have praised the fact that their members could feel identified with some of the characters and conflicts portrayed in the story. Nevertheless, a debate on the choice of English- only remains open. In consideration of this, we intend to

- explore and define questions of singularities of the genre, authorship, audience reception and transmission of ideology.
- explore the representation of minorities in the story and the role of native languages as major constituents of the individuals.
- define and amplify the notions of linguistic imperialism and monolingualism in the American film industry
- confirm that the use of English as an only language interferes with the ideals furthered by the plot or not.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES

Taking into account all the ideas aforementioned, this paper will try to answer the following question:

- Up to what extent can the election of English as the only language used for communication be considered a contradiction between the values the TV series aims to promote and the message it actually conveys?

Two hypotheses are derived from the research question:

- 1- The use of English as the only language used for communication constitutes one of the many commercial strategies used by the American film industry to achieve success and by no means does it affect the ideals fostered in the TV

series in any way.

- 2- The fact that English was used to substitute local languages in some scenes reveals an inconsistency between the values the TV series intends to encourage, such as the respect for diversity and human rights, and the neglect of native languages as constitutive elements of the individuals.

METHODOLOGY

The works of Crystal, Phillipson and Bleichenbacher in relation to film theory and the hegemony of the English language, in addition to a selection of episodes from the first season have been opted for a thorough analysis. *Limbic Resonance* (episode one), *What's Going on?* (episode four) and part of *Art is a Religion* (episode five) have been chosen as representative of the most important aspects to be examined in this paper. A rigorous reading and watching of the selected materials will be carried out to validate one of the previously mentioned hypotheses. Other sources of knowledge including other authors' considerations, statements made by the directors and critics' reviews, among others, will be considered for the purpose of enriching the investigation and providing a clearer perspective to achieve the objectives proposed.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

The body of work will be divided into different sections. The first one will consist of an introduction, in which some background information, the objectives of the investigation, the research question and two hypotheses will be presented.

Chapter 1 will be devoted to the presentation of the theoretical framework selected for the analysis of the content. It will include concepts regarding the international status of

the English language and its implications developed by authors such as David Crystal, Robert Phillipson, Sameer Ahmad Dar and Roomiya Manzoor. Moreover, issues in relation to language choices explained by Carol Myers-Scotton and Lukas Bleichenbacher will be added to this section. Also, this chapter will contain Catherine Belsey's notions about meaning, as well as Reine Meylaerts and Adriana Serban's ideas regarding multilingualism in films. Finally, some definitions on authorship by Andrew Sarris will be included.

The second chapter will present the methodological approach selected for this investigation, along with its historical background and the description of some features which may be useful to support the election of the method opted for.

The third chapter will cover the study of the episodes of the TV series selected for analysis, trying to establish a connection between them and the ideas proposed by the authors introduced in the first chapter.

Lastly, the conclusion of this work will be presented, more precisely, we will try to corroborate whether the use of English as a monolanguage in the TV series *Sense8* constitutes an inconsistency and interferes with the human values promoted in the show.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

DAVID CRYSTAL: THE RISE OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

David Crystal¹ (2003) claims that the English language has reached the status of a 'global language' due to the special roles it plays in every country. One of them is as a *first- language*, which is the language spoken in a country -usually called *mother-tongue*. In order to be considered a global language, a mother- tongue needs to be adopted by other countries around the world, since mother-tongue use by itself cannot give a language a global status. Crystal affirms that this can be done in two ways. First, a language can be made an *official language* or *second- language* with the purpose of complementing the mother tongue on issues concerning the government, the law courts, the media and the educational system. Second, a *foreign language* with (or without) official status could be made a priority by introducing it in the teaching of children at school and making it the most available to adults who have little or no mastery of it for any reason. According to Crystal,

English is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language – in over 100 countries, such as China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt and Brazil – and in most of these countries it is emerging as the chief foreign language to be encountered in schools, often displacing another language in the process. (p. 5)

The fact that English may be used as a first- language, second- language or foreign- language makes it the language used by more people than any other language. The reason behind this phenomenon seems quite clear to the author. Even though the number of speakers of a language could be assumed as crucial to determine its global

¹David Crystal is an Irish writer, editor, broadcaster and lecturer .He has written about 100 books in the field of language and became known chiefly for his research work in English language studies, in such fields as intonation and stylistics and in the application of linguistics to religious, educational and clinical contexts.

scale; in fact, the power of the people who speak it is what determines its permanence in time. In Crystal's words:

There is the closest of links between language dominance and economic, technological, and cultural power, too, and this relationship will become increasingly clear as the history of English is told. Without a strong power-base, of whatever kind, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. Language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it. Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails. (p. 7)

The author also points out that the need for a global language becomes greater if the objective is to assure effective communication among linguistically mixed communities. In the past, the presence of interpreters who translated oral texts in human interactions constituted the only resource to exchange ideas, but with the passing of time the communities' reliance on individuals to ensure proper communication did not seem to be enough. Hence, the finding of a common language or *lingua franca* appeared as a solution to this problem, making communication accessible not only for international political forums but also for international academic and business communities all over the globe. As regards the present time, Crystal concludes

There are no precedents in human history for what happens to languages, in such circumstances of rapid change. There has never been a time when so many nations were needing to talk to each other so much. There has never been a time when so many people wished to travel to so many places. There has never been such a strain placed on the conventional resources of translating and interpreting. Never has the need for more widespread bilingualism been greater, to ease the burden placed on the professional few. And never has there been a more urgent need for a global language. (p.14)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM:

PHILLIPSON'S CRITICAL VIEW.

Robert Phillipson ²(1997) also recognizes the significant position that the English language has achieved throughout the years and agrees with Crystal on the roles it may play in different places. Nevertheless, he provides a critical view as regards the ideological content the terminology may be loaded with. For instance, when the terms language and dialect are in dispute, the expression *mother tongue* is preferred since elements such as origin, function, competence, self identification, identification by others as well as the acknowledgment that an individual can have more than one mother tongue constitute the defining criteria. Even so, the term may present some ambiguities, as it may refer either to the language of the biological mother or father or a local vehicular language. Also, the terms *national language* and *official language* may lead to confusion. Whereas the first can be defined as the language of a political, social and cultural entity; the other refers to the language used in the three areas of government - executive, legislative and judicial. Although either or both can serve the purposes mentioned, their designation may be associated with biased predispositions. That is, the term *national* tends to refer to the past, present or future for socio-cultural authenticity in the ethnic area, while *official* tends to be related with current political operational needs. The author affirms that in places like Africa, where foreign European languages are considered official languages in detriment to the national languages, these terms seem to be problematic since ‘the linguistic heritage of the nation is undervalued and marginalized’ (p.41). The term *lingua franca*, which is frequently referred to as the dominant international languages which happened to be the former colonial languages, is also a term that shows ambivalence. Based on this definition, the English language could be regarded as a *lingua franca*, but Phillipson warns of the dangers of considering

²Robert Henry Lawrence Phillipson is a Scottish professor, best known for his seminal work on linguistic imperialism and language policy in Europe. In his 1992 book, Phillipson made the first serious and systematic attempt to theorize linguistic imperialism in relation to English language teaching.

English as the only lingua franca eligible for virtually all significant purposes. In this respect, the author claims:

...the placing of English in a category of its own, superior to all other languages which are merely lingua francas or vernaculars, is a clear example of colonialist discourse being used here as the neo-colonialist order was ushered in. (p.42)

Phillipson argues that the terms used in relation to language and imperialism can reflect a European way to conceptualize issues with the purpose of reinforcing Eurocentric myths and stereotypes. Even though the notion of imperialism was closely related to missionary roles based on explicitly racist premises, a modern theory of imperialism includes the dominance of one society by another by using different means. The theory includes the division of the world into two: a dominant Centre (the powerful western countries and interests) and the dominated Periphery (the so-called under- developed countries)³. According to author, this is how the system operates:

There are centres of power in the Centre and the Periphery. The Peripheries in both the Centre and the Periphery are exploited by their respective centres. Elites in the centres of both the Centre and the Periphery are linked by shared interests within each type of imperialism, and it is claimed here, by language. The norms, whether economic, military or linguistic, are dictated by the dominant Centre and have been internalized by those in power in the Periphery. The interlocking of the various types of imperialism can be seen in the way cultural imperialism serves to reproduce the material conditions for exploitation (an economic- reproductive function) and to legitimate exploitation (an ideological- reproductive function).[...] Language is the primary means for communicating ideas. Therefore an increased linguistic penetration of the Periphery is essential for completing the move away from crude means, the sticks of colonial times, and even the more discrete means of the neo colonialist phase of asymmetrical bargaining to the neo- colonialist control by means of ideas. (p.53)

Although much of the analysis in relation to imperialism has to do with economic factors, later versions include political, social and ideological dimensions of

³Most countries of the European Union as well as the U.K., Norway, Iceland, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are considered western countries. Under-developed countries include some African and Asian countries, such as Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Central African Republic and Ethiopia, among others.

exploitation and integrate them in a coherent whole whose objective is to try to explain the structure which perpetuates inequality in the world. In reference to English in particular, the author claims:

A working definition of English linguistic imperialism is that the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. Here structural refers broadly to material properties (for example, institutions, financial allocations) and cultural to immaterial or ideological properties (for example, attitudes, pedagogical principles). English linguistic imperialism is one example of linguistic imperialism, which is defined as ‘ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language.[...] English linguistic imperialism is seen as a subtype of linguistic imperialism. (p.47)

The imperialism theory elaborated by the author represents a global theory which attempts to show and explain the structural relations between rich and poor countries and the mechanisms utilised to maintain the inequality between them. The English linguistic imperialism, the global dominance of English and the efforts to promote the language are key factors to promote the ‘Americanization’ or ‘Westernization’ process, necessary to maintain the asymmetrical relationship between the Centre and the Periphery. Cultural imperialism constitutes a theoretical construct formed by sub types such as, scientific, media, educational and linguistic imperialism; being the last one the necessary vehicle to permeate all others, since language is the means to mediate and express them.

SAMEER AHMAD DAR AND ROOMIYA MANZOOR: COLONIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

British colonization has played a central role in the development of English as a worldwide language to the detriment of local languages. The spread of the British Empire implied the practice of power in extending control over weaker peoples or areas with a subsequent maintenance, expansion, and exploitation of the colony. A common feature of colonialism is given by an unequal relationship between the colonial power and the colony and often between the colonists and the indigenous peoples. As Sameer Ahmad Dar and Roomiya Manzoor⁴ (2017) note,

European colonialism started in the fifth century and achieved its zenith in point in the late nineteenth century. At the tallness of European colonialism, more than seventy five percent of the earth had had a place with the European nations Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Germany. These colonial powers were keen on expanding their own political power and exploited the colonies assets. The colonial powers trusted that a colonized country which received and appreciated western culture would no longer oppose the colonies occupation. In British colonies, for instance, the colonized population had to convert to Christianity, learn the English literature in schools. Colonial powers continuously claimed that third world countries were inferior and required western help and assistance in order to progress moral integrity and financial wealth. (p.213)

European colonialism influenced Africa, Indian sub-continent, Caribbean Islands and South America colonies. In the British colonies in particular, the English language was introduced in education and administration matters. North America, Australia and Canada also faced the impact of colonialism and finally adopted the English language as their mother tongue. During British colonialism, the dominance of English was remarkable and the imperialism of the English language is still evident in the modern world even after the end of the colonial period. Indeed, the fact that English is not seen as something forced from the outside any longer develops an increasing

⁴Mr Sameer Ahmad Dar and Dr Roomiya Manzoor's work was published in 2017 by the International Research Journal of Commerce, Arts and Science. The CASIRJ is the committee through which experts in the field of study assess the quality of articles/journals that are submitted to it for publication. It is an open access journal that publishes high-quality research articles, all areas of Commerce, Arts and Science.

acknowledgment regarding the convenience of its use to benefit international communication. As a result, English has attained the status of a world's principal international language, which serves the purpose of effective communication mostly between non-native speakers of the language.

