Aspects of Language Contact in Algerian Comics:
A Sociolinguistic Study of Sabaou’s Houma Fighter

Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and Foreign Languages in Candidacy for the Requirement of the Degree of Magister in Language Contact and Sociolinguistic variation

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Last but not least, my sincere thanks goes to all those who contributed to the achievement of this dissertation.
Dedications

To my beloved parents.
Abstract

This dissertation is a study which attempts to explore the comic book world where emotions and thoughts are conveyed through sequential art. It aims foremost to acknowledge comic books as a stand-alone medium of expression via empirical research and to provide a multidisciplinary approach to this medium melting Visual Culture, Discourse Analysis, Intertextuality and Pragmatics.

Framed under Sociolinguistics, the inquiry lays on the social motivations for code switching in comic books in maintaining group identity, showing solidarity and / or creating stylistic effects (sarcasm, irony, realism, etc.…).

The data under investigation represent chunks of speech uttered by characters where code switching is prevalent. These data are linguistically analyzed using the Markedness Model of Myer-Scotton.

**Key words:** Comic books, Manga, Visual Culture, Discourse Analysis, Visual Discourse Analysis, Code Switching (Algerian Arabic/French) and the Markedness Model.
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<td>MM</td>
<td>Markedness Model</td>
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<td>MSA</td>
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<td>Lit. Tan.</td>
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<td>RO</td>
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<td>SAT</td>
<td>Speech Act Theory</td>
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<td>VDA</td>
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<td>WWII</td>
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Vowel Signs: ‘ Haraka’/:/a/, /i/, /u/
General Introduction:

Comic books (1) have contributed to provide joy to their readers from their early days, they were parts of news magazines all painted in rose. These rose pages were devoted entirely to comics and superhero stories, depicting the adventures of fictional characters and their escapades.

Despite their growing popularity, comic books faced rude criticism; they were depicted as mindless stories perverting teenagers and child stories with no literary merit. In this vein, anticomics’ crusaders aimed at discarding comics claiming that they were nothing but injections of sex and violence besides of considering them as pathologies.

But through time, people familiarized with works in this appealing and diverse format, where artists like Art Spiegelman, Will Eisner, Hergé and Naoki Urasawa with respect to all remaining comics’ creators, illustrated their masterpieces like ‘Maus’, ‘The Spirit’, ‘The Adventures of Tintin’ and ‘20th century boys’. In fact, more innovative, experimental and high-quality stories flourished and people became eager to read more and more of them.

Indeed, some specialists claim that comic books reading is an act of participation, as emphasized by Scott McCloud (1993:65), comics “is a medium where the audience is a willing and conscious collaborator”.

This process is reflected in the fact that comic books are a combination of words and images through which the reader gives entirely him/herself to an autonomous content through the text. Reading comic books is in a sense, object-driven and essentially based on dialogues and reflections (illustrated in sorts of balloons).

Readers often reference other texts, figures, events and the like from past, present and future when reading; which is one aspect of participatory reading.

1: The word comic books in this general introduction is used as an umbrella term encompassing cave paintings, engravings, comic stripes, comic books, graphic novels, bandes déssinées and mangas.
Along with the process of facilitating participation in the generative\(^2\) aspect of culture, comic books are framed with the Visual Culture’s concept, which is concerned with visual events through which the consumer looks for information, meaning or leisure by means of visual technology (television, internet…) as pointed by Mirzoeff (1999:11).

This dissertation investigates some possible reasons why language varies within panels and why the author, Said Sabaou, intends to use one variety \(^3\) instead of another moreover, this work is a plea for comics considering this latter as a stand-alone medium with literary merit.

The study examines an Algerian Manga *Houma Fighter* authored by Said Sabaou, a 24 years old manga-ka \(^4\) who published this year his welcoming *Mondialé 1 and 2* and *Houma Fighter* where he portrays the Algerian society as claimed by himself in an interview:

> Les personnages sont profondément inspirés de la réalité Algérienne. Mon but était de conférer à la BD un univers personnalisé où tout Algérien pourrait s’identifier, se reconnaître. \(^5\)

Lit. Tran:
The characters are deeply inspired by the Algerian reality. My aim was to confer to the BD \(^6\) a personalized universe where every Algerian can identify and recognize himself through it.

*Houma Fighter* which was published in Mai 2012 is a glimpse to the well known video game ‘*street fighter*’ created in 1987, in fact, *Houma Fighter* paints the portrait of *Sofiane Bekhti*, a kickboxing fighter disqualified from official conquests because of his violent temper and his non respect of the rules. This latter decides to leave his hometown and manages to save some money for ‘*El harga*’ \(^7\) until he heard about the

\(^2\) Generative aspects of culture mean the ever changing aspects of culture as opposed to the fixed and earlier model of culture.

\(^3\) The term variety is a cover term designating a language, a dialect or a register.

\(^4\) The Japanese word for Manga artist.

\(^5\) Interview on the website: www.khardja.com, consulted on 10.06.12.

\(^6\) BD is an abbreviation of Bande Dessinée, a definition of it will be held in the first chapter.

\(^7\) A term used by young Algerian denoting immigration by illegal ways.
Houma Fighter i.e. the street fighter. No rules exist for these fights, all kicks are allowed and Sofiane adheres completely, he enters the ring and proves to be a talented kick boxer. The story depicts Sofiane’s fights as the way of San-Goku (8) ones and describes the characters with an incredible sense of humor.

This piece of work is a sociolinguistic analysis of comic books. It aims at relating aspects of language within sequential art and exploring the linguistic variation and the reasons leading to it. A number of questions are raised in this vein:

- Are comic books worth to be considered as a channel of communication and thus as a medium per se?
- Considering comic books as being the mirror of society and past testimony, why does the author in Houma Fighter ascribe each character a specific variety?
- Is linguistic variation in Houma Fighter considered as a linguistic strategy?

In order to find reliable answers to these questions three assumptions are put forward:

- Comic books were from their publication and throughout their evolution confronted to confusion and hostility of a more mature readership, parents even prevented their children from reading them as they regarded them as materials with any interest and merit;
- It is assumed that speakers vary their styles according to factors (social, geographical…), and Houma fighter characters’ are not an exception per se, where each one uses his/her own variety besides, the author uses specific varieties to provide realism and accuracy and
- The linguistic variations used in Houma Fighter are strategic in the sense that the author chooses to mark some short passages, to create an effect (stylistic) mainly sarcasm or irony…and intend to express intentionality when delivering his own message.

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(8): A character from the well known manga ‘Dragon Ball Z’ created in 1989 by Akira Toriyama.
The present research work is composed of three chapters. The first one is a brief overview of the literature regarding the comic book genre including a brief history of its emergence, a section devoted to the development of the medium, types of comic books and definitions. It also provides backgrounds of concepts used in the comic book genre namely the Visual culture (introducing Mirzoeff and Visual Studies). To end a brief part regarding the status of comic books in Algeria will be added to the whole work.

The second chapter starts with a discourse analysis based exploration to examine the real nature of comic books introducing Intertextuality first framed by Mikhaïl Bakhtine and then refined by Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes with his text/image theory. It introduces Visual Discourse Analysis, an analytical tool in this investigation which considers art as a language. A section will be bestowed to the aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and today’s linguistic repertoire. Code switching as an outcome of languages in contact will be discussed in this chapter. A section will include maps used to delimit the different dialects investigated in Houma Fighter besides of the methodology adopted in this research work.

The third chapter starts with an outline of the Markedness Model and analyzes the linguistic variations used in this manga in the light of the Markedness Model (1993a, 1995) pioneered by Gumperz and refined by Myers-Scotton.

The personal motivations behind the choice of such a topic are related to interests in the Japanese culture and way of life; the scientific motivations are the attempt of this humble work to scratch the surface of this genre, dig in order to restore some truths and get rid of other stereotypes besides few sociolinguistic researches are carried on comic books especially on manga and particularly in the Algerian context despite of their increasing growth.
Chapter one

Into the Comic Books’ World

Historical Perspectives
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1.1. Introduction:

Once regarded as one of the lower forms of mass entertainment, comic books are today widely considered to be potentially capable of complex and profound expression as both literary and visual art form.

Dziedric and Peacock (1997:22)².

In fact, comics are informative, creative, communicative and graphical form of entertainment. They are attractive and tempting for kids as well as for adults; these latters are still appealing though the frequency of reading them may decreases. This genre addresses a range of societal issues and allows readers to showcase what is happening in the world today; comics act as plot devices, social commentary, and as invitations to think readers’ life questions.

Through their history, comic books have not always been welcomed and criticisms vowed toward this genre were harsh, some critics (Dr Wertham for say) regarded them as writings with no literary merit aiming to pervert young readers. Some other critics (Eisner, McCloud, Duncan and Smith) felt the necessity to state and emphasize that comic books are one of the most vibrant and ambitious visual communication media. The place of comic books; then, has to be re-established all over the world’s cultures in general and in the Algerian context in particular.

What makes comics so attractive? Why study comics? Are comic books powerful? These questions will receive tentative answers in this present chapter. A definition of this literary genre is provided and an overview of its types is afforded to shed light on concepts that frame comics, mainly Visual Culture and Barthe’s text/image theory.

² Quoted in Duncan and Smith (2009:11).
1.2. Defining Comic Books as a Genre:

Art Spiegelman’s acclaimed graphic novel *Maus* (*Figure 1.1*) won a special Pulitzer Prize\(^{10}\) for literature in 1992. Awarded in such a way was unthinkable for the community of comic books creators. But *Maus* is not a disposable comics; it is the testimony of the father of Art Spiegelman, a survivor of the Jewish genocide (1939-45). *Maus* features animals as victims of the Holocaust and Nazi persecutions; it is the evidence that word/picture combination is a powerful means of communication and a strong vehicle of emotions. In the same register, Marjane Satrapi (2003-2004-2007) illustrates her art in her black and white autobiographical graphic novel’s *Persepolis* (*Figure 1.2*) where she recalls her early life in Iran during the Islamic Revolution and her adolescence in Europe. Satrapi depicts everything starting from her days to school, her parents’ commitment in the revolution and the death of her uncle all in a brilliant way. The animated version of the graphic novel owed Satrapi a nomination to the Oscars\(^{11}\).

Spiegelman’s and Satrapi’s works all along with others act as a therapy where authors exorcize their fears, furies, passions and sometimes their *mal être* as emphasized by Scott McCloud:”… to mature as a medium [comics] must be capable of expressing each artist innermost needs and ideas” (1993: 57). Such audacious works represent the variety and potential of the medium. Considered as “… a language on its own” McCloud (1993:17), comic books are the most striking manifestation of sequential art; which is concerned with storytelling and narration.

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\(^{10}\) The Pulitzer Price is a high distinction for literature works and journalism.

\(^{11}\) In 2007, Satrapi won an Oscar for Best Animated Feature in the United States of American Academy.
Figure 1.1: 
*Maus I* recalls Art interviewing his father Vladek at present. *Maus II* is told through flashback narrating Vladek’s struggle to survive the Jewish genocide.

*Figure 1.2: Persepolis* I and II

*Persepolis I* is about Satrapi’s early years in Iran and the beginning of the Islamic Revolution. *Persepolis II* recalls the author’s adolescence spent in Europe (Vienna).
Comic books are undoubtedly acknowledged as a medium challenging television, radio or newspapers for they enhance communication, alter perceptions and inspire readers. They also have the ability to transcend stereotypes, fostered by these conventional means, they can make instructional manuals, advertize or even cover political events as did the journalist Joe Sacco employing comics when dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (12).

Regarded as the amalgamation of art and narratives, comics are a medium capable of voicing the silent and voiceless “…with [their] boundary-breaking style” Danziger-Russell (2013:229). They are considered as the ideal messenger to prone equity and foremost, the spokesmen of marginalized, who left alone, forgotten and ignored cannot speak for themselves and are given equal weight in comics through visual narratives, “…the medium use of images creates narratives where words could not be expressed” Danziger-Russell (2013:100) as in Will Eisner’s A Contract with God where the author’s immense pain for the loss of his daughter is expressed through pictorials.

Comics challenged the difficult task to give a voice to the silent and succeed in it with their narrative strategies where “…a picture can evoke an emotional […] response in the viewer” McCloud (1993:121) giving to minority religious categories, people with different sexual orientations and teenagers the right to speak and to be heard.

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12 Joe Sacco published Palestine, a comic book dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 1996.
1.3. Comic Books, Comic Strips and Graphic Novels:

What are comic books? Are comic strips parts of comics? What are the main features of graphic novels? Many tied concepts and inquiries that this piece of research will attempt to tackle.

The first impression that comes into mind when hearing the word comics is the childish books or spandex clad superheroes. Comics are not just a series of clichés. They have come through a long way to gain the status of a stand-alone medium conveying meaning through visual vocabulary.

1.3.1. Comic Books:

Much ink was wasted trying to hold a coherent definition of the medium; this task seems to be quite hard with all the pervasive views and semantic confusion existing on the comics’ stage. Many theorists and specialists (Eisner (1985-1996), McCloud (1993, 1996), Duncan and Smith (2009), Danziger-Russell (2013)) acknowledge that sequential art is the core concept of comic books and that any definition has to go along this notion. Duncan and Smith (2009) for instance provide a broad definition encompassing the notion of sequential art, length (how long a comic book might be), characters that may be objects, sounds or even sensations. In their words a comic books are then:

A volume in which all aspects of the narrative are represented by pictorial and linguistic images encapsulated in a sequence of juxtaposed panels and pages. Duncan and Smith (2009:14).

This functional definition seems to be inspired by the one of McCloud (1993) and explores comic books parameters such as length (number of pages) characters and narratives.
In his groundbreaking book *Understanding comics: the invisible art* (1993), McCloud spends the first nine pages trying to develop a definition of comic books. This definition emphasizes the fact that all comics employ sequential art: a series of static images arranged in sequence to tell a story or express thoughts and feelings, so according to him, a suitable definition of comic books would be a

*Juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response to the viewer* (1993:20).

Comic books like drama, poetry or prose can communicate a wealth of ideas using sequential art, where stories are told through sequences, words and thoughts are expressed through balloons.

1.3.2. Comic strips:

Comic strips which use juxtaposed images in sequences like comic books are seen by Witek (1989:6) as the most common form of sequential art, he therefore strongly objects to the fact of considering them the same. In fact, as pointed by Duncan and Smith (2009:5), four main perspectives settle the differences and similarities between comic strips and comic books which are: production, distribution, art form and culture.

1.3.2.1. Production:

Both comic strips and comic books are products of the printing machine except the fact that comic strips are part of newspapers and contribute to enhance their sales whereas, comic books are periodicals; they are produced monthly and usually have a good amount of action that progresses the story line forward to the next issue.

Their shape differ also, comic strips on the one hand, are composed of approximately four (4) or five (5) panels most of the time humorous or satirical; comic books on the other hand, seldom exceed thirty (30) pages containing several panels encompassing different story genres (superhero, detective, thriller, science fiction…).
All in all the first comic books were nothing but a reprint material from the Sunday Funnies (where comic strips appeared).

1.3.2.2. Distribution:

The distribution perspective is not a determining point as to say whether such panels belong to either comic strips or comic books. Rather, it helps to know to which medium both genres are component of (comic strips being components of the newspapers and comics books being components of magazines).

In fact, the comic book market has so developed that fans’ items and materials (comics) are no more provided to them via the magazine medium, but through specialty shops. Moreover, Duncan and Smith (2009) notice the emergence of new formats of comic strips and comic books which are nearly undistinguishable diffused via the web and therefore, eschew the traditional distribution system.

1.3.2.3. The Art Form:

One of the most important feature differentiating comic strips from comic books is of course the art form, using both sequential art and encapsulation (13), they differ in the way they use this latter. While comic strips use only one unit of encapsulation, comic books are all about this concept; special moments are kept to render the story more realistic and plausible. The layouts (14) (including panels, gutters and tiers) are more complex and elaborated in comic books giving the freedom to authors to go beyond static ideas and express a myriad of emotions.

Besides of creating different types of artifacts, these two media share in common a unique language, the one of comics.

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13 : Encapsulation means is the selection of key moments of action.
14 : Layout is the relationship of a single panel to the succession of panels, to the totality of the page, and to the totality of the story; involves choices of size, sequence, and juxtaposition. Duncan and Smith (2009:316).
1.3.2.4. Culture:

Being a vehicle of pop culture, a mirror of society and an echo of the concerns of the eras in which they were published, comic strips and comic books serve a different kind of purposes and “…occupy radically different cultural spaces” Duncan and Smith (2009:17). While comic strips are entirely parts of newspapers and supplements, comic books are products in their own right and sold in bookstores, these two media exist for different aims (increase newspapers’ sales for comic stripes) and target different audiences (more mature for comic books) where many topics can be discussed (political, historical, autobiographical…).

Besides of being “…the most portable, limitless, intense, personal, focused, intimate, compelling, wonderful visual medium of creation” Jim Shooter (1994) (qtd in Duncan and Smith 2009: 7), comics in general are part of almost every individual.

1.3.3. Graphic Novels:

Graphic novels like comic books use sequential art too; their topics encompass visual parodies, satire or political cartoons…15. Graphic novels and comic books share a lot of things in common; they both have panel-style illustrations that do a large part of the story telling and which makes easy to mix the two.

Stories in graphic novels are told in a book-length from sixty (60) to five hundred pages (500). This genre is aimed to a more mature audience with plots ranging from history, science fiction or horror. Most graphic novels tell a single story that is complete within its pages. The length of these graphic novels allows presentations of stories of great intricacy; besides, the characters are much more elaborated and details are consistent to provide the reader with a more satisfying experience.