At present, English is considered an authority language in more than 60 nations. The vast majority of the logical, mechanical and scholastic data worldwide is communicated in English and more than 80% of all the data put away in electronic recovery frameworks is in English. In consequence, the learning of English becomes critical since it is required in the best works advertised. The authors conclude

In this manner, colonialism impacted the world and changed radically regarding society, education, science, correspondence and so on. The British expansionism presented English language in the nations administered by the British and now it has turned into a worldwide language with the underlying foundations of the British dominion in the past and the cutting edge colonialism of America. Also, English is a simple, adaptable and versatile language when contrasted with different languages, for example, French, Spanish, German, Chinese and Russian. At the point when the subject without bounds of English emerges, there is no certain answer in light of the fact that the impression of the English language is permanent on this world. (p.216)

LANGUAGE CHOICES IN HUMAN INTERACTIONS. CAROL MYERS-SCOTTON: THE MARKEDNESS MODEL.

Myers- Cotton⁵ (2006) claims that there exist different models which help to understand the language choices that bilinguals make in interactions with each other. One of them is the Communication Accommodation Theory, which considers adjustments speakers make toward the speech of their listeners. The second approach is called conversational analysis; it views social meanings as a product of the conversation itself as they are co-

⁵Carol Myers-Scotton (born 1934) is an American linguist. She has authored or coauthored over 100 articles and book chapters in linguistics, primarily in the areas of contact linguistics, sociopragmatics, bilingualism and African linguistics. Much of her attention has been spent explaining the social and cognitive aspects of code-switching and bilingualism.

constructed by participants; language choice is part of this construction. The last one is the Markedness Model, which attempts to explain language choices as negotiations of self-identity and desired relationships with others. This model, which was selected for the analysis of social interactions in this study, is centered on the notion that speakers make choices because of their own goals. Its main aim is to establish a principled procedure that both speakers use to judge the possible linguistic choices they can make or hear as more or less marked in an interaction. The author explains the procedure in this way:

As part of our communicative competence, and based on experience in our communities, we develop a sense that there is a continuum of choices for a particular interaction type that are considered unmarked. Recall that our communicative competence involves structures that are innate, but also includes what is stored and assembled in the course of language use. (p. 159).

The unmarked choices are the ones expected taking into consideration the components of the interaction such as participants, setting topic, etc. The author makes reference to a set of the normative expectations for each interaction type and calls it Rights and Obligations set (RO set) which refer to an unmarked way to behave. Concerning language, the unmarked choice represents the linguistic reflection of any specific RO set, but only in a specific interaction type. The selection of the unmarked choice does not attract any attention since participants expect such a choice, based on experience. Some examples are described by the author:

...for bilinguals in France, the unmarked choice to use in a government office is French, not any other languages that they speak. Or, for most Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States (especially if they are recent arrivals), the unmarked choice to use to elderly relatives at family gatherings is Spanish. (p.159)

As regards decision making and values considered to determine what is unmarked, Myers- Cotton claims that the cultural values which regulate the norms of a community may constitute the criterion for the election. These values prevail in in-group circumstances, whereas in out-group, status-raising situations it is the more dominant members who can influence the unmarked choice. This is the way it works:

If the boss wears a suit to the office and says wearing a suit shows an attitude that the job is serious business, then junior partners (at least those who aspire to occupational mobility) will wear suits, too. (p. 159)

On the other hand, marked choices are the ones that are not predicted, given the RO set that is in effect. The speakers make marked choices based on a negotiation principle, that is, a negotiation for an RO set other than the one that is unmarked for the current exchange is made by the speakers in order to call for a new situation. According to the author, each interaction is different in terms of marked / unmarked choices and requires a negotiation about the speaker's persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants. Myers- Cotton exemplifies this view:

A young man from the rural areas comes to Nairobi, the national capital of Kenya, to visit his brother at his brother's office. The brother has an important white-collar position at the national utility. The unmarked choice would be for the brother to greet the young man in their shared ethnic group language. Instead, the city brother greets the rural brother in English, an official language in Kenya and the language that is common in higher-level business offices. What is the city brother doing by this choice? He is basically treating the rural brother as if he were like any friend or acquaintance who comes into the office. Given that the visitor is his brother, not to greet him in their shared language is a marked choice. His choice of English downplays the ethnic connection he has with the rural brother. Why would he do this? If we recognize the expectations of many rural people about their city relatives – relatives who have salaried positions – a likely explanation is this: The city brother suspects the rural brother is there to ask for a loan or some other favor, and the city brother is letting him know that ethnicity won't get the rural brother anything special. But, at the same time, the city brother risks alienating his rural brother, as well as the folks at home who will hear about this encounter. (p. 161)

A relevant aspect about this model is the fact that the speakers use their minds to make choices according to the best outcome they can get. They weigh the relative costs and rewards of speaking one language rather than another as regards language choice but, in doing so, the speakers also consider their own values and beliefs. So it can be said that rational choices are subjective, with the emphasis on mental calculations about getting the best possible result.

The use of two language varieties in the same conversation is called code-switching. It can happen between speakers, or between sentences in the same speaker's turn, or even within a sentence. Code-switching may serve many purposes according to the different contexts. In some cases it may represent a bid to establish a shared group membership; in others, it can be used to level inequalities between speakers being a neutral choice in this sense. Marked choices in code-switching are often used to assert attributes on the power dimension. In some communities, code-switching itself constitutes the unmarked choice, since switches may have their own social messages. Moreover, a pattern of constant switching may have its own meaning. In effect, such code-switching conveys the message of dual identities or memberships in both of the cultures that the languages index.

LUKAS BLEICHENBACHER. THE REPLACEMENT STRATEGIES IN HOLLYWOOD FILMS.

Lukas Bleichenbacher⁶ (2008) analyses a common feature in Hollywood film dialogues; the use of English where other languages would have been used by the fictional

⁶Lukas Bleichenbacher grew up in England and Switzerland, and studied English and French in Zurich, Dublin (UCD) and Geneva. His research interests include sociolinguistic approaches to multilingualism and language choice, language ideologies, the study of media discourse, and language policy analysis. He

characters. So, ‘German composers, Russian submarine commanders, and Polish pianists speak English, rather than – more logically – German, Russian, or Polish.’ (p. 179). In the author’s view, there has been a tacit agreement between critics and audiences to sacrifice realism in order to benefit comprehension. Still, the languages that characters would have used in reality are not always entirely eliminated; in fact, there are ‘different linguistic and non-linguistic means to make the process of replacement, as well as the nature of the replaced languages, obvious to the viewer’ (p.180). These are called *replacement strategies* and may vary from the complete elimination of languages other than the base language to their complete presence. Bleichenbacher explains the classification system developed by the scholar Petr Mareš (2000a, 2000b, 2003) in this way:

The taxonomy focuses on characters’ direct speech, since that is the preferred site for other languages to appear. Mareš’s central notion is that whenever another language would be used by a character within the reality of the story (“in the fictional world”; Mareš 2000a: 51), the narrator chooses whether to represent the other language faithfully or to replace it, either through complete elimination or one of two intermediate strategies, signalization and evocation. (p.180)

The strategy by which any speech in another language is replaced with an unmarked standard variety of the base language is called *elimination*. Here, no linguistic means are offered to show that the other language has been replaced. As a consequence, only a correct interpretation of contextual evidence would corroborate the impossibility that the characters would have really used the base language. This extra linguistic information may be given by geographical settings, that is, nations, states or famous cities are usually associated with their own languages; so, this may help the audience to make sociolinguistic inferences. In some cases, the viewers’ previous knowledge lets

has published on ideological aspects of language choices and policies in Switzerland and Slovakia, and on the representation of multilingualism in contemporary Hollywood movies.

them know the real language spoken by the characters even when they speak in English. For the ones who lack this prior knowledge, naming the geographical location of the scenes (mostly shown as superimposed titles), showing well-known landmarks or exploiting the conventional meaning of symbols on flags, may constitute beneficial strategies to permit the spectators' awareness. An example of superimposed titles is described by the author,

‘...in the opening scene of *The Pianist*, where “WARSAW 1939” can be read: the viewer knows that the setting is Polish, and an educated guess is that the English spoken replaces the Polish language or, possibly, any other languages spoken in Central and Eastern Europe during the period.’ (p.183)

Signalization is defined as the literal naming of a language in the text. Although it is shown as a straightforward and useful technique, it demands the attention of the viewer at the very moment when the name of the language is uttered. Besides, it requires careful consideration as regards its appliance, since a recurrent use in the same text may sound strangely redundant (unless the reasons for such metalinguistic comments are justified by the narrative). Bleichenbacher adds:

‘...in Mareš’ approach, signalization is only used with reference to written texts, but not cinematic ones. For the latter, evocation appears as a more sensible strategy, because it permits the viewer to keep the replaced language in mind throughout the movie.’ (p. 185)

Another replacement strategy commonly used in films is *evocation*. It can be defined as the use of the base language characterized by the interference from the replaced language. When a marked variety of English is used as a base language, a special situation takes place,

‘...its main shortcoming lies in the fact that an L2 variety (such as English with a Spanish accent) is used to replace what in reality would be an L1 variety of Spanish (or

any other language). This paradox can cause a number of problems. Firstly, it can fuel language ideologies according to which anybody who is not an L1 speaker of English is somewhat linguistically challenged. Secondly, there is the challenge of distinguishing instances of evocation from conversations where the (same) characters are indeed speaking English, as L2 users with the same accents or other interference phenomena.