In spite of their similarities comic books and graphic novels have several differences lying in shape, content, edition, etc. Indeed, many readers use binding as the determining factor in whether something is classified as graphic novels or comic

15 Political cartoons depict caricatures of events that happening I the political arena. The cartoons can also be directed to important political figures or parody them.
books. Comics on the one hand, use traditional saddle stitching i.e. they are held together with staples in the spine; graphic novels, on the other hand are bound in hardback or trade paper (soft cover) like a book, with a thick spine glued to hold the pages together. Although, this differentiation seems satisfactory for it points to a clear physical difference, it is not sufficient. Another distinction is that comic books are periodicals. They are edited monthly and usually have a good amount of action that progresses the story line forward to the next issue. Graphic novels are read like a book, they delve deeper into the story lines of characters and history and they complete the full arch of a narrative by the end of the novel.

Some authors advocate for graphic novels claiming that it is a different genre whereas others object to the use of this term as Alan Moore (1985), Watchmen’s creator claiming that:

"It's a marketing term... that I never had any sympathy with. The term 'comic' does just as well for me... The problem is that 'graphic novel' just came to mean 'expensive comic book' and so what you'd get is people like DC Comics or Marvel Comics—because 'graphic novels' were getting some attention, they'd stick six issues of whatever worthless piece of crap they happened to be publishing lately under a glossy cover and call it The She-Hulk Graphic Novel...." (16).

Meaning that graphical novels are only meant to rehabilitate comics’ and increase their sales; they were either reshaped or reprinted in special or limited editions.

1.3.4. Bandes Déssinées:

Like any other manifestation of sequential art, bande déssinée took its origin from historical paintings and engravings but this medium matured in France and Belgium where it started to be considered as art. In fact, it was Claude Beïlylie, a

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16 : Quote provided by Wikipedia.
French film scholar who proposed in 1964 that ‘bande déssinée’ deserve to be named ‘ninth art’.

Comics in the Franco-Belgian tradition are called *bandes déssinées* (drawn strips) or with abbreviation of BD. Several materials were produced in this tradition but the most famous BD is with no doubt, *The Adventures of Tintin* (*Figure 1.3*) created by Belgian cartoonist George Rémi (1907-1983) who signed his work with Hergé, *Tintin* appeared in January 1929 in *le Vingtième Siècle* newspaper as a supplement.

*Figure 1.3*: An excerpt from ‘Le Lotus Bleu’ published in 1936.
Tintin is a young reporter, accompanied with his dog Snowy (Milou in the original version) they both travelled the world and experienced thrilling adventures. What made Tintin so popular is maybe Hergé’s style the ligne claire where shadows are minimized and thickness is equal in each pen line. This process makes the protagonist and the rest of the characters have “…a clean, simple-looking figure” Duncan and Smith (2009:297) and thus, look abstractly cartoonish. Hergé and his staff were very fastidious and aware of every single detail that can provide accuracy, so, they travelled all over the world and pictured locales before drawing them to render their work as authentic as possible.

Hergé’s style was adopted by many creators and imitations of Tintin appeared like the French Spirou in 1938 by Jean Dupuis and Asterix the Gaul, a bande déssinée featuring the adventures of Asterix and the Romans at the time of Julius Caesar. Authored by René Goscinny and illustrated by Albert Uderzo, published in 1959.

Bandes déssinées were much praised; they were bound and sold in bookstores as albums meant to be reread rather than being thrown (disposables).

They attain maturation thanks to French countercultural movement of late 1960’s and the underground comix movement led by pioneers such Robert Crumb. As a consequence, French artists started to take cues from their American fellows and engaged in more mature themes in their works like Jean Giraud who signs his work ‘Gir’ or ‘Mœbius’. He is the creator of the well known series Lieutenant Blueberry which was published in Pilot, an influencing bande déssinée in 1963.

It recalls the story of Blueberry, an officer set in the Post American Civil War. He produced under the alias of Mœbius science fiction works including Hermetic Garage (garage hermétique, original title) and Arzach that features a rejection of traditional realistic depictions favoring a nouveau réalisme characterized by the use of air brush colors and other techniques.
Thanks to the role of intellectuals, bandes déssinées gained more maturation and was valorized. The appreciation of comics was promoted by the founding of societies for the study of the medium, and the eventual establishment of academic journals devoted to the serious discussion of the material, beginning with Les Cahiers de la Bande Dessinée” Duncan and Smith (2009:300).

It is also noticeable that French were pioneers in raising the general appreciation of comics by holding exhibitions, like the one at the Louvre in 1967 and by establishing festivals, the case of Angoulême in its 40th manifestation this year.

1.4. Development of the medium:

Cave paintings in France and in Spain, old scratches on walls and Egyptian hieroglyphs are meant to be the ancestors of comic books; in fact. The history of sequential art can be traced back over centuries ago with the starting of humanity’s artistic expression around 10 000 and 25 000 years ago (Duncan and Smith 2009).

If these manifestations of art are assumed to be the first versions of comic, they are far removed from the actual sequential art –comic books and comic strips- “…in terms of production, distribution and function” Duncan and Smith (2009:32).

Indeed, the history of comic books can be dated over four (4) centuries ago, according to McCloud (1993), their origin can be situated around 1519 with pre-Columbian picture manuscript discovered by Cortés (17) (Figure 1.4), a thirty six (36) foot long scroll recounting the ascension of ‘eight-deer tiger’s claw’ (18), a great military and political hero, but, hundred years before the Aztecs comic stripes, France produced the Bayeux Tapestry, a two hundred and thirty (230) foot long manuscripts recalling the Norman conquest of England in 1066 (Figure 1.5).

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17: Cortés: Hernán Cortés: a Spanish conqueror.
18: Eight-deer tiger’s claw or Ocelot’s claw according to McCloud (1993).
Figure 1.4: An excerpt from the Aztec manuscript.

Figure 1.5: An excerpt from the Bayeux Tapestry.
The spread of the printing machine in the fifteenth (15th) century throughout Europe contributed to the appearance of a new type of entertainment called the **Broadsheets**, a large single page where images are incorporated and sometimes text is added. Though, the text was not incorporated to the picture, it was rather below or above, these broadsheets contained the form and performed the function of today comic books. Broadsheets enjoyed popularity from 1450 to 1800 and were even used to issue official notices, political satire or teach moral lessons.

William Hogarth (1697-1764), an important figure of the rise of comic books is credited to be the forerunner of comic books by popularizing sequential art through his works (paintings, engravings...). In fact, in the beginning, Hogarth was criticized for his work lacked coherence, but then he refined it and was able to create a narrative through sequences. His works were very popular among London’s upper class, but Hogarth wanted to reach a broader audience; he therefore authorized copies that could be sold cheaper than the originals.

Due to the availability of pirated prints, Hogarth’s works crossed class boundaries, his contribution in the history of comics’ lies much on his marketing ability than in his creative ability (Duncan and Smith 2009).

It is always quite hard to establish exact dates and events that contributed to the spread of this genre, unlike Coogan (2006) who described the evolution and the development of comic books in terms of ages with *approximate* dates (Golden 1930-56, Silver 1956-71, Bronze 1971-80, Iron 1980-87 and Modern from 1987 to this day), this humble study will be concerned with the development of sequential art through eras with an emphasis on the most important contributors and art works.

As Duncan and Smith (2009) point it, classifications in terms of ages is not always agreed upon and is mostly based on the development of key characters (their birth, rise and death), on the other side, classifying comics in terms of eras prone overlapping between different periods and thus help define the different characteristics of each one.
1.4.1. the Era of Invention:

Like his father Wolfgang Adam Töpffer, Rodolphe (1799-1846) wanted to pursue a carrier in the visual art, but a defected eye prevented him from this. Rodolphe thus, turned to literature writing short essays like “My Uncle’s Library” and *Nouvelles Genevoises*. Töpffer worked as a Teacher-Director in a boy’s preparatory school, he earned most his fame with his *histoires en image* or as he liked to call them *la littérature en estampe* (picture stories) which are considered by Thierry Groensteen\(^{19}\) (1994) the first in the comics genre. Six stories were created, *Histoire de M. Jabot* (1833), *Monsieur Crépin* (1936), *les amours de M. VieuxBois* (1939), *Monsieur Pencil* (1940), *Le Docteur Festus* (1940) and *Histoire d’Albert* (1945).

Töpffer’s works were very influential, when writing *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoi was inspired by his techniques and the way he depicts the human nature, his *Les Amours de M. VieuxBois* translated as *The Adventures of Obadiah Oldbuck* (Figure 1.6) was the first comic book ever published in America in 1842.

Töpffer created stories using sequential art but “…his greatest innovations were not in content but in form” Duncan and Smith (2009:35). John Geipel affirms that the particular style of Töpffer is due to his eye deficiency, Kunzle adds that “his art is all movement, breathless, relentless; it is the movement for the movement’s sake” (Kunzle 139 in Duncan and Smith 2009:36).

\(^{19}\)Thierry Groensteen (1957) is one of the most important historian and specialist of comic books.
Though Töpffer’s work was regarded as frivolous and lacked restrictions, his narratives became more serious in form, where pictures melted to texts became the first manifestations of a new art form i.e. sequential art.

1.4.1.1. Comic strips and Pulp Fiction:

Comic strips and pulp magazines \(^{20}\) were the major factors in the growth and popularization of comic books. Comic strips’ main role was to increase newspapers sales whereas pulp fictions act as the most important means of entertainment available. Indeed, the first comic books to appear were a collection of comic strips where characters were youngsters named *Buster Brown* or the *Katzenjammer Kids*.

\(^{20}\) : Pulp magazines were the creative writings of the 20\(^{th}\) century; they were termed so because of the cheap quality of papers used between the covers.
These characters were not superheroes and did not wear colorful costumes. More than a thousand books of comic strips were reprint between 1897 and 1932.

The most famous comic strip character that became a well known comic book was the Yellow Kid (Figure 1.7), it s a single panel cartoon created by Richard Felton Outcault (1863-1928), in 1895; Outcault pictured a bald, barefoot and jug-eared little boy wearing a nightshirt named Mickey Dugan.

Mickey was very popular and appeared in the Sunday World newspaper along with other odd characters, Mickey dialogues were not in balloons, his words were rather printed on his shirt in a satire advertising billboards.

*Figure 1.7:* The Yellow Kid, 1896 by Outcault.
Mickey Dugan became so famous that in 1897, *The Yellow Kid magazine* appeared and was the first magazine dedicated to comic books ever published (Duncan and Smith 2009), other characters followed, mainly *Foxy Grandpa* and *Mutt and Jeff*.

Starting from 1919, comic books were gathered and sold on newsstands to train passengers for about 25 cents, but by 1922, new marketing approaches to sell comics were used; the *Embee Distributing Company* of New York decided to publish comic books once a month, so, the first periodical comics appeared in 1922, their soft paper cover and cheaper interior allowed a price of only 10 cents.

Many heroes flourished as pulps like *Tarzan* (1912) and *Zorro* (1919), but sales reached their top in the 1930’s with “hero pulps” that had a great impact on the super hero genre of the 1930’s and late 1940’s.

Ironically, the rise of comic books like Superman and Batman, led to the decline of pulps.

1.4.1.2. Modern Comic Books:

1929 witnessed the birth of the first comic book published by *Eastern Color Printing Company* from Dell Publishing and called *The Funnies* (Figure 1.8), sold for ten (10) cents and later reduced to five (5) cents; *The Funnies* was a short-lived tabloid format of sixteen (16) pages containing original material and not just a reprint of comic strips.

*The Funnies* open gates to two subsequent publications, in fact by 1933; Eastern’s Color Printing’s *Gulf Comic* was issued, using the same materials as *The Funnies* and *Funnies on Parade* an advertising premium who was considered to be the first and *true* comic book: 7½ x 10½ with a paper cover (Duncan and Smith 2009).
Harry I. Wildenberg, the sales manager at Eastern Color Printing and one of his salesmen, Maxwell Charles Gaines are credited to be the initiators for the selling of comic books as books on their own. They, in fact, with their series of *Famous Funnies* (Figure 1.9), established themselves as the first major comic books publishers.

*Famous Funnies* looked like today comic books; they lasted until 1955 with 218 issues.

Helping newspapers’ circulation, reprinted comic strips paved the way for the emergence of a new genre; *the superhero genre* by the end of the 1930’s where characters like *Superman* and *Batman* became the most widespread and well known figures of all time.
1.4.2. The Era of Proliferation:

Comic books blossomed into a distinct entertainment industry after 1938 when Jerome Siegal and Joseph Shuster created Superman which appeared in *Action Comics* (Figure 1.10), the initiator of the superhero genre that would remain the cornerstone of the comic book industry, Superman was created by Shuster based on the costume of trapeze artist outfit.

Though, Superman remains one of the most important comic books in all history, its publication went through a long journey where Siegal and Shuster faced seventeen (17) rejection letters. Ultimately, it was *DC comics* who took in charge the publication of this all new brand superhero, so, for $130, the superhero appeared in the cover of Action Comics holding a car over his head.

![Figure 1.10: Action Comics # 1](image)

Following the immense success of Superman, DC comics introduced its second superhero, The *Bat-Man* (the hyphen was dropped later on in 1939); it eventually pushed out the “crime” and “detective” stories from DC’s title.

The 1930’s led to the creation of other characters such as *Wonder Woman*, *The Flash*, and the *Green Lantern*. Marvel comics introduced enduring characters such as the *Human Torch* and *Captain America*, Coogan (2006).
In terms of style and technique, Will Eisner’s work on his masked detective series *The Spirit* adapted many film techniques to comic books and developed much of the storytelling grammar still used in comic books today. For example, unlike the short daily strips and fixed perspective of juvenile comics, Eisner’s “cinematic” storytelling unfolded stories over several pages, using a montage of light and sound, dynamic framing, and vibrant colors.

By the middle of the 1940’s, comic books were selling at an incredible rate, a total of “…18,000,000 monthly copies” (Ames and Kunzle 2007:552)\(^{21}\) in Duncan and Smith 2009:33). This was mainly due to the help of *comics’ shop*; an elaborated system consisting of a staff being responsible of a feature for instance or an aspect and then pass it all along the assembly present. These shop systems were meant to help publishers support the increasing demands of the superhero genre, but when this latter went into decline, shops automatically stopped working.

World War II was a blessing for comic books editors, promoting patriotism, in this vein the DC superhero comics tacitly stressed a common interest in public welfare and strong federal government; besides, comics at that time were very appreciated by soldiers being their sole means of entertainment.

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*Figure 1.11:* Captain America punching Hitler.

\(^{21}\) Quoted in Duncan and Smith (2009:33).
Marvel comics took up the cause of World War II patriotism in its creation of Captain America, showing the character punching Hitler in the face (Figure 1.11).

In fact, the primary narrative convention of the Golden Age is the defense of the normal. But after World War II, the readership of comic books declined due to decrease of demands as soldiers returned home.

After World War II, and upon the emergence of the nuclear bomb, new types of comics were created mainly scientific, and detectives which lead to the decrease of the super hero genre sales and the starting of a new period.

1.4.3. The Era of Diversity:

After WWII, comic books lost readers and publishers alike due to lack of purpose as well as competition from television, but the industry of comics was still present and started to diversify, a number of genres emerged: funny animals, romance, western, detective and horror.

Walt Disney stories which were the most consistent genre that rose in the 1940’s portrayed the adventures of Donald, his nephews and his stingy Uncle, Scrooge McDuck (Duncan and Smith 2009).

Crime comics were so popular among readers; almost every publisher had a comic crime in 1948. These latter got a great deal of attention even from psychiatrics as in the symposium of “The Psychopathology of Comic Books” where some citizens urged authorities to ban comics. But, perhaps most damaging to the comic book industry was Dr. Fredric Wertham’s book The Seduction of the Innocent: The Influence of Comic Books on Today’s Youth which accused some comic books of corrupting the youth and inciting them to violence. In response to Wertham’s attacks, comic book companies created the Comics Code Authority (CCA) as a way to self-police the industry and win back readers (McCloud 1993).
The code stipulates that “all scenes of horror, excessive bloodshed, gory or gruesome crimes, depravity, lust, sadism, [and] masochism shall not be permitted”. Duncan and Smith (2009:40) and thus, help to get rid of some scrupulous publishers who were specializing in crime and horror comics.

1.4.4. The Era of Retrenchment:

The second half of the 1950’s was a curse for the industry of comic books, in fact, comics had to challenge television which became the most dominant mass medium. According to surveys, almost 90 percent of American homes had at least one television set, people fascination with this new medium grew and therefore, comic books attraction started to fade away.

Anti comic books crusades intensify and again Wertham adds a layer by publishing in April 1955 a criticizing article “It’s Still Murder” on Saturday Review of Literature. This article was a ringing bell for parents who felt the need to protect their children from the influence of comic books. Wertham argues that comics stultified the imagination of normal children, giving them a taste for blood and gore besides of contributing to juvenile delinquency. The psychiatrist went even further by claiming that comics’ superheroes were the hidden face of perverse penchants, superman for instance reminded Wertham of a Nazi German, Batman and Robin were archetypes of gay culture and promoted homosexuality and Wonder woman threaten to turn healthy girls into lesbians.

Wertham words’ echoed to parents worried about their children’s education, religious and patriotic organizations started book burnings to set comics aflame, acts and ordinances were issued in this vein, in Washington, having a license to sell comics was required according to the Comic Book Act, in Los Angeles, an ordinance banned
distributing or selling comics to children under eighteen (18), both laws were considered unconstitutional, but they diagnosed the *malaise* felt regarding comic books.