Moreover, a very ignorant viewer might even be tricked into the belief that English is the only language spoken around the world – “natively” by its L1 speakers and with funny accents by everyone else. Finally, an overall use of L2 accents by every character runs counter to an important narrative convention: the use of non-standard language for contrastive characterization only. It is probably this last feature which explains why the extent to which evocation characterizes the speech of different characters varies greatly in many movies. (p.186)

Evocation can be observed at phonology (L2 accents) and lexis (code-switches into the other language for certain words or phrases) levels as its preferred sites. In relation to acting, lexis appears to be more convenient since imitations of accents seem to be more difficult to perform than the utterance of words or phrases in unknown languages. Still, this could be solved by offering the L1 speakers of the replaced language the roles in which they would have to perform the requested accents. Nevertheless, this could not be possible in the case of Hollywood productions, as stars whose first language is English are the ones chosen to play the main characters. In some cases, the English-speaking actors who play the leading characters may be able to utter an L2 accent, or indeed abstain from doing so completely. Another strategy is the use of words or expressions which contain a high cultural specificity from the replaced language. This may be the case of given names, greetings and terms of mild or strong abuse. In the case of replacement films, characters typically bear names that are obviously non English, and their effect can be reinforced when culture-specific naming patterns are portrayed. Some examples are described by Bleichenbacher:

‘These include Russian names, where the first name is usually followed by a patronym, as in *Golden Eye*, where General Ourumov is addressed as Arkadij Grigorovich in one scene. Another example is hypocorisms (nicknames based on personal names) derived via language-specific word formation processes. In *Amadeus*, the German hypocorisms

for Wolfgang and Constanze, Wolfie and Stanzi, can pass as German as well as American English – however, the latter hearing is encouraged by Constanze’s pronunciation of the first vowel in Wolfie as [‘vɔlfi] rather than German [‘vɔlfi]. In contrast, a clearly non-English abbreviation of a first name is used in *The Pianist*. The protagonist’s first name, Wladyslaw, is replaced by Wladek by his family members and his close friends... ‘(p.188)

The last strategy to be described has to do with a partial presence of the replaced language in the use of filmed writing as well as in unrealistic code-switches. In the first case (the replacement of other languages in writing) the falsification of the depicted reality becomes evident since the strategy moves a step forward from just the aural replacement. ‘While viewers can put up with English-speaking characters in 1940 Warsaw, an English billboard in their background would certainly be met with puzzled reactions.’ (p. 189). As a result, the linguistic landscape of the films; for instance, public signs and filmed documents remain in the original language. In some films, bilingual signs in English and the replaced language are incorporated, which fulfills the aims of realism and comprehension at the same time. As regards the unrealistic code-switching, it can be argued that this strategy operates exclusively on the level of narration, and not within the story. It constitutes a highly marked phenomenon as it exposes the semiotic absurdity of replacement by contrasting it with the more realistic presence. The author claims:

‘...while the unrealistic nature of the code-switch is foregrounded by the cinematographic technique, the linguistic context is skilfully adapted to embed the code-switch in the conversation and even lend it some pragmatic likelihood.’ (p. 192)

Even though this strategy shows the replaced language straightforwardly (being this a remarkable advantage), issues of misinterpretation may still arise in that

‘...viewers can still be tricked into believing that the characters would really have code-switched into English, especially since the unrealistic code-switches occur in a pragma

linguistic environment favourable to code-switching, [...] If this is the case, the impression one might get is that conversations may well begin in other languages, but should be carried on in English thereafter.’(p.194)

CATHERINE BELSEY: AN ANALYSIS OF MEANING FROM A POSTSTRUCTURALIST VIEW OF LANGUAGE.

In a broad sense, a language can be defined as all signifying systems, including images and symbols, which can give us access to information. During the process of learning their own native language, people learn to invoke the meanings other people employ and only by using them appropriately -subscribing to the meanings already given, a dialogue is possible. Nevertheless, it is not only meaning what a language transmits. According to Belsey ⁷(2002),

In learning to use words like 'democracy' and 'dictatorship' appropriately, for instance, Western children find out about political systems, but they also absorb as they do so the value their culture invests in these respective forms of government. For better or worse, Western children learn early on, without having to be explicitly taught, that dictatorship is oppressive and democracy so precious that it is worth fighting for. In many cultures, the flag is the visual indicator of a national identity that must be defended – by force, if necessary. (p. 4)

As a result, it can be argued that in learning a new language, a transmission of cultural values - the knowledge and the norms of the previous generations, is ensured. If this is so, it can be said that meaning is not at our disposal. On the contrary, it is meaning what controls us, making us obedient to the discipline inscribed in it. In the case of language, it never remains the same. It can be altered by the introduction of new words and

⁷Catherine Belsey (13 December 1940 – 14 February 2021) was a British literary critic and academic. Her book *Critical Practice* (1980) was an influential post- structuralist text in suggesting new directions for literary studies. She has consistently aligned herself with international innovations in the theory and practice of criticism. Besides her profuse scholarly writing, Belsey often expressed her beliefs in the values of socialism and the importance of the humanities.

expressions, which can only be accepted as long as others adopt the changes. The author offers a poststructuralist view about the matter,

Poststructuralism names a theory, or a group of theories, concerning the relationship between human beings, the world, and the practice of making and reproducing meanings. On the one hand, poststructuralists affirm, consciousness is not the origin of the language we speak and the images we recognize, so much as the product of the meanings we learn and reproduce. On the other hand, communication changes all the time, with or without intervention from us, and we can choose to intervene with a view to altering the meanings - which is to say the norms and values – our culture takes for granted. The question is just the one Humpty Dumpty poses: who is to be in control? (p.5)

Most of the time we are not aware of the language we speak and the importance it has; our only concern is what can be done with it. Apart from survival, language is crucial in our lives, determining our social relations, thought processes and the understanding of who and what we are. In spite of doing it unconsciously most of the time, we classify according to the system of differences the language already provides. The distinctions we make are produced by the symbolizing systems we learn when we incorporate our mother tongue. We do it at such an early age that we cannot see more than a transparent window onto a world of things, even the imaginary ones. In Belsey's view, ideas are the product of the meanings we learn and reproduce; so, each language represents a way of understanding the world, of differentiating between things and relating them to one another. '(p. 10). During imperialist times, many nations tried to impose their own worldviews on other cultures, but the multicultural⁸ societies that have resulted from the ending of the empire seem to be more generous as regards the recognition of other networks of differences. This situation is exemplified by the author,

⁸In this sense, the term multicultural refers to the mixture of perspectives that result from the reorganization of the prevailing power structure, and the creation of space in which multiple voices from the margins can be heard and respected, for the purpose of creating tolerance and forbearance for the others and bringing racial/ethnic prejudices to the negotiating terms.

The Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o wrote his first works of fiction in English. Later, it came to seem to him that this practice conceded too much to the influence of the former colonial power, and the continued economic and cultural neo-colonialism of the West. However 'African' the content and themes of his early novels, the novel itself was a European genre, its structure reproducing a Western pattern of thought; moreover, the English language could not do justice to Kenyan perceptions of the world. He then began to write in Gikuyu, drawing on indigenous forms of narrative and drama. (p.10)

MULTILINGUALISM IN THE FILM INDUSTRY: A HISTORICAL REVIEW.

REINE MEYLAERTS AND ADRIANA SERBAN

In the past, cinema was regarded as a universally understandable medium in which meaning was mostly conveyed by images. With the passing of time this concept was reformulated and nowadays films are seen as multisemiotic⁹ texts, in which meaning is the result of a dynamic interaction among image, sound and speech. Foreign languages and translation have played a central role in the development of the film industry. Long ago, translation was not considered a valid resource; but, in order to promote the spread of films around the world, the introduction of intertitles was necessary. In the late 1920s with the birth of talking films, translation became more important and also more problematic. In order to find a solution, the American film companies started producing multiple-language versions of the same film until the early 1930's. Later on, dubbing and subtitling appeared as different ways of translation. Meylaerts¹⁰ and Şerban¹¹ (2014) claim:

⁹In the context of this investigation, multisemiotic systems can be understood as semiotic systems that operate in parallel in the carrying or creation of meaning, working together within one and the same context.

¹⁰Reine Meylaerts (1965) is a member of the Research Group Translation and Intercultural Transfer at the KU Leuven. She teaches in the fields of Comparative Literature, Sociology of Literature, Translation and Multilingualism, Western Literature. Her current interests concern translation policies for minorities, migrants and refugees, intercultural transfer and contemporary settings. Reine Meylaerts has written or edited more than 150 articles, chapters and books on these topics.

When characters' speech is dubbed, the original disappears, as in so many other types of translation where the target text replaces the original. Still, dubbing retains its specificity in comparison to other forms of translation because of the multisemiotic nature of film: to convey meaning, a dubbed translation interacts with images, music, gestures, non-verbal sounds, etc. Dubbed films lose their linguistic foreignness and become local linguistic productions. [...] Just as in literature, film – or at least the linguistic make-up of films – was thus closely associated with the nation, and with national economic, artistic, and ideological interests. Subtitling [...] has the particularity of always creating multilingualism: even the subtitling of monolingual characters' speech adds an extra layer of multilingualism to a film, as surtitles do in theatre and opera. Subtitles and surtitles translate oral speech into written language, and both the original and the translated version remain accessible to the audience, like in a bilingual text edition or a bilingual website. (p.6)

Multilingualism and translation in films characterize the production process, the finished products and the reception by the audience since they constitute key aspects in relation to the collaborative production process of many films, which involve directors, teams of actors and technicians with various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, they are essential when multilingual products need to be presented to audiences with different linguistic backgrounds around the globe. The authors add,

Multilingual interactions in cinema can take the form of code switching, code mixing, intralinguistic variation (sociolects, dialects, regional variants, archaisms, idiolects), invented languages (especially in science-fiction films), or, quite simply, silence. [...] All of these instances of multilingualism can have more or less important intradiegetic functions in terms of themes, story lines, character portrayal, voice, and point of view. But they also fulfil an extradiegetic role, and are used for the sake of authenticity or exoticism. But, of course, multilingualism does not always make its way into film, theatre, or opera. Sometimes viewers are invited to suspend disbelief and accept that not only English but also Dutch, Italian, Brazilian, or Chinese characters represented on screen express themselves in English (or whichever the language of the film happens to be) in contexts in which they would normally use another language; (p.7)

¹¹Adriana Serban (1954) is the author of : La traduction audiovisuelle: Approche interdisciplinaire du sous-titrage.

Since the 1980s and 1990s, the production of multilingual films has been on the increase due to economic motives, that is, the desire to please and attract audiences over the globe has made foreign actors star in Hollywood films, and taken place in foreign locations. As a result, a larger and more authentic representation of the non-American world has fuelled multilingualism in the film industry. As the authors note,

Multilingualism is, then, negotiated through complex and diverse translation types, strategies and processes: dubbing, subtitling, voice-over, surtitling, audio description, non-translation, standardization, condensation, deletion, reformulation, normalization, and many more. In other words, translating multilingual films, theatre performances and operas is a considerable challenge. (p.10)

Even though multilingualism represents a challenging enterprise, some advantages can be recognised. By making communication and mediation more visible, it helps to develop the multilingual imagination of the audience; for instance, to visualise a world in which communication among people may require the assistance of interpreters and translators. Besides, although the translation of multilingual cultural products may lead to conflict by emphasizing the internal tensions within cultures, it may also be an engine for positive change.

THE AUTEUR THEORY: ANDREW SARRIS' ANALYSIS.