The image of comics was stained by fallacies, Wertham (1948, 1954) articles and claims and Senate investigations into the cultural influence of the comic book industry. The community of comics was distressed by such charges; creators were even ashamed to tell people what their occupations were, Stan Lee when asked, told he was an illustrator of children’s books; many talented creators quitted the business and so did publishers as *Dell* and *Atlas*.

Though, the late 1950’s characterized comics’ decay and witnessed the fall of different genres and publishers, it encouraged a return to the roots meaning the superhero genre.

### 1.4.5. The Era of Connection:

By the beginning of the 1960s, comics’ industry showed further signs of recovery. Like the Golden Age, the Silver Age (Era of Proliferation) began with superhero comic books acting to convey the prevailing social ideology. But when that no longer appealed to audiences, the Silver Age comic book moved away from explicitly ideological texts.

The superhero genre which had been used to build consensus and morale during World War II was now questioning America’s role as the world's superpower, due largely in part to the public’s perception of the Vietnam War.

The revival of the superhero genre was due to Julius Schwartz, a fan of science fiction comics. In fact, Schwartz resuscitated the *Flash* by 1959 by changing his identity and costume which led sales increase. Besides of the fact of constantly revitalizing the genre, Schwartz established a real connection between fans, he was one of them and he knew what they wanted and was worried about their concerns.
“Doing so helped these fans feel a connection to each other and to the men who created the comic books they loved” (Duncan and Smith 2009:46).

Marvel comics further revolutionized the superhero by creating characters that had some kind of weakness or defect, such as the Hulk and Spiderman, a.k.a Peter Parker, a young bookworm who gained the powers of a spider in a science demonstration.

Peter was a frail teenager who had problems with romance, family and work. The spider man problems made fans identify to him. Marvel’s heroes were persecuted and misunderstood outsiders and spoke directly to public disorientation. In response to DC’s Justice League of America, Marvel created the Fantastic Four.

While these narratives still featured contests between good and evil, those concepts are slightly complicated with the introduction of virtuous villains and reluctant, selfish, or bickering heroes, Coogan (2006).

By the end of the 1960’s, DC’s and Marvel were the most dominant publishers, fans could choose between DC’s characters full of inventiveness and Marvel’s superheroes’ humanity.

1.4.6. The Era of Independence:

The late 1960’s was a turning point in comics’ history, as emphasized by Duncan and Smith “…something more radical begun to happen to comic books as both a medium and an art form” (2009:51). Authors returned to basics, they emphasized the form and embellished it to the point where form itself became the “substance” or “content” of the work.

The medium, then started to experiment a new type of art form, led by unconventional comic books’ readers and avid fans who made their own comics.
One of the most well known examples is Harvey Pekar’s *American Splendor* published in 1976 (*Figure 1.12*), an autobiographical comic book drawn by the forerunner of the movement namely Robert Crumb.

![Image](image.png)

*Figure 1.12*: An excerpt from American Splendor.

Pekar recalls his daily histories and frustrations while being a clerk in a veteran’s hospital, he addresses the audience directly, discussing all sort of topics ranging from philosophy to jazz music of the 1920’s. *American Splendor* might be considered as the most influencing comix created by artisans aiming to communicate sophisticated ideas.

Most of these new comics appeared in “…college humor magazines and counterculture newspapers” Duncan and Smith (2009:52). These comics, although looked like pamphlets, could not compete with traditional comic books newsstands; they rather developed a distribution system other than bookstores or head shops.
The content and form of this new artwork was a rebellion against the Comic Code restrictions and old established conventions, these underground comix as they were called, aimed to deliver comics from archaic policies and editorial rules.

New York based publishers took in charge the production and distribution of such items and so became known as the mainstream.

Eight-pagers or Tijuana Bibles are recalled to be the first underground comix containing crude and explicit sex, depicting political figures or fictional characters employing coarse language and obscenities besides of enjoying sexual acts, thing that was illegal at that time.

Underground comix with their deliberately shocking and obscene content were very appreciated among pre-college and adolescent audience thanks to Marvel who started to cultivate a taste for such comics, brand new counterculture heroes emerged like the Silver Surfer by Stan Lee or Steve Ditko’s, Doctor Strange’s Adventures.

Though comix were appreciated and somehow praised, their contents were explicit sexuality and graphic violence. Hippie inspired, they dealt with social themes like sex, drugs, rock music but above all, their main concern was political and anti-authoritarian, they broke taboos and went on direct attacks; “…underground publishers had a fierce commitment to freedom of expression that allowed the creators to be not only offensive, but also creative and experimental” Duncan and Smith (2009:57).

The Era of Independence was not only concerned with comix, it emphasized the struggle for equity, for blacks and whites, for men and women and vehicle a strong feeling of patriotism. Comics like Hero of Hire started to appear starring Luke Cage, an African American character. Female voices begun also to be heard in comics’ sphere with works of Trina Robbins and publications of magazines such as Wimmin’s comix (debuted in 1972).
Independence for comics meant also hiring new creators to upgrade sales and make new adventures to reach a wider audience; in fact, such authors depicted the loss of innocence in the first half of 1970’s portraying superheroes with drug addictions (Green Arrow’s sidekick), and introduction of gloomy themes (death of Gwen Stacy, the Spider man girlfriend). These new themes were a turning point in the industry of comic books and helped development of Newave (mini-comics or mini-comix), Ground Level (Lord of the Rings by Tolkien), Independent (Sabre: Slow Fade of an Endangered Species by Don McGregor and Paul Gulacy) and Alternative comics in the tradition of underground comix.

Alongside these new trends, comic book publishers earned greater profits than ever before by rising the cost of comic books, distributing them to specialized comic book retail outlets rather than newsstands on nonreturnable basis, and targeting the loyal fan base over causal mainstream readers. The increased influence of this specialized market on the production and distribution of comic books indicated the extent to which comic books had become, in large part, the niche of a slightly estranged subculture.

1.4.7. The Era of Ambition:

In a sophisticated interplay of postmodern intertextuality\(^2^2\), many comic book heroes, such as Frank Miller’s Daredevil, began to question their own heroism and often seemed to have a tenuous grasp on their own sanity. In fact, heroes seemed to be the subject of comic book stories rather than the means to tell a story.

They started wondering about their own mortality. In fact, this period witnessed the death of numerous superheroes, including Captain Marvel, Batman (at least figuratively), and Watchmen’s. Superman himself died in Lois Lane’s arms in 1992.

\(^2^2\) Intertextuality: the complex interrelationship between a text and other texts taken as basic to the creation or interpretation of the text. From the Miriam Webster Dictionary.
This era signed works artistically dominant; *Maus* is one of the evidence that comic books can tell stories other than ones of superheroes, while the Holocaust was much discussed after WWII and was quite a recurring theme, no account of it was like *Maus*.

The author was about to reiterate the experience with *Maus II* published in 1992. This work would win a Pulitzer Special Prize Award, the one and only comic book to win such prize.

By the end of the 1980’s, the comic book industry seemed interested in reconstructing the genre that nearly deconstructed itself by emphasizing continuity from the Golden and Silver Ages (rise and fall of the superhero genre) and reconstructing the mission convention that broke down in the Iron Age (superheroes self questioning) (Coogan 2006). Most importantly, the comic book industry began marketing new issues of comic books, Frank Miller for instance “…provided a grittier, less sanitized vision of vigilantism” (Duncan and Smith 2009:72) by creating Batman: The Dark Knight Returns in 1986 where he would explore the influential, darker and violent side of Batman. In the same vein, Watchmen was published later that year and Allan Moore depicted the implications of real people dressed in colorful costumes concerned with vigilantism. Moore’s work gained acclaim and was considered as the most complex graphic novel ever published (Duncan and Smith 2009).

Watchmen was consider as”…one of the 100 best novels from 1923 to present” (Duncan and Smith 2009:110).

During the 1990’s comics became top collector items, only less popular than stamps and coins. Even though comic books in the 1990’s had a smaller audience than in previous eras, this audience was willing to buy more and pay more.
In a major symbolic event for the American Comic Book Industry, Marvel became the first comic book publisher to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange in 1991, Marvel had grown into a multimedia entertainment company, and currently the superhero is the golden boy of Hollywood. Advanced computer-generated imagery make superhero fights and powers look as fantastic and seamless as they do on the comic page. Clearly, comic books have once again emerged as a major force in a corporate-driven commercial culture with artistic achievement that attracted a larger audience. While credibility and acknowledgment spread in this era, it is to be seen if ever such audience will still be tuned.

1.4.8. The Era of Reiteration:

Starting from the 1980’s, comic books seem to enter an era of reiteration, indeed, the superhero genre is still dominating the market. In the occasion of their fifth anniversary, DC launched *Crisis on Infinite Earths* (1985), a twelve limited series aim to connect new readers with old publications. DC’s *Superman* was the first to enter the scene with a six-issue limited series, *The Man of Steel* one year later all along of new interpretations of *Batman, Wonder Woman* and many other characters.