Andrew Sarris¹² (2005) develops some concepts in relation to what is called the *auteur* theory. As regards the cinema, he agrees with the idea that a director is the author of a film, in that they provide the films with distinctive qualities. He defines three premises

¹²Andrew Sarris (October 31, 1928 – June 20, 2012) was an American film critic. He was a leading proponent of the auteur theory of film criticism. Sarris is generally credited with popularizing the auteur theory in the United States and coining the term in his 1962 essay, "Notes on the Auteur Theory," Sarris wrote the highly influential book *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions 1929–1968* (1968), an opinionated assessment of films of the sound era, organized by director. The book would influence many other critics and help raise awareness of the role of the film director and, in particular, of the auteur theory.

of the auteur theory. The first one has to do with 'the technical competence of a director as a criterion of value'. He explains,

A badly directed or an undirected film has no importance in a critical scale of values, but one can make interesting conversation about the subject, the script, the acting, the color, the photography, the editing, the music, the costumes, the decor, and so forth. That is the nature of the medium. [...] Now, by the auteur theory, if a director has no technical competence, no elementary flair for the cinema, he is automatically cast out from the pantheon of directors. A great director has to be at least a good director. (p. 105)

The second premise is the 'distinguishable personality of the director as a criterion of value.' Their 'signature' should appear in the recurrent characteristics of style over a number of films. A correspondence between the director's thoughts and feelings and the way the films look and move must be easily recognized. The third premise has to do with interior meaning, that is, the tension that exists between the director's personality and their material. The author clarifies the concept:

This conception of interior meaning comes close to what Astruc defines as *mise en scene*, but not quite. It is not quite the vision of the world a director projects, not quite his attitude toward life. It is ambiguous, in any literary sense, because part of it is embedded in the stuff of the cinema and cannot be rendered in noncinematic terms. Truffaut has called it the temperature of the director on the set, and that is a close approximation of its professional aspect. Dare I come out and say that what I think it to be is an *élan* of the soul? [...] ...all I mean by 'soul' is that intangible difference between one personality and another, all other things being equal. Sometimes, this difference is expressed by no more than a beat's hesitation in the rhythm of a film. (p.105)

These three premises of the auteur theory could be illustrated as three concentric circles: the outer circle would be the technique; the middle circle, the personal style; and the inner circle, the interior meaning. So, it can be claimed that the director should fulfill the roles of a technician, a stylist and an *auteur*, no matter the order in which they

achieve these goals. Even though at the present the technical side could be performed by an expert production crew, the pattern of a genuine director could be identified after a number of films.

The *auteur* theory aims to focus on the body of a director's work in order to provide a tentative classification, but this represents an enormous effort since there is a constant change; some *auteurs* rise, others fall, and some will be displaced either by new ones or by rediscovered ancients. Besides, the revaluation of films is permanent so the end will never be in sight. Sarris' major expectation is 'of great directors that they make great films every so often.'

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach selected for this paper corresponds to the category of media content analysis, considering that an audiovisual text -in this case the TV series *Sense 8*, was selected to explore an underlying phenomenon which may be interpreted in different ways and generate public controversy. In addition, a qualitative research method was implemented since the study of written, vocal and sign language (descriptive data) constitutes the fundamental matter of exploration and analysis.

Besides, the property of being a non-invasive method made qualitative analysis the most suitable choice, as neither surveys nor social experiences were planned to be included in the present study.

Content analysis can be defined as a research tool that can be applied to the study of texts of different formats (written, oral, iconic, audio-visual and hypertexts) to identify, analyse and interpret meaning in recorded forms of communication. This technique is commonly used to examine patterns in a replicable and systematic manner to describe or explain a phenomenon. In relation to its history and development, Philipp Mayring (2000) claims that different phases of content analysis can be distinguished: precursors, communication theoretical foundation, interdisciplinary broadening and differentiation, and phase of qualitative critics. During the precursors phase, different approaches to analysis and comparison of texts in hermeneutic contexts could be found; such as bible interpretations, early newspaper analysis, graphological procedures, up to the dream analysis by Sigmund Freud. As regards the communication theoretical foundation phase, the basis of quantitative content analysis had been laid in the USA during the 20's and 30's of the 20th century and the first textbook about this method had been published. In the phase of interdisciplinary broadening and differentiation, the methodological approach found its way into linguistics, sociology, psychology, history

and arts, but with more refined procedures, in the sixties of 20th century. As regards the phase of qualitative critics, since the middle of the 20th century a growing concern was raised against a superficial analysis without respecting latent contents and contexts, working with simplifying and distorting quantification objections.

In general, researchers can conduct content analysis in two different ways, quantitatively when they apply statistical methods with a capacity to produce generalizable findings; or they can use qualitative methods to examine meanings of content within texts. In fact, qualitative analysis is used to gather and analyse non-numerical (descriptive) data to explore complex phenomena or to gain insight into people's experiences and perspectives on a particular topic. It constitutes the type of research applied to understand the meaning that people attach to their experiences or to uncover the underlying reasons for people's behavior. Qualitative content analysis is considered a non-invasive method, as researchers are allowed to carry out investigations and analyse social phenomena without simulating social experiences or collecting survey answers. Qualitative methods include: ethnography, discourse analysis, grounded theory, and interpretative phenomenological analysis, understanding people's attitudes, beliefs, and motivation.

Macnamara (2017) affirms that in terms of content analysis, the quantitative research method has been preferably implemented throughout history. Nevertheless, the qualitative method is being incorporated by an increasing amount of researchers, giving rise to 'mixed method approaches'. This new conception has originated a 'paradigm battle', which comes evident in definitions and descriptions of content analysis.

Regarding the relevance in relation to the addition of the qualitative method to content analysis, Macnamara rightly observes:

Importantly, in terms of methodology, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) go on to note that “reducing large amounts of text to quantitative data ... does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes, since texts may contain many other forms of emphasis besides sheer repetition” (32). Similarly, in discussing media content analysis in *The Media Book*, Chris Newbold, Oliver Boyd-Barrett, and Hilde Van Den Bulck say that quantitative content analysis “has not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” and advocate attention to qualitative approaches as well (2002: 84).

In his widely-used text on social research methodology, W. Lawrence Neuman comments on the quantitative-qualitative dichotomy in content analysis: “In quantitative content analysis, a researcher uses objective and systematic counting and recording procedures to produce a quantitative description of the symbolic content in a text” (2006: 323). But he adds that “there are qualitative or interpretative versions of content analysis.” Noted media researcher Charles Wright said content analysis “may involve quantitative or qualitative analysis or both” (1986: 125). Berg (2007) advocates what he calls a “blended” approach [...] Several other media researchers, including James Curran (2002) and David Gauntlett (2002), also refer to quantitative and qualitative content analysis and view the approaches as complementary in determining the likely meanings for and impact of media content on audiences. (p.3)

Apart from the previously mentioned controversy, another debate in connection with the focus of attention in texts takes place. That is, whether it is the manifest content (what is visible in texts), or latent messages and potential meanings as well (what is implied in texts) what requires entire consideration. The election between qualitative or quantitative analysis, as well as how coding is conducted depend on this. Macnamara expands this idea:

Manifest content is obvious—it consists of the words, phrases, and images such as photographs that appear in content. In semiotic terms, analysis of manifest content is based on denotation—what is explicitly signified. Neuendorf describes the latent meanings of content as “consisting of unobserved concepts that cannot be measured directly” (2002: 23). Berg (2007: 242) refers to analysis of latent content as “an interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data,” which others refer to as semantic analysis (Neuman 2006: 326). Latent analysis can also reveal conceptual frameworks that underpin what is written or said, such as deregulation, privatization, colonization, or technological determinism. Thus, coding of latent content seeks to understand connotation in semiotic terms. Analysis of latent messages and potential meanings in content requires a qualitative approach, as it involves interpretation rather than simply counting. (p.5)

Qualitative content analysis employs different techniques borrowed from other types of analysis, such as textual analysis, rhetorical analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, semiotic analysis, and interpretative analysis. As regards the hermeneutic tradition (i.e., interpretation), two approaches are utilized: narratology and semiotics. The first analyses the structure and choice of words used in a narrative in order to convey meaning, whereas the second draws the attention to signs and sign systems in texts and the readers' possible interpretations of those signs.

Media content analysis is a sub-set of content analysis, which applies a systematic method to study mass media as texts, including interview transcripts, film narrative and forms, TV programmes and content of newspapers and magazines. For instance, an in-depth exploration of content of media reporting and social media comments allow researchers to recognise topics that constitute matters of debate or public interest and identify the recurrence and dominance of particular views and messages with no need of human contact. In the same way, deductions regarding policies, views and intentions from different sources can be made by using this methodology without having any connection with those sources.

In the case of the present study, the process of analysis began with a close observation of the exclusive use of English by the characters represented on the screen as a recurrent feature of the TV show, followed by the formulation of one research question and two hypotheses which would be confirmed or denied at the end of the on- going investigation. Later on, a thorough search for useful data was carried out, accompanied by a close reading and watching of the selected material. After the information to be examined in this study had been properly organized, the writing- editing process was

initiated. It seems relevant to note that in the course of the writing process, extra sources of knowledge were found and incorporated with the purpose of enriching this inquiry.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

The fact that the English language has been chosen as the major language for communication among characters in the TV series *Sense 8* constitutes a matter of analysis from different perspectives. One of them has to do with the consideration of English as a world language. As Sameer Ahmad Dar and Roomiya Manzoor (2017) state in their work:

By the turn of millennium, English emerged as a global communications phenomenon with a supra-national momentum and as a language perfectly suited to the twenty-first century. The wide spread use of English simply reflects both the historic spread of the British Empire and the current importance of the US in the world economy. The English language is important in the world today because of the dominant position of the United States in an increasingly globalized world and it is important for countries across the globe to do business and for communication with America. Today, the dialect and culture of America is impacting the perspectives and activities of individuals and nations over the world. (p. 216)

For his part, David Crystal (2003) agrees with this view and adds that even though the intrinsic linguistic properties related to its 'simplicity' were evaluated when trying to explain the reasons why it became an international language, it turned out to be that external factors concerning questions of power were determinant in the emergence of English as a global language. This power can be noticed in different areas but, concerning the study in question, it is indispensable to mention the undeniable growth and dominance of the American film industry after the First World War, which was possible thanks to the development of the Hollywood paraphernalia as well as the introduction of spoken English as soon as the sound was added in films. These key factors enormously contributed to the spread of the language around the globe. An issue associated with the vast presence of English in the world, which could be useful to examine the election of this language in the TV series, has to do with some terminology that has been coined throughout the years as regards the status of languages in different

nations. For instance, *national language* is a term defined by the UNESCO¹³ as ‘the language of a political, social and cultural entity’, whereas an *official language* is a language used in the business of government –legislative, executive, and judicial. Robert Phillipson (1992) argues that although the same language can play both roles, a difference between them can be established, being the national language the one connected to the past and ethnic issues, and the official one used in current political-operational areas. Also, the term *lingua franca* deserves some consideration; since it is used to describe the language used by different groups of people each speaking a different language in order to achieve an effective communication among them. In this respect, Phillipson highlights the ‘tendency to promote English as the only lingua franca which can serve modern purposes’(p. 42), reinforcing the idea that English is seen as the most eligible language for all significant purposes.

Some scenes from the TV series may be useful to exemplify the concepts aforementioned. In episode 1, one of the sensates called Sun is introduced. She is a Korean business woman who helps her father and younger brother to run the family company in Seoul. Sun is portrayed working in her office when her secretary tells her over the intercom that Joong-Ki, her brother, is not there and a businessman who has just arrived is looking for him (14:22). Sun decides to replace her brother and meet Mr. Yuen at the conference room. The businessman rushes into the office and Sun greets him by saying ‘Ni hao’, which means ‘hello’ in Korean. He says, ‘Ahhh, the sister’ (14:41). Soon after that, he demands to know Joong-Ki location. Sun tries to justify her brother’s absence and offers to go over the proposal they have to discuss. The businessman argues that he is there ‘to close ‘and continues, ‘women don’t close things. They open them’ (14:59). Then, the businessman starts arguing about Sun’s brother’s

¹³ UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

presence. Suddenly Joong-Ki opens the door and welcomes Mr. Yuen in a very informal way. Later on, the brother asks Sun to take them two cups of coffee.

The use of English as a lingua franca in the entire dialogue among the characters could have been acceptable since we consider the fact that the persons involved in the interaction do business internationally and English could be regarded, as previously stated, as the most eligible language to achieve their goals. However, the fact that the speakers share the same linguistic code (Korean), which is confirmed with the use of the expression used for greeting, makes it difficult to understand the choice of English as the language for communication.

In another scene from the first episode, Kala (an educated Indian woman in her thirties) is shown having a conversation with her father in his restaurant in Mumbai (17:17). The topics of conversation are mainly marriage and work. Her father tries to persuade her not to go to work as her wedding day is getting close. Kala makes clear how important her job is to her and says, 'You sent me to university to get a degree, not to find a husband' (17:35). Kala's father agrees on that and mentions the contradictory feelings he is experiencing in relation to the upcoming wedding. On one hand, he cannot deny his happiness about the fact that Kala is getting married, but on the other hand he acknowledges how sad he feels when he thinks about giving her daughter over (17:59). Later on, Kala is shown entering a temple with an offering in her hands. After ringing a bell she approaches an altar and kneels. She starts talking to the image of Ganesha - the Indian god most Indian people worship (33:35). She tells him about the offering she specially prepared for him and the reason why she is there. Kala provides details about her future husband Rajan; the place where they met, his feelings about her and the social position he occupies. In relation to this, Kala referring to her parents' reactions to the proposal claims '...I have never seen my parents so full of joy as when they received

his proposal. I thought they were excited when I received my degree from university. Maybe you saw my dad dancing around the house.’ She continues saying that she could not refuse since, according to people’s opinions including her mother’s astrologer, Rajan was the perfect husband for her (35:12). At this point, Kala’s face turns sad and she finishes her monologue by saying that her concern is that she does not love her fiancée.

The use of English in both scenes constitutes an aspect of analysis. It must be acknowledged that both English and Hindi are considered official languages in India. This is expected since the country constituted one of the most valuable English colonies in the XIX century. However, if close attention is drawn to the two scenes in which Kala appears –the one at her father’s restaurant and the other at the temple, it can be observed that both of them portray everyday environments in which people gather either to share a meal or worship their gods respectively. They are supposed to be friendly atmospheres in which relaxed and intimate interactions may occur. The proper expression of a person’s inner thoughts and feelings is expected, so the use of the mother tongue in those contexts may have been the most sensitive option to convey the pursued meaning. Some other details from the scene at the temple accompany the appropriateness of the view previously stated. It could be inferred that people in the background may have been speaking Hindi, since the sounds that could be heard do not correspond to the English language. Moreover, the signs hanging on the temple walls were not written in English, which suggests that Hindi may have been used there as well.

In the same manner, the two brief scenes that correspond to the introduction of Wolfgang –a young German man who lives in Berlin, are characterized by the use of the English language in social areas in which the use of German –the national language

would have been expected. His first appearance is in his grandfather's burial ceremony in which a priest is giving a speech in English (18:09). Soon after that, he can be seen in a procession along a street exchanging some words with his close friend Felix. His cousin interrupts the chat to mock them for being petty thieves (19:00). His second entrance is at a cemetery, in which his grandfather is being buried. His uncle asks him to pay respects to his father who is also buried in the same place (26:16). Wolfgang walks towards his father's tombstone, looks at it for a few seconds and pees there in clear evidence of his feelings towards him (26:53)

Although it cannot be denied that English is a language largely used in Germany, the fact that all the signs on the streets that could be observed during the procession were written in German may have allowed the use of the characters' native language in both, informal conversations among members of the family as well as public speeches –as in the case of the priest's words at the cemetery. This could have provided a sense of concordance between the written and oral discourses.

ENGLISH AND THE MARKEDNESS MODEL

Another aspect of consideration regarding the use of English as the primordial means of communication among characters in the TV series has to do with the possible acknowledgement from the screenwriters of the existence of models that may explain conversational choices. These models emphasize the role of individuals in negotiating their way through everyday interactions taking into account the interpersonally based motivations to choose to use one language rather than another – or to choose both – in a given interaction. This analysis can be carried out considering the fact that the sensates acquire the ability of 'sharing' once they are born as a cluster. This means that they have access to each other's knowledge, language and skills. As a result, it can be said

that the characters can be regarded as multilingual. Carol Myers-Scotton (2006) has developed what she calls the Markedness Model. She states that this model is centered on the notion that speakers make language choices because of their own goals. She claims,

The Markedness Model tries to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. The procedure that is used is this: As part of our communicative competence, and based on experience in our communities, we develop a sense that there is a continuum of choices for a particular interaction type that are considered unmarked. Recall that our communicative competence involves structures that are innate, but also includes what is stored and assembled in the course of language use. (p.158)

As Myers-Scotton notes, the unmarked choices are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction (participants, topic, setting, etc.). When a speaker makes an unmarked choice, he or she is causing no social consequences since participants expect such an option, based on experience. On the other hand, the marked choices are those that are not predicted, given the normative expectations that are in effect. The speaker making a marked choice is calling for a new situation, for a new rights and obligations set to be in effect. A marked choice is a negotiation about the speaker's persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants. Thus, making a marked choice is a negotiation about either the solidarity or the power dimension (or both).

Code switching issues constitute major elements of analysis. In terms of this, Myers-Scotton adds:

Across the world, highly educated immigrants in the high-tech and scientific communities of the United States and Britain also make such a pattern of codeswitching their unmarked choice for in-group conversations. Many of these immigrants come from the Indian subcontinent. In their jobs, they probably speak English almost exclusively. But at home and with friends from their own ethnic group, they often speak their L1 (for example, Hindi) and English in a codeswitching pattern. (p.167)

In this respect, some scenes from the TV series may be analyzed in order to try to determine the role of English during the interactions among characters. In one of the scenes Capheus' friend and partner called Jela is standing at a side door of their van which is still parked, as not enough passengers have arrived. He is whistling and speaking out loud, probably in Swahili, trying to attract the passengers' attention. Suddenly, he is interrupted by a woman who is already on the van. She needs to know when they are leaving as she is in a hurry. Jela asks Capheus to start the journey but he refuses as the amount of passengers they have gathered is not enough yet to make a profit. Then, Jela claims, 'We don't need customers, we need a Facebook page' (27:39).

Concerning the languages chosen for the scenes, it may be stated that the code-switching between English and Swahili found in the passage before mentioned appears to be challenging to account for. According to the model being used for this analysis, people make choices bearing in mind which ones will bring them the best outcome. In regard to language choice, they weigh the relative costs and rewards of speaking one language rather than another. The fact that Jela uses his mother tongue Swahili to try to get new commuters and switches into English when he speaks to the people on the van may be explained according to the model being used. In this case, the use of English could represent the marked choice, in the way it may provide the matatu with a kind of international status, noting that the black vehicle is entirely decorated with images of the American film star Jean Claude Van Damme. Conversely, the use of Swahili to attract new passengers could be considered the unmarked choice, as it may represent a bid to establish a shared group membership (solidarity) with the people from the village who may feel identified and tempted to become customers.

As regards code switching matters above mentioned, it can be argued that although the exact example of the immigrants' situation is not present in the TV series, it may be

interesting to note that the character of Kala possesses some characteristics that could go along with these concepts: For instance, the use of the English language at work, providing that she is a chemist, would be the unmarked choice since English can be regarded as the language chosen for communication in the scientific circles. Also, as the author poses, the use of Hindi or even the code switching pattern among family and friends would have been the unmarked choice. Despite all these, English is the only language used in the interactions, which would constitute a marked choice according to the model's perspective.

In relation to the sense of solidarity aforementioned, another passage can be subjected to study. Lito is a Mexican actor who is starring in an action film in Mexico. He plays the role of a hero called 'Tino El Caído'. He is shown in a church, walking along the aisle with a gun in his hand (13:02). As soon as he is approaching the altar, a priest and a nun can be seen on the scene. The former is leaning over as if he was praying whereas the latter starts running towards Tino. She begs him not to kill the priest but Tino says that it is too late. After the priest asked if he had come to confess his sins, Tino answers 'No, padre' and he continues, 'I have come to blow your fucking brains out' pointing the gun onto the priest's head (13:31). At that moment, the priest interrupts the shooting of the scene stating that Lito was going off script. From that moment until the end of the scene, Lito and the film director have a small conversation in which the latter wants to know what is happening with Lito as he cannot remember his lines. Lito acknowledges that he does not feel himself, and the director emphasizes that he needs Lito to be that gay, 'Tino elCaído'. And he repeats, 'I need you to be 'Tino el Caído', 'Tino el Caído' cabrón, in order to encourage Lito to improve his performance.

Both the film lines and the conversations among actors and director are in English, a fact that could be easily justified taking into consideration that films are sometimes

produced by companies from different countries and the products may be broadcasted all over the world. Following this line of thought we could imply that English would constitute the unmarked choice, since there could have been workers from different nationalities and English would function as a lingua franca. Consequently, the choice of the Spanish word ‘cabrón’ would be regarded as the marked choice if it is linked to the context in which it was uttered. The director may be indexing an assumed common Mexican identity to make Lito recognize that he is providing him with a linguistic display, which will be appreciated. The use of Spanish may suppose a strategic interaction resource (one connoting solidarity), used as a means to achieve the director’s goal, in this case the improvement of Lito’s performance.

ENGLISH AND THE REPLACEMENT STRATEGIES.

The last point of view to be considered regarding the election of English as the principal means of communication involves the intentional use of the base language of narration to replace other languages that would have been used by the fictional characters. Even when the depicted story would realistically have taken place in different linguistic settings, the base language replaces the language(s) in varying degrees. This phenomenon is a common feature in Hollywood productions and it is known as ‘linguistic replacement’.

Mareš’s¹⁴ (2000a, 2000b, 2003) based his taxonomy of representations of multilingual discourse of a continuum from the complete elimination of languages other than the base language, or one of two intermediate strategies, signalization and evocation, to their complete presence. The taxonomy examines characters’ direct speech, since it is the chosen site for other languages to appear. The evocation strategy above mentioned

¹⁴Mareš’s (1954) is a Czech author. He is a linguist specialised in bohemian linguistic studies field. *Fiction, convention and reality: On multilingualism in artistic text, Multilingual communication and the movie and “Alright: hello!” Aspects of textual multilingualism* are some of his works.

can be defined as the use of a marked variety of the base language, characterized by interference from the replaced language. In relation to this, Bleichenbacher, (2008) states:

A further strategy is the use of words or expressions from the replaced language which, due to their high cultural specificity, index a different language and are hard to render in English anyway [...] Two further categories of culture-specific expressions are greetings and terms of mild or strong abuse. (p.188)

As regards the presence of other languages other than the base language, Bleichenbacher exemplifies a sub category called ‘partial presence’. In his own words:

Replacing other languages in writing can be considered a very marked strategy because it results in a visual, rather than just aural, falsification of the depicted reality. While viewers can put up with English-speaking characters in 1940 Warsaw, an English billboard in their background would certainly be met with puzzled reactions. Therefore, the linguistic landscape of the movies, which includes public signs as well as filmed documents, are usually left in the original language. (p.189)

The author also claims that the function of the signs left in the original language is one of ‘mere realism’ and it is not necessary for the viewer to read and comprehend the signs at this stage. If the information carried by the sign were highly relevant for the narrative, translation into the base language would be needed. Of the two most obvious strategies, a character reading the sign in the base language or a subtitle being added can be chosen.