A sense of nostalgia seized authors “…and led to an increasing number of “Year One” flashback projects that revisited and re-envisioned the roots of popular superheroes” Duncan and Smith (2009:78).

This concept was also adopted by Marvel, where titles like *Marvels*, a four limited issue series spread the market of comics; the aim of such enterprise was to get rid of complicated themes with darker tones and tormented characters and a desire to return to the *Golden Age of comics.*
Thus, in 1996, superheroes like *Fantastic Four, Captain America, Iron Man*, and the *Avengers* were canceled and restarted with number one issues. Marvel developed a sale strategy consisting in issuing a separate line of comics, in 2000; it launched *The Ultimate Line* meant to be much accessible to a new generation of readers. *Ultimate Spider Man, Ultimate X-Men* appeared and were placed immediately at top of sales.

While Marvel and DC’s superheroes were invading bookstores, competing publishers like *Image Comics* and *Dark Horse comics* exploited other genres. Under the first label, comics such as *Troy* (based on historical resources), *Oeming’s Powers* (2000) by Brian Michael Bendis and Michael Avon mixing detective and science fiction genre emerged. *Dark Horse* presented considerable high-profile works namely Frank Miller’s *Sin City* in 1991 and *300*, a historical drama created in 1998 which both enjoyed great Hollywood film adaptations.

All in all the era of reiteration was characterized by the reintroduction of the superhero genre with new themes, updated backgrounds and appearances. Besides, this era favored the emergence of independent publishers and the widespread of genres other than those of the Golden Age.

Comic books challenged a lot of media starting from television in the mid 1950’s to recent other genres of comics namely Japanese *Manga* that became very appreciated in the community of comics. The next part is a focus on the medium, its emergence and development.

**1.4.9. Manga:**

Presented in a set of panels and employing sequential art too, Manga featuring characters with disproportional bodies and large eyes are becoming “…the new comic-book art format”, Toni Johnson-Woods (2010:1).
The word itself translates as ‘irresponsible pictures’ but the medium is acknowledged to be the most prolific one for it generates a great financial success and is appealing to a wide range of audience encompassing boys and girls (shōnen and shōjo manga), young adult men (seinen manga) and ladies too (redikomi manga), where a diversity of subjects is presented and a lot of topics are discussed ranging from sport to cooking.

Exploring all aspects of Japanese society allowed manga own nearly forty (40) percent of the publishing industry.

Manga or ‘gekika’ (dramatic pictures) are described by Toni Johnson-Woods as

“… a visual narrative with a recognizable “sensibility”. The term sensibility is intentionally vague in order to cover a multitude of options and embraces the stereotypical big-eyed, pointy chinned characters that many people consider the epitome of manga” (2010:2).

Manga as compared to pulp fictions is quite cheaper with issues published only in black and white and not unlike Western comics, the rising sun’s versions resemble sometimes to Victorian novels because of their thickness where creators tell complex and sophisticated stories featuring serialized characters.

As a comic tradition, the emergence and origin of manga was influenced by a number of antecedents that will be discussed in the following part.

1.5. Origin of Manga:

“… manga and anime developed from historical art traditions in Japanese culture” Robin E. Brenner (2007:1). In fact, the history of manga can be traced back over nine hundred (900) years ago.
According to many specialists, the first Japanese sequential art were scrolls created by a Buddhist Monk in the twelfth century, Robin Brenner (2007) delves deeper in manga’s origin and claims that the most famous example of this art is the Chōju Giga, or “animal scrolls” created by Bishop Toba Sōjō. These animals; rabbits, foxes and monkeys parody members of the clergy and those of the nobility as seen on (Figure 1.13).

Figure 1.13: Chōju Giga by the monk Toba (animals fighting)

The scrolls reached about eighty (80) feet i.e. more than twenty four (24) meters and were read from right to left as the Japanese way of writing. These scrolls depicted the lives of the monks in a humorous way or satirized them besides of showing the way Japanese use space and consider calligraphic lines to create eloquent movement, expressions and figures.

But the emergence of manga is credited to Hokusai Katsuhika in the sixteenth (16th) and seventeenth (17th) centuries when this latter and other painters started to produce a new kind of illustrations known as “pictures of the floating world” or ukiyo-e\(^{(23)}\).

\[^{(23)}\text{Ukiyo-e: Woodblock printing panels performed in the Tokugawa era (1600-1867).}\]
It is argued that Hokusai is the one who created the medium when he gathered his works around 1815 and called them *manga* meaning ‘whimsical pictures’ or ‘sketches’. He is, indeed responsible of the most important picture of Japanese sequential art with his illustration of “the great wave of Konnagawa” (*Figure 1.14*).

*Figure 1.14*: The great wave of Konnagawa.

The picture illustrates curling waves threatening fishermen with the Mont Fuji visible well performed using fluid lines.

*Choju giga, ukiyo-e* and *kabuki* were simple offshoots of manga since the development of the medium as specialists claim went through two major periods that will be described as follows:
1.5.1. Opening to the West:

The arrival of Mathew Perry, the American commodore in the Japanese shores and precisely in Gorahama, shoved Japanese open trade with the Western World. In fact, 1853, was the year of great changes in Japan where political leaders tried to integrate the American way of life in a still conservative Japan with the mythic samurai as leading warriors. These changes soon plunged the Japanese society in struggles between the West--leaning leaders and the conservatives. So, the Meiji era (1868-1912) portrayed the innumerable stories of such fights.

The encounter with the Western world was characterized by the influx of new forms of arts, culture and tradition that influenced Japanese arts. Such flow was characterized by the spread of cartoons as seen on the famous London’s magazine *Punch*. Japanese were very attracted by such caricatures and adopted the humorous and political concept by creating *Japan Punch* in 1862 by Chares Wirgman but soon the magazine was taken over by Japanese publishers. Starting from this period, other funny magazines flourished in Japan as *Marumaru Chimbun* created in 1877 and was characterized by its inventiveness.

In all these adaptations, Japanese artists incorporated their own style with characters full of grace and gentle as opposed to the big-nosed characters coming from the West.

Though, the Western influence was clearly felt with Japanese artists mimicking strips and comics like *The Yellow Kid*, the ukiyo-e style was still present with simplistic layout and distinct Japanese images using *ligne claire*. 
The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of Japanese comics with strips and cartoons being read all over Japan. Indeed, political cartoons paved the way for a multitude of genres to be published, manga were even found in children’s magazines like the popular *Shōnen Club* (*Figure 1.15*), which is still published today. Shōnen manga aimed to little boys and were characterized by stories that could run for years as *Norakuro* depicting the adventures of a black dog all over Japan and lasted for 10 years, from 1931 to 1941.

*Figure 1.15*: Some Shōnen magazine covers.

With Japan’s entry in WWII in 1937, the Japanese authorities compelled *manga-*ka and artists to join a government supported trade organization *Shin Nippon Mangaka Kyokai* (The New Cartoonists Association of Japan) and obliged them to work under a tyrannical regime. Manga creators faced a terrible dilemma either work for the pseudo idealized government which was the symbol of oppression and propaganda or were persecuted and exiled. Creating manga at that time meant to adhere to the propaganda by depicting images that glorified bravery in the battlefield; such demonstrations led the majority of artists flee “…the country to continue their critique from afar” Brenner (2007:5) as Taro Yashima (1908-1994) a dissident artist did when settled in America and published *Umbrella* in 1977, an award-winning children book.
WWII was a devastating period for manga-ka and manga creativeness, the status of the medium shifted from a means of entertainment to a tool of spreading a so-called spirit of patriotism and unification (ibid).

The bitterness of oppression led talented artists abandon their works and thus, left a terrible gap in the variety of comics available in the country, but the atrocity of WWII was nothing compared to the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The event’s aftermath still resonates in every aspect of Japanese life and culture and the war theme became a recurrent one where artists illustrate the war, conflicts and the ‘apocalypse’. Though not speaking directly about war, some artists illustrate innocents in the turmoil of war as did Nakazawa Keiji in Barefoot Gen (1973).

The WWII, couldn’t get rid of mangas for good since immediately after the war, illustrations of all kind started to be seen everywhere, these latters were not of the same template as those of pre-war drawings; they were nevertheless bound in small red books and sold cheaper than the first manga. Yet, this period helped to the emergence of new artists to “…reinvigorate the comics scene with ambitious ideas about what the medium could accomplish” Brenner (2007:6).

1.5.2. Osamu Tezuka, The God of Manga:

One notable young red book artist was Osamu Tezuka; who transformed the manga by introducing cinematic effects for he grew up watching motion pictures. Tezuka believed that comics and especially manga can achieve highest standards of creativity, he doesn’t hesitate to experiment techniques inspired by Walt Disney pictures and Betty Boop creators, the Fleischer brothers, Tezuka used cinematic techniques “…including pans, zooms and jump cuts by using the space in between the panels like the break between film frames” (ibid).
Dubbed by fans ‘The God of Manga’, Tezuka reinvented the manga style by his innate sensibility and the power he had to capture characters’ emotions. Stories like *Kimba the White Lion* (1950) and *Astro Boy* (1952) were very appreciated and praised.