In the case of the TV series *Sense 8*, English constitutes the base language that ‘replaces’ other languages which would have been used by characters within the reality of the story (“in the fictional world”; Mareš 2000a: 51). In this way, the expression ‘Cabrón’, which corresponds to the scene in the church previously described, could be assumed as an example of ‘evocation’, since their equivalents in the base language may not express the meaning desired. Another example in which the strategy of evocation

may be found is in the scene on the van in which Capheus's friend switches from Swahili to English and vice versa. This may correspond to an 'interference' at the level of lexis, that is, the introduction of a number of short code- switches from the base language into the language the characters would really be speaking in an utterance that would have been monolingual in the origin language in reality.

As regards the strategy known as 'partial presence' several examples are found in the TV series. For instance, in one of the scenes in which Wolfgang appears, the street signs that could be observed during the procession were written in German. In the same way, the posters hanging on the temple walls where Kala goes to pray to her god Ganesha appear to be written in Hindi. In both cases, no further translation seemed to be necessary, in that the signs do not carry essential information which could have hindered the understanding of the narrative.

All things considered, it can be argued that the decision of the filmmakers to have their characters speak in English-even if in reality they would have used other languages, may present advantages but also dangers. That is, even though some of the replacement strategies can be useful to fulfill various narrative and symbolic functions, they carry the risk of leading to misinterpretations of the depicted reality associated with specific and potentially unfavourable aims of characterization.

LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM

The Hollywood tendency to promote monolingualism in films presents the English language as a neutral lingua franca. In Phillipson's opinion, this is exactly the opposite; English should be considered a culturally and ideologically biased medium. The concept of Americanization or Westernization developed by the author supports the idea that the West or as he calls it the 'Center' (the USA) pursues to establish a cultural

imperialism by using different means. He agrees with Schiller¹⁵ (1976) on how the concept of cultural imperialism can be characterized,

...the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system. (p.9)

Considering Schiller's previously stated definition, Phillipson adds:

His definition meshes usefully with the definition of English linguistic imperialism: English is the language in which this incorporation is taking place (form), and the structures and ideologies connected with English operate globally (content). If 'Americanization or Westernization is what Schiller is describing, then English is the key medium for this process' (p.59)

In relation to this idea, Phillipson claims:

...the means used for this purpose are manifold: commercial products of all kinds, films, television serials (the USA dominates telecommunications and satellite communications worldwide), advertising agencies abroad (the majority of which are American), youth culture...' (p.58)

In specific relation with questions of language status, the term 'linguicism' is defined by Phillipson (1992: 47) as 'ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language'. He sets the English linguistic imperialism as an example of linguicism and adds that it also 'permeates all the other types of imperialism since language is the means used to mediate and express them.' The author has repeatedly characterized Hollywood cinema as one of many factors that contribute to the linguistic imperialism that is justified by linguicist discourse. Consequently, it may be claimed that film dialogues are

¹⁵Herbert Irving Schiller (November 5, 1919 – January 29, 2000) was an American media critic, sociologist, author, and scholar. He earned his PhD in 1960 from New York University. Schiller warned of two major trends in his prolific writings and speeches: the private takeover of public space and public institutions at home, and U.S. corporate domination of cultural life abroad, especially in the developing nations.

interesting and relevant texts for analysis in their own right, in that they may reflect and transport prevalent ideologies, including linguistic ones.

Several examples of Americanization are spotted in the TV series. In episode one, Capheus is shown leaving his poor house and walking through the village to go where his matatu is parked. Once he gets there he says, 'When the streets are a jungle, there can only be one king' (20:41) looking proudly at his van. It is a black vehicle entirely decorated with images of the American film star Jean Claude Van Damme (20:48). On one side of the matatu it can be observed the words 'Van Damn' making a pun on the name of the Belgian actor. Capheus gets on the van and sits on the driver seat waiting for the passengers to arrive. In another passage already mentioned, Jela and Capheus have a conversation on the van about the lack of passengers they could gather. Then, Jela claims, 'We don't need customers, we need a Facebook page' (27:39). Just at that time both friends see another more modern van full of passengers which is passing by. Capheus reflects on the fact that maybe the time of his old van is over but Jela, drawing a parallel between the matatu and the actor Van Damme, encourages him to continue fighting.

In episode 4, Capheus and his mother are chatting in their poor home in Bombay (09:50). Many elements in the house and the way they dress suggest that they belong to a very low social class. Capheus' mother is ironing a shirt using a charcoal iron in a room which serves the purposes of a living room, bedroom and kitchen at the same time. She regrets having spent all her son's money on the medicine to treat her illness. Because of this, she considers herself a 'bad' person (10:02). Capheus disagrees with her and reminds her that they went to that place to make money and be happy and healthy. He jokes about going to the world naked without her, in allusion to his lack of ability to iron his clothes properly. He promises to bring some more water when he

comes back home and kisses her goodbye on the forehead. He asks her not to worry since he has the feeling that it will be a really good day (10:39). He leaves the house and walks through the village. The neighbourhood is shown in full. People walking along muddy paths, improvised selling stalls and attached old houses roofed with rusty sheet metal are its striking features. Capheus walks towards the place where his matatu is parked and surprisingly, he can see that it is full of passengers. As he approaches, people surrounding the van say hello to him in Swahili. In the same way, Jela greets his friend by saying, ‘All aboard the Van Damn, the safest bus in and out of Nai-robbery!’(11:04), referring to a previous episode in which Capheus, using Sun and Will’s fighting skills, defeated some thieves when they attacked him and tried to rob the matatu. Jela adds another comment, but this time in Swahili (11:18).

Also in the same episode, Kala’s arrangements for her wedding are taking place (04:26). An adjustment to the service has been suggested by Rajan. The future husband proposes to exchange rings, which is not a usual custom in Hindu wedding ceremonies since Indian couples do not wear them. Even though the wedding organizers highlight that the traditions have to be respected, Rajan’s father focuses on the need to adapt old traditions to the XXI century. The organizers claim that the ceremony with both services will be extremely long unless the priest gets some payment to make it shorter (05:03). Rajan insists in including the exchange of rings as a symbol of his commitment and as a public statement of his bond of love for her fiancée. Later on, Kala is seen entering the temple in Bombay (18:30). When climbing up the stairs, she can see several posters on the walls showing the faces of Rajan and her father. At the entrance she is intercepted by a Hindu priest who tells her that he knows who she is and warns her about the dangers of letting Rajan and her future father in law get away with their plan. The man accuses them of trying to destroy India by stripping away its traditions and turning the country

into America (19:01). Kala refuses to believe such a thing but the man shows her a pamphlet with information about how they use their money to buy politicians' will to be able to accomplish their goals. The priest adds, 'We are pledged to come here every day and pray for their deaths. Pray with us. Pray to Ganesha to destroy our enemy before they destroy us.' Kala appears to be confused but continues her way to the temple without providing any answer.

The last example in relation to Americanization issues is shown almost at the end of episode 4 when Riley, the Icelandic DJ, starts listening to the song What's Goin' On? by 4 Non Blondes on her mobile phone. Immediately after that, the entire cluster is portrayed singing and dancing it in the different locations they are at the moment.

The scenes described above contain noticeable features which show the extent to which American culture may be characterized as influential in the lives of non- American citizens. In the case of Capheus, they are represented by the Van Damme illustrations on the van, some references to his films ('When the streets are a jungle, there can only be one king' and Jela's comment about never giving up), as well as the mention of the American social media Facebook as a necessary tool to call the potential passengers' attention.

Also, some elements which reflect the optimistic American style usually shown in films could be identified in this segment. The fact that Capheus and his mother moved to the place where they live now to 'make money and be happy and healthy' may be associated with the idea of the American Dream. This concept has to do with the ideal by which equality of opportunity is available to any American, allowing the highest aspirations and goals to be achieved. Besides, the fulfilment of Capheus' prediction when he sees the van full of passengers as well as the allusion of the matatu becoming 'the safest bus in and out of Nai-robbery' (after Capheus alone defeated several

opponents resembling his idol Van Damme in the action films), can be considered as 'fantastical' features representative of some American films.

As regards Kala, although the idea of the rings exchange in the wedding ceremony is presented as a romantic gesture, another view indicative of the way American customs could gradually become part of, or directly replace the cultural traditions of a community are noticeably represented. In addition to this, the passage in which Kala is informed about Rajan and his father's intentions for India in the future shows openly in what way the Americanization of a country would constitute a real threat to its culture. It is significant to mention the inconsistency found between the content of the dialogue between Kala and the priest (the Indian values that the priest appears to be so worried about) and the means of communication chosen for that purpose (the dialogues entirely in English among the characters).

Finally, the situation in which the eight sensates sing and dance the same song in English at the same time -without considerations of time and place, confirms the continuity of the trend in which American elements appear as if they were common to people from all over the world.

FILM DIALOGUES: THE SPECTATORS' VIEW.

As mentioned earlier, film dialogues can be perceived as elements of analysis in which dominant values and ideologies may be evident. In Bleichenbacher's words:

Film dialogues can be considered, just like school curricula, as a result of a language planning process, enacted by agents such as the production company, the director and screenwriter, actors, dialogue coaches and audiovisual translators. These agents' decisions on questions such as the storyline, setting, location of photography, casting of actors, or length of dialogue all influence the movie dialogue on the screen, and the characterisation of monolingual or multilingual individuals that the viewer gets as a result of production,'(p.157)

And he adds,

... it seems that the use of replacement strategies in Hollywood movies is strongly bolstered by a preference on the side of filmmakers to adhere to norms and ideologies of monolingualism. (p.181)

Along with Bleichenbacher's notions, when interrogated about the scenes in which a shift between English and some local languages occurs among characters Michael Straczynski, one of the co-creators of the TV series, provides a polemical explanation:

They're speaking their languages wherever they happen to be, we're just hearing it as English. But we then expose that conceit. For instance, the first time Sun (Bae Doona) and Capheus (Aml Ameen) meet in person, he's speaking his language and she's speaking hers, and they don't quite understand, then suddenly they begin to understand each other. We don't see that they're all speaking English. They're speaking their own language. When we're among them, we hear it as English, but it is in reality their own language. We do play with the fact that they are speaking different languages.... There's a scene where Wolfgang (Max Riemelt) and Kala (Tina Desai) meet for the first time, not in person obviously, but he's in the restroom and she's in her room, and he's doing his business and he burps and she, in Indian, starts speaking to him, and he responds in German. It had subtitles.

Even though Straczynski's argument may be acceptable in terms of Hollywood requirements for films, the spectators' expectations about this issue constitute an engaging aspect of study. In this respect, Bleichenbacher continues:

Still, many would agree with what Kellman (2000: 110) considers a piece of "conventional wisdom in Hollywood": that, with very few exceptions, "Americans do not go to movie theatres in order to read". (p.181)

The viewers' reactions in relation to this affirmation could be found in different websites containing information on a wide range of films and TV series from all over the world. Any internet user who has signed up to the sites can read and contribute to the message boards. The boards function as asynchronous chat forums where users can either respond to an existing topic with nested posts, or start a new discussion.