The little boys who were so attracted by their manga grew and their shōjo comics no longer quench their appetite for adult drama, so, in the 1950’s new stories started to be published dubbed *gekiga* or drama pictures aimed to a more mature audience where topics like sex, violence and vengeance filled the black and white pages. It was the beginning of *seinen* manga with stories like the legendary *Kasuo Koike’s Lone Wolf and Cub*.

By the 1970’s manga were widespread all over the world and readers were eager to read more and more of them, no matter if they were written from right to left or their characters did not resemble the Western standards. Along *shōjo* and *shōnen* manga, many genres started to emerge. They aimed at a growing readership namely *seinen* for adult men and *Josei*, the ladies manga featuring dramatic characters often with a complex psychology.

Transcending cultural and age barriers, manga are more than a genre, they are a medium where emotions are expressed employing sequential art in a typical Japanese tradition.

The popularity of manga and comic books in general is mainly due to the their Visual aspects and their appealing format. This part will be thus dedicated to the Visual culture of manga and comic books.
1.6 Visual Culture / Visual Studies:

“SEEING IS A GREAT DEAL MORE than believing these days”, as art historian Nicholas Mirzoeff pinpoints in *The Visual Culture Reader* (1999:3).

Spending the first pages of his book introducing the concept of visual culture, Mirzoeff (1999) demonstrates that visual culture is perhaps best understood as a strategy for studying the functions of a world addressed through picture, images and visualizations, rather than through text and words.

He thus emphasizes that in today’s society we are no more assured that what we see is what we believe in. The power of perception transcends the sense of seeing in a world governed by visual media such as television, internet, advertising and film industry. W.J.T Mitchell’s work on imagery and iconology (1986), demonstrates the nature of visual paradigms as the idea of vision and the idea as vision. Mitchell distinguishes three different types of metapictures, first, the picture that is reflecting within the whole picture or explicitly doubles itself and which the French writer André Gide qualifies of mise en abyme, as the Matryoshka dolls (Russian nested dolls) (*Figure 1.16*) or paintings of the Dutch master Jan van Eyck with his most famous and engaging portrait of the Arnolfini Marriage (*Figure 1.17*) by the 15th century where the whole scene is seen through the mirror at the end of the room.

*Figure 1.16: Matryoshka dolls*  
*Figure 1.17: The Arnolfini Marriage*
Hergé also used the mise en abyme process in one of Tintin’s albums: *La gazza Ladra* 24 (la pie voleuse). A second kind of pictures is a picture which is embodied in another kind of picture(s), and therefore recontextualizes the inner picture as nested inside of a larger one (Mitchell 1986). An example of reframed pictures is Diego Valasquez’s the *Christ in the house of Mary and Mar* (Figure 1.18) painted in 1618 where the picture of the Christ appears as a detail in the whole picture representing the two women. The third and last kind of pictures Mitchell identifies is that any picture according to him can become a *metapicture* 25, be it a simple line or a complex

![Figure 1.18: The Christ in the House of Mary and Mar.](image)

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24: translated as magpie. In this album Hergé makes use of la mise en abyme and tricks readers until the end of the story. This album was acclaimed by critics but overlooked by fans.

25: In Mitchell’s words “picture about pictures that is pictures that refer to themselves or to other pictures, pictures that are used to show what a picture is” (1994:35).
sophisticated portrait. In this, Velasquez’s the *Meninas* (*Figure 1.19*) is the most famous example that regards painting as an art rather than a technique.

Objects are thus seen and perceived in different ways depending on factors, they are given meaning through the process of *defamiliarization*\(^{26}\).

Relying on visual culture any art work may be seen through different lenses and perspectives depending on the audience and context. A picture can be considered either using senses or through perception.

In this, Roland Barthes (1957) uses the term *myth* to refer to the denotative/connotative (seeing / perceiving) dichotomy involving the study of visual culture. Myths being the hidden set of rules and conventions through which meaning is found, which specific to a certain group are made to be seen as universals.

Segregated and often subsumed under other disciplines such as Philosophy, Aesthetics, Archival Studies, and Film Studies…, Visual Culture emerged as a brand new field and enjoyed proliferation starting from the 1980’s and especially the 1990’s where thinkers, artists and historians developed the concept. As such, it encompasses a wide range of phenomena linked to vision, visualization and visual domains using these notions as tools to understanding the surrounding world.

Visual studies which is the study of visual culture”… is concerned with visual events in which information, meaning or pleasure is sought by the consumer” (idem), it concentrates on the visual aspect of art’s manifestations where the image becomes the focal point in the whole context be it paintings, literature, television or comic books. In this sense, readers often find themselves involved in the process of selecting, editing and framing all that they see in their ways of reading the visual (Schirato and Webb 2004).

Most of the time unconscious, this process (selecting and omitting), even if it is conscious is limited by factors such as context and *cultural literacy*. Cultural literacy being a concept developed by *E.D Hirsch* in his bestselling book: *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1987b) where the emphasize is put on the *canonical knowledge* mastered by the majority group and under political decision which Hirsch (1988) labels *cultural literacy* (E.R House, C. Emmer, N. Lawrence, 1991).
It is acknowledged that comic books in general are framed with the visual culture. Indeed, comics’ narratives reflect an acute sensitivity to space and, therefore to the look of things, the interpretation of space is important to the point that symbols become undermined by their non-symbolic reading. This regard for visuality comes from a deeply rooted tradition that remained present even today.

In addition to being concerned with the production, circulation, and consumption of images and the changing nature of subjectivity, comics are also preoccupied with what Rogoff (1998) has called ‘viewing apparatuses’ which include the ways of seeing and practices of looking, and knowing, and doing, and even sometimes with the misunderstandings and unsettling curiosity in imagining the as-yet un-thought.

In this vein understanding comics needs to have various skills in framing, editing, interpreting characters’ nonverbal gestures and decoding the message behind the pictures.

1.8. Comic Books’ Status in Algeria:

The history of the Algerian comic books can be traced back over the 1950’s where artists and cartoonists like Ismail Aït Djaffar illustrated their comic strips on colonial (French) newspaper. It is after the independence (1962) that Algerians really started to publish their comic books. Indeed, post independence comics where mainly used as a tool to vehicle a sentiment of pride after the war. In this, artists such as Haroun and Chid begun to illustrate their strips in newspapers like Algérie Actualité or El-Moudjahid newspapers.

In this vein, Algérie Actualité published Mohamed Aram’s Naâr: une sirène à Sidi Ferruche, (Naâr: a siren in Sidi Ferruche) where a superhero fights sirens.

It is in this period that one of the most well known characters in the Algerian comics appeared namely Mimoun that was later renamed Bouzid created by Slim (Figure 1.20).
In 1969, *M’Quidech* (Figure 1.21), the first comic book published by the SNED (Société Nationale d’Edition et de Publication translated as The National Company for Publication and Diffusion) appeared. *M’Quidech* refers to a famous character in Algerian popular tales. These comics aimed to establish a national spirit by promoting characters speaking in Arabic, wearing traditional clothes and narrating stories in a typical Algerian humorous way. Other artists also came into the scene like Rachid Aït Kaci, Mohamed Bouslah, Nour-eddine Hiahemzizou and Mohamed Mazari with works such as Tchipaze, Krikech, Zach and Tchalabi, respectively (Sid Ali Melouah 2009).

The recurrent theme of most these comics was the history of the Algerian independence painted by artists whose age did not exceed 16 years old.

*Figure 1.20: Excerpt of Bouzid and the vote (1991-92)*

*Figure 1.21: M’Quidech cover*
In 1972, the SNED decided to stop the publication of M’Quidech which led to a halt in creativity except for Slim who was still publishing strips in newspapers.

If the post-war decade is acknowledged to be the period where comic books appeared, the 1980’s is according to Melouah (1992) and Labter (2009) the most prolific and creative era with a festival dedicated to comics and caricatures held in Bordj El Kiffan in 1986. This festival was characterized by a mass participation of new authors like Masmoudi, Assari and Bouslah among others and French ones namely Jean Pierre Gourmelen and Claude Moliterni, the infatuation of the medium was such that the authorities via the ENAL (Entreprise Nationale du Livre translated as the National Company of the Book) took in charge the publication of some comics and thus contributed to the popularity of talented authors.

Twenty (20) years later, the theme of colonialism and oppression was still present in the 1980’s comics’ and like M’Quidech stories, these new one were testimonies of the Algerian war and Algerian martyrs, but moreover, these new committed artists were Algerians’ voices, they discussed political issues, especially the problem of democracy.