Relating the issue of monolingualism in the TV series *Sense 8*, many viewers have expressed their concern and opened up discussions about the unrealistic tone that the English-only election has given to situations in which local languages would have been used in reality. The responses which are against this position support diverse arguments. Some people claim that the show was made for English audiences, so they would rather hear their own language (English) than read subtitles. Others state that subtitles would have been unbearable and they would not have watched the series if they had been asked to jump from hearing to reading. The last ones remark that the use of English is supported by the plot, since the sensates' minds are linked and possess the ability to 'share' knowledge, including the languages they know.

Regardless of these opinions, interesting arguments in favour of multilingualism have been observed. Some contributors make a plea for the introduction of the characters' own languages since, in their opinion, it would favour the generation of a more realistic atmosphere. Some others complain about the impossibility of listening to new languages which would be spoken in the cultures portrayed in the show. Finally, some viewers manifest the sense of incertitude they felt when watching certain scenes, mostly the ones in which the sensates meet for the first time, since these situations are the only ones in which the characters start the conversations in their own languages and change into English after some exchanges. These scenes take place in episode 5 and are described below.

The first meeting takes place between Lito and Sun. Lito is in Mexico getting ready to shoot a scene for a new film. He is talking with the make-up artist about feeling bloated that day. On the other hand, Sun is in her flat in Korea, she does not feel as well as she is having her period. (03:19). She passes by the mirror in her room and, apart from her own reflection, she sees Lito. The same happens with Sun; Lito is sitting in front of the

mirror in the make-up room and sees Sun passing by. At this point, both of them stare at each other with awe and Lito asks her: 'Eres de verdad?' Then, she looks at him and asks the same question in Korean. None of them answers, so to try to prove if what they are seeing is real, they touch the mirror with their index fingertip. Apparently, they could feel the presence of the other sensate since they uttered a sound of surprise.

Immediately after this, the images come to normal, each one seeing their own reflection but wondering about the confusing episode (04:14).

A similar situation happens with Raily and Capheus during their first meeting. Capheus is walking along a muddy path in Kibera, Nairobi when he sees Riley, who is in the living room, in the flat she is staying in London. Both can be seen in the two places simultaneously. Unlike Lito and Sun's encounter, they do not seem to be surprised at each other's presence. Capheus starts the dialogue by saying something in Swahili, to which Riley answers, 'I don't understand.' Capheus smiles and says, 'You speak English.' She asks, 'you speak English?' 'Oh, yes,' he says and he adds, 'I speak very good English'. After this, the dialogue about the places where they are as well as the weather in each place continues in English. The loud noise and lights of a vehicle approaching in Nairobi interrupt the communication. (10:11)

The exchange of words between Kala and Wolfgang is longer. She is in her bathroom in Mumbai getting ready to go to bed, whereas Wolfgang is in a pub with his friend Felix (27:40). Wolfgang, who is visibly drunk, goes to the toilet and that is the place where they met. Indeed, they talk to each other but they do not see each other in person, something that did happen in previous episodes. Both speak in their native languages Hindi and German respectively. The interaction starts when Wolfgang listens to Kala's voice in the toilet and asks if there is a woman in the men's toilet. Kala answers that she is in her bathroom, something that Wolfgang does not believe since he can hear her

voice near him. He tells her that she might be drunker than him, to which she replies that he is the one who is drunk (28:26). The dialogue continues until Wolfgang responds to her last comment in Hindi, and in that moment Felix, who entered the toilet some minutes before, asks (in German) what language he was speaking. Wolfgang appears to be confused about the whole situation and does not give any answer (29:13).

Capheus and Sun meet on the street. While Sun is walking along a busy street in Seoul, Capheus is doing the same but on a crowded street in Nairobi. Suddenly they have exchanged places and now Sun finds herself walking in Nairobi and Capheus in Seoul. Once they meet face to face the dialogue starts (37:22). It is similar to the encounters above mentioned. They speak in their languages Swahili and Korean to ask about the places where they are. After Capheus answered in Korean, the rest of the conversation continues in English. Sun says, 'Do you speak Korean? Do you speak Swahili? , asks Capheus. How are we understanding each other? He continues. Sun says she does not know. Capheus smiles as he appears to have found the answer; he says 'You are the spirit of Jean- Claude. I felt your spirit in me. You are a very good fighter' (37:56) The rest of the conversation is about the personal issues each of them is going through in their lives and the importance of not feeling alone in the world.

After all these, it can be said that the laziness represented by the idea that the use of the English language may be justified by the sensates' psychic connection that makes them able to understand everything they think and say, does not overshadow the concern of many viewers about the producers' idea of 'global communication' as a setting where everyone speaks in accented English, rather than just expressing themselves in their respective languages and letting subtitles do the rest.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL LANGUAGES.

As stated before, there are many reasons why the introduction of the local languages would have enriched the TV series *Sense 8*. In Meylaerts and Şerban's words,

...the spectators' mastery of each of the languages involved, as well as their proximity or distance with respect to the cultures which are depicted, will inevitably have a considerable influence on their processing of the dialogues and of the visuals, and affect the way in which they perceive the narrative and the characters. (p.3)

As Albornoz¹⁶ and García Leiva¹⁷ (2016) note,

Advocating linguistic diversity is an imperative for the international community, as every language reflects a one-of-a-kind vision of the world, with its own value system, its specific philosophy and its particular cultural characteristics. A language provides support to an identity and is an essential element of an irreplaceable cultural wealth. (p.15)

In connection with this concept, Phillipson (2002) cites the traumatic testimony of Eva Hoffman, who, at the age of thirteen emigrated from Poland to North America:

The words I learn now don't stand for things in the same unquestioned way they did in my native tongue, 'River' in Polish was a vital sound, energised with the essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of my being immersed in rivers. 'River' in English is a cold word without an aura. It has no accumulated associations for me, and it does not give off the radiating haze of connotation. It does not evoke.... English words don't hook up on anything... The words float in uncertain space. They come from a part of my brain in which labels may be manufactured but which has no connection to my instincts, quick reactions, knowledge... What has happened to me in this new world? I don't know. I don't see what I've seen, don't comprehend what's in front of me. I'm not filled with language anymore, and I have only a memory of fullness to anguish me with the knowledge that, in this dark and empty state, I don't really exist. (Hoffman 1989: 106-108).

¹⁶ Luis A. Albornoz, PhD, researcher, Argentina's National Council of Scientific and Technical Research, University of Buenos Aires, Gino Germani Research Institute, and co-director, Cultural Diversity and Audiovisual Industry Research Group.

¹⁷ María Trinidad García Leiva is an Associate Professor in the University Institute of Spanish Cinema. She works at the Communication Studies Department.

For her part, Belsey can account for this type of experience when she explains the differences about languages,

Meaning, Saussure proposed, did not depend on reference to the world, or even to ideas. On the contrary. He argued that, if the things or concepts language named already existed outside language, words would have exact equivalents from one language to another, and translation would therefore be easy. But as all translators know, nothing could be further from the truth. Toto, sois sage we dutifully intoned in my French class when I was eleven, 'Toto, be good'. But even at that early stage, we sensed that sage and 'good' were not always interchangeable. 'A good time' in French, we knew, would not be sage at all, since the term implied sense or wisdom. We were, in addition, using a mode of address that had no English translation. The second person singular that exists in so many European languages (tu, Du) can cause native speakers of English endless embarrassment when we try to communicate in other tongues, since it carries connotations of intimacy or hierarchy that can cause offence if used inappropriately. [...] Genders and tenses do not necessarily correspond from one language to another. 'The morning' is masculine in French (le matin), feminine in Italian (la mattina). French has the past historic, a special tense for telling stories. Some languages include more than one plural form. Differences that are given in one language have to be mastered, often with difficulty, by those whose mother tongue divides up the world in another way. [...] ...language, which seems to name units given in nature, does not in practice depend on reference to things, or even to our ideas of things. Instead, the units that seem to exist so unproblematically may be differentiated from one another by language itself, so that we think of them as natural, just as we may perceive the continuous spectrum of the rainbow in terms of seven distinct colours.(p.9)

The omission of the native language as one of the most valuable features of a specific culture can be considered a denial of an essential component of an individual's identity.

In Belsey's affirmations, the expression of meaning in our mother tongue is clearly explained:

Meaning is not at our disposal, or we could never communicate with others. We learn our native language, and in the process learn to invoke the meanings other people use. '(p2) [...] Language in this broad sense is also a source of social values. In learning to use words like 'democracy' and 'dictatorship' appropriately, for instance, Western children find out about political systems, but they also absorb as they do so the value their culture invests in these respective forms of government. For better or worse, Western children learn early on, without having to be explicitly taught, that dictatorship is oppressive and democracy so precious that it is worth fighting for. In many cultures, the flag is the visual indicator of a national identity that must be defended – by force, if necessary.(p.3-4) [...] Language represents a way of understanding the world, of differentiating between things and relating them to one another' (p.10).

Following the idea that languages can be seen as different ways to understand the world around us, it would not have been surprising that informal conversations among members of the family or friends in the story could have occurred in the characters' mother tongue. For instance, Kala could have used Hindi to talk to both her father and her god since the two scenes previously described are meant to disclose Kala's true sensations and perceptions about her present life. In other scenes where Capheus has conversations with his mother and friend, the use of the English language in everyday contexts reflects a lack of consideration as regards how things could be seen, perceived and communicated in the characters' mother tongue, which may have contributed to a better understanding of the way the characters live and think. This could have been different if writers and translators from each place had had the chance to, apart from translating the texts, include some input in the content of the dialogues and particular points of view to better fit the local cultures of the characters.

In addition, taking into consideration the different perspectives from which members of different cultures may perceive the world, it seems to be unavoidable to query about a culture clash among the characters, for example the extent to which they are free from their cultural context when they discuss their choices with one another in search of the solutions to the problems they have to face during the chapters.

In the light of the above mentioned, it can be argued that the benefits of multilingualism in the TV series *Sense 8* could have surpassed the matters in relation to the convenience of a monolingual audience. By way of illustration, the spectators' multilingual imagination could have been stimulated, promoting a reflection upon what it means to be in a world in which translators and interpreters are needed to mediate between us and others. In addition, multilingualism may have made visible internal tensions within cultures, making conflict work as an engine for positive changes.

THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN VALUES .

At this point of the research, it seems imperative to keep in mind the reasons why the use of English as the only language used for communication among characters constitutes such a striking issue in this TV show in particular. By means of the stories it tells, the TV programme clamours for the promotion, recognition and respect of human values such as selfhood, identity, gender and sexuality by illustrating the universality of human experience through diverse world cultures.

The achievement of these goals divides the opinions among critics. For Claire Light¹⁸ (2015), who questions the portrayal of a ‘universalization’ of the human experience considering the idea of equality of different world cultures, the TV series does not succeed in terms of an accurate depiction of true diversity. She states,

In Sense8 you see them (the Wachowski sisters) finally taking the training wheels off and attempting to originate their own simultaneous, diverse-culture-unifying fictions. It’s a beautiful vision, if you believe in universality. Let’s assume for a moment that you do. It’s a deeply worthy, exciting, and –dare I say it? – moral ambition. And it half-succeeds; which means it also half-fails’. [...] ...this is one of the primary failures of the show: it attaches itself to Americans’ perceptions of how things are in other idioms, as much as, or more than, it attaches to how things actually are.’ [...] The universality being promoted here is a universality of American ideas, American popular culture, American world views. [...] The great irony of this show is that it failed to do what the show itself depicts: allow people from disparate cultures to work together, influence each other, clash with each other, and to live moments of each other’s lives.