In fact, 1988 demonstrations’ witnessed an alteration in the Algerian Government where former President Chadli Ben Djedid (1929-2012) allowed freedom of the press which led starting from the 1990’s to a myriad of publications and therefore the emergence of new gifted artists like Daiffa, the first woman to embark in comics’ creation with strips illustrating women’s struggles, positions (Figure 1.22) and equality of genders.
The *pseudo-political* tolerance gave birth to the satirical comic book *El Menchar* (*Figure 1.23*) (translated as the saw) founded in 1990 by *Sid Ali Melouah* with the collaboration of *Dilem, Sour, Gyps, Ayoub, Nedjmedine* and many more.

*El Menchar* became a significant outlet for creators wanting their opinions to be heard and their voices to be raised, indeed, the fortnightly comic was printed in 200,000 copies that were all sold out the first week of their publication. Cartoonists shook conventions in *El Menchar* and satirized political figures.

This burst of creative energy was interrupted in 1991 due to the civil war that lasted a decade (1991-2000) where some artists were victims of homicides and others fled the country.

Few years after this fatal conflict, FIBDA (Festival International de la Bande Désinée Algerienne translated as the International Festival of the Algerian Comic Books) started in 2008 acting as a catalyst in the rebirth of Algerian comics. In fact, festivals like the FIBDA encourage creativity among comic’s artists and help their works to be published; they also play a key role in developing the local market and increasing artists’ talents by organizing workshops. Moreover, such enterprise acknowledges supporting new cartoonists’ generations and thus promoting new publications.
Another factor aiding in Algerian comics renaissance is with no doubt Belgian artist *Etienne Schréder* who gathered a series of workshops with Algerians and collected them in an omnibus called *Monsters*.

*Labter* in his *Panorama de la Bande Déssinée Algérienne 1969-2009* and *50 ans de Bande Déssinée Algérienne. Et l’aventure continue* by *Ameziane Ferhani* acknowledge that though, the history of Algerian comics went through hard times, it enjoys now popularity with all kinds of publications challenging American, European or Asiatic ones with new generation of artists following their predecessors paths and willing to restore to comics their glorious days.

**1.9. Conclusion:**

Comics have been on a journey toward wider recognition in recent years, though it has taken a while to get to this point. Some educationalists, psychologists, and sociologists treated comic books as a pariah, a danger to youth, to morals, to reading, and to the very fabric of society. Indeed, more than a genre, comics are a medium where emotions are expressed employing sequential art, *The essential guide to World Comic Books* analyzes the power of comic books being “…an exceptional form of storytelling completely separate from film, prose, animation or any of other media they’ve pointlessly compared to”. Pilsher and Brooks (2005:20).

In this, they are seen as a multimodality channel of communication employing modalities such as images and words through which a myriad of ideas are communicated, feelings transcend the paper making of comics a stand-alone medium.

These work arts are now part of the culture of almost every nation with avid fans trying to identify to their heroes, getting inspired by the stories’ protagonists and sharing their emotions with the ones of their favorite characters.

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28: Translated as *50 years of Algerian comic books. And the story goes on* published in 2009.
Chapter two

Into the Comic Books’ World
From Theory to Practice
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2.1. Introduction:

Discourse analysis was and still is the concern of many scholars encompassing several social science disciplines mainly linguistics, sociology, anthropology, cognitive psychology...each with a specific definition and point of view.

In fact, hardly definable and sometimes used indiscriminately, discourse analysis (DA) as a research method as pointed by Hoggart, Lees and Davies (2002:165), is “something like bike riding [...] which is not easy to render or describe in an explicit manner”.

Indeed, rather than providing a particular method, discourse analysis can be characterized as a way of approaching and thinking about a problem. In this sense, it is neither a qualitative nor a quantitative research method, but a manner of questioning the basic assumptions of quantitative and qualitative research methods. In this vein, Wood and Kroger claim that:

[DA] is not only about method; it is also a perspective on the nature of language and its relationship to the central issues of the social sciences. More specifically, we see discourse analysis as a related collection of approaches to discourse, approaches that entail not only practices of data collection and analysis, but also a set of metatheoretical and theoretical assumptions and a body of research claims and studies. \(^{(29)}\)

The purpose of this chapter is not doing discourse analysis; it is rather casting light on specific types of it, trying to apply them to comic books and moreover, demonstrate the power behind words and pictures in “a mushy mixture of the articulable and the visible” (Deleuze 2006:33)\(^{30}\). The study concentrates in general in providing an overview of discourse analysis, but it explores particularly the visual discourse analysis related to comic books, the analysis of images under the context of


\(^{30}\) Quoted in Schmidt (2013:76).
the sociology of knowledge discourse analysis and the implication of iconology and iconography (Mitchell 1989, 1996) in the medium. The research continues with a sociolinguistic exploration of the dialects displayed in this study namely the dialect of Algiers, the dialect of Oran and the dialect of Batna with a special glimpse to code switching being the central sociolinguistic phenomenon displayed in this comic book’s enquiry with a section devoted to the mapping of the main varieties found in *Houma Fighter*.

### 2.2. The field of Discourse Analysis:

More than half a century ago, John Austin (1954) gave a series of lectures, the *William James Lectures* at Harvard University, which were published posthumously as a book entitled *How to Do Things with Words*. Austin presented a new picture of analyzing meaning; meaning is described in a relation among linguistic conventions correlated with words/sentences, the situation where the speaker actually says something to the hearer, and associated intentions of the speaker. The idea that meaning exists among these relations is depicted successfully by the concept of *acts*: in uttering a sentence, that is, in utilizing linguistic conventions, the speaker with an associated intention performs a linguistic act to the hearer.

_Speech act theory_ 31 is assumed to be the foundation upon which DA expanded and developed, in fact, this theory was the token of many others through which specialists affirmed that “…speaking and writing involve physical actions or movements” Nicola Wood (2006:xii), in this, words become deeds.

Notwithstanding, the *Foucauldian* discourse analysis takes its roots from an early constructivist tradition which states that knowledge is not a reflexion of reality (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002).

Been quoted, analyzed, followed and much discussed, Michel Foucault became a key figure in DA, his study entails a focus on discourse as a matter of the social, historical and political conditions, under an *archaeological phase*, Foucault argues that

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31. Before Austin, Z. Harris introduced the term Discourse Analysis in 1952. Though, he paved the way for the inquiry on this concept, his view, with respect to him, will not be taken into consideration in this work.
although possessing a multitude of combinations to formulate statements, these latters are similar and repetitive.

In his *genealogical view*, the scholar developed a theory of *power and knowledge*. In this, he emphasizes the notion of power being productive:

> What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (Foucault 1980: 119)

Power then is associated with leisure and generates discourse.

The concept of *power / knowledge* generates another conception of *truth*, the latter being embedded in power. The focus is no more to attest if a statement is true or false, it is rather on how “… ’truth-effects’ are created in discourses” (idem).

But the Foucauldian view and method is not the only one since DA was tackled by many scholars in different fields. Indeed, the terms *discourse* and *discourse analysis* as demonstrated by Schiffrin et.al (2001) have different meanings according to specialists.

In this, most scholars agree on three major parameters of DA which are again stated by Schiffrin et.al as

(1) Anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language” (2001:1).

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Meaning that DA covers a range of domains but is more considered to be the study of texts including coherent units such as narratives or novels, sketches of conversations or any purposive discourses (health, peace…).

Be it socially-oriented discourse analysis (view the text in the social and cultural setting in which it occurs) or textually-oriented (concentrates on language features of texts), this concept entails a competence in language use to avoid social and cultural bias, this competence is called ethnography of communication or ethnography of speaking, a notion developed by Dell Hymes with the publication of his essay “The ethnography of speaking” in 1962, a field with multidisciplinary interests (sociolinguistics, ethnography, philosophy) that urged scholars to study aspects of communication that were set aside by linguists, namely the competence an individual possesses and acquires (through experience) to communicate with others in an effective and efficient manner, by competence is meant communicative competence, the study that describes and analyses the use of language for communication purposes in real situations.

In proposing such definition, Hymes objects the Chomskian ideal speaker/listener tradition and calls for a more flexible, socially and culturally oriented study of language performed by a heterogeneous speech community.

Such call echoed to specialists like Cameron (1999) who adheres to the idea that discourse is a performance and that this performance is constantly shaped and reshaped by individuals.

In this vein, Cameron attests that what makes people who they are is much due to the way they speak (Cameron 1999 and Paltridge 2006).

The essence of discourse (analysis) is language; language is a core component in any interaction be it conversational or written, it “…is a ‘machine’ that generates, and as a result constitutes, the social world” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2006:9). It is language when used across or through different and related texts that engenders intertextuality.
2.3. Intertextuality and Discourse:

Coined in 1966 by Julia Kristeva and widely inspired by works of Mikhaïl Bakhtin on dialogism\textsuperscript{33}, the concept of intertextuality entails the use and re-use of texts and words in other occasions, according to Kristava’s every text is a mosaic of citations and every text is the absorption and transformation of other texts\textsuperscript{34}, whether they are spoken or written, these