In the same vein, C  el Keegan¹⁹ (2016) develops some ideas in connection to the ‘culturally specific narratives’ in which the sensates are embedded. He defines them as

¹⁸Claire Light is a Bay Area writer and cultural worker. She has worked since 1997 in nonprofit administration, particularly arts in the Asian American community. You can read her fiction in McSweeney’s, Hyphen, Farthing, and The Encyclopedia Project, among others. A short collection of her stories, SLIGHTLY BEHIND AND TO THE LEFT, was published by Aqueduct Press in 2009.

¹⁹C  el M. Keegan is a cultural theorist of transgender/queer media and literature. He is primarily interested in the aesthetic forms transgender and queer people have created and how those forms shape

‘clichés’ which function as cages for the characters’ perceptions and for the audiences’ expectations. However, the author points out the value of the text as regards the way transgender identity narratives are presented in televisual media. In his own words,

Sense8 offers different routes into trans as an aesthetic practice or as a set of narrative strategies for simultaneously representing and replicating hypermodern globality. More than any popular current visual text, Sense8 seeks to aesthetically translate transgender as a form of consciousness –a way of perceiving or knowing that occurs between and across bodies, cultures and geographies. The program is important not only for its role as the first televisual text created by a transgender cultural producer, but also for the way in which it draws our attention to how ‘trans’ is taken up into and spread into discourses of global capital, cultural imperialism and postracial progress. (p.606)

Although the TV show representations of the cultural diversity and language use are extensively discussed, the treatment of gender issues is seen as a highly appreciated feature of the show. Taking into consideration the affirmations above mentioned in relation to ideological elements-including the linguistic ones that films can reflect and transport , it may be inferred that the directors’ own experiences may have influenced the content and format of the show.

In this respect, Andrew Sarris (2005) poses:

The way a film looks and moves should have some relationship to the way a director thinks and feels. This is an area where American directors are generally superior to foreign directors. Because so much of the American cinema is commissioned, a director is forced to express his personality through the visual treatment of the material rather than through the literary content of the material....The third and ultimate premise ...is concerned with interior meaning, the ultimate glory of the cinema as an art. Interior meaning is extrapolated from the tension between a director’s personality and his material.... Truffaut has called it the temperature of the director on the set. (p. 105)

Sarris' ideas may be exemplified by some kind of internal necessity of the directors to portray the drawbacks they could have faced in search for their real identity. Known as the Wachowski brothers in the past (Larry and Andy), they became the Wachowski siblings during their transition period to be finally recognized as the Wachowski sisters (Lana and Lilly) in a public appearance as trans women. A statement made by Lilly Wachowski after she came out as a transgender encouraged looking back on her and Lana's works "through the lens of our transness", affirming that the themes of identity, self-image and transformation were apparent in the film *The Matrix*.

There are two characters in the story whose narratives portray the search for recognition and acceptance as regards their gender identities. One of them is Nomi, -a lead character played by a trans actor (Jamie Clayton) She is a transgender American woman who chose not to be in touch with her parents due to their denial to accept their son's decision to become and live as a woman. In episode 1, she participates in controversial situations in which matters of feminism, gender identity and AIDS are discussed. In one of the scenes, she is shown in a park eating a snack with her girlfriend Amanita. They start to remember the first time Nomi ate a 'special' brownie during a gay pride celebration in a park full of people (31:58). On that day, Amanita introduced Nomi to her friends. One of them recognized Nomi as the 'tranny who blogs about politics.' She criticized Nomi for supporting the drop of the term LGTB affirming that a hard fight for that recognition had been necessary. Nomi claimed that in her opinion the distinctions only separate people. Amanita's friend replied that Nomi was just 'another colonizing male trying to take up any space left to women' (32:19). After Amanita threatened her friend with punching her, they started to quarrel and Nomi decided to leave. Amanita followed her and asked why she was crying. Nomi recognized that it had been the first time somebody had defended her and that was the reason for her tears. (32:51).

In another scene, Amanita shows up wearing a flashy red costume full of hearts, collecting money in an event full of people (36:32). Nomi is talking to some other people, one of them the director of the play they are about to see. He claims that he is quite nervous because, according to his view, the piece is a 'kind of downer' and people just want to feel good on Pride day. Another person in the group remembers that in the 80's Pride was a 'funeral march' in clear allusion to the large number of people who had died of AIDS. The director agrees on that view and adds that he aims at remembering and connecting to that by showing people how important those lives and deaths were to the achievements we enjoy nowadays (37:11). After this, Nomi and Amanita can be seen sitting as spectators in the theatre while a play is being performed. Four men representing a story told by a voice- over narrator are on the stage. It is about a man who knows he is dying and asks his partner for a last wish. Nomi starts to cry as she finds the narrative extremely touching to her (38:23).

For his part, Lito's gender identity conflicts with his public image. His roles in films exemplify the kind of men usually known as 'macho men'. This is a typical Latin American conception of masculinity which has its origins in patriarchal societies. Qualities such as strength, sobriety, rationality, domination and heterosexuality are highly valued and praised in these hegemonic contexts. Lito's conflicts have to do with the fact that his personal gender identity does not correspond with the masculine personality of the 'macho' he plays in his films. Although he defines himself and lives as a homosexual individual, he is well aware of the gender principles of the Latin American culture he belongs to in which the sexual roles are strongly gender-determined. Considering all these aspects, Lito's fears may be justifiable. He feels that revealing his true identity in public would be the end of his successful career, meaning not only the disapproval of his fans but also the decline of job opportunities.

All things considered, it can be argued that a situation of imbalance is presented in the TV show since individual considerations regarding aspects of gender issues and sexuality are fully examined and developed, whereas others such as the use of the characters' mother tongue to deeply express experiences and feelings are discarded, depriving the audience of a more authentic representation of the non- American world.

CONCLUSION

Considering that one of the main aims of the TV show *Sense8* is to foster human values such as individual rights and gender matters, the disregard for local languages as one of the most valuable constituents of human subjectivity appears to represent a contradiction. In order to try to offer a suitable explanation for this, the study has attempted to delve into issues of monolingualism -given by the use of English as the exclusive language used by the characters in the show; and explore notions referring to the function and importance of local languages, audience reception and reaction, authorship, linguistic imperialism and film industry.

For the purpose of providing an accurate disclosure of the final conclusions, a reminder of our research question and the two hypotheses presented seems to be essential. This research has tried to answer the question: Up to what extent can the election of English as the only language used for communication be considered a contradiction between the values the TV series aims to promote and the message it actually conveys? From this interrogation two hypotheses derived: in the first place, it has been suggested that the use of English as the only language used for communication constitutes one of the many commercial strategies used by the American film industry to achieve success and by no means does it affect the ideals fostered in the TV series in any way. The second hypothesis claims that the fact that English was used to substitute local languages in some scenes reveals an inconsistency between the values the TV series intends to encourage, such as the respect for diversity and human rights, and the neglect of native languages as constitutive elements of the individuals.

As a means to analyse the first hypothesis previously stated, the present study describes the establishment and growth of English as a world language, given by the spread of the

British Empire in the first place, followed by the rapid development of the American industry. As regards the film industry and the screenwriting process in particular, some approaches concerning discourse analysis were scrutinised. In the first place, The Markedness Model -a model used to study conversational choices in dialogues among multilingual individuals; was applied to try to account for some interruptions of words or expressions uttered in local languages in a few scenes where code-switching was found. Despite the scarce number of examples suitable for analysis; the findings show that the use of English (or the local languages) in some dialogues could be explained using the model. Secondly, the replacement strategies -commonly used in the Hollywood film industry, offer a sensible explanation of the diverse ways in which local languages can be replaced by the base language -English in this case. The purpose of this decision could be to make the TV series accessible to the English speaking audiences, taking into consideration their reluctance to read subtitles in films -even when they may realise that characters would speak in their own local languages in real life. Although negative comments of the replaced languages were not spotted, no intention of introducing the characters' native languages in the dialogues among them could be detected. In sum, the analysis reveals that the use of some replacement strategies was considered enough to enlighten the audience about matters of locations and language peculiarities, without noticing that in some cases some misunderstanding could occur.

The status of lingua franca reached by the English language was accompanied by the criticism of some scholars, who have warned about an on-going, worldwide process of Americanization devised with the intentions of increasing influence and domination. Specifically in the film industry, American products can be considered one of the many means designed to promote the structures and ideologies of the American society which would help to establish a cultural imperialism -with the use of the English language as a

key medium to ensure this process. In this respect, the American influence can be seen in the representation of cultural and lifestyle matters as well as in the 'universalization' of the sensates' experiences, leaving aside all traces of local cultural influences.

All things considered, it can be argued that although the election of English can be admitted as a strategy with the purposes of spreading the American culture and/or attracting American audiences, it also represents an impact on the human values promoted, since the primary message of this show is based on this premise.

Several aspects have been considered in order to examine the second hypothesis.

Firstly, the role that the local languages play in the accurate expression of feelings and thoughts represents a key factor of analysis. Indeed, this investigation has attempted to shed light on differences about languages, the construction of meaning, and the power that social and cultural elements possess to shape unique visions of the world. As a result, it can be claimed that a language is not only a medium to convey meaning; it is an essential tool to express the identity and cultural wealth of a nation.

Second, with the purpose of assessing their reactions to the exclusion of the languages that characters would have used in real life, the audience's opinions about the matter in question have been included. Whereas some supportive comments from spectators who are against reading subtitles were found, most of the viewers agreed on the fact that the use of English-only was annoying, since it generated feelings of confusion and disappointment. This clearly indicates that the directors' decision of including English as a monolanguage was not entirely welcomed, leaving many people with the feeling of watching the characters' narratives in artificial atmospheres.

Another point of consideration included the message that this TV series intends to promote. The analysis carried out has explored some of the issues highlighted by the

show, such as acceptance and recognition in terms of gender and sexuality - maybe influenced by the directors' own experiences; in order to expose the importance given to these matters during the show. The promotion of respect and human values appear to be the ultimate goal of the TV series, since most of the characters' stories revolve around these topics. Nevertheless, the almost total omission of the characters' local languages can be regarded as a flaw in the concretion of the directors' plan.

All things considered, it can be concluded that the fact that native languages have been neglected in favour of English, results in an inconsistency in the ideals the show attempts to transmit. Moreover, although the use of English as a monolanguage is justified as a replacement strategy highly used in Hollywood productions with diverse purposes, it directly interferes with the principles promoted and encouraged by this TV show in particular.

LIMITATIONS

It is not possible to omit the limitations found during the course of this study. In the first place, only two complete episodes and part of one of them have been selected for the analysis due to the restricted length of the paper. Moreover, issues corresponding to other human values promoted in the show could not be included bearing in mind the specificity of the present investigation. Finally, the selection of authors for the analysis constituted a tough decision, since many ideas developed by brilliant scholars could have enhanced this research.

IMPLICATURES

It is our intention that the findings of the study may contribute to the examination of matters regarding discourse analysis; more specifically the different roles that languages such as English may play, considering their influence as instruments of power. Students

from different levels may benefit from this research, since the analysis of metalinguistic content may reveal questions of power that are usually unseen or disguised.

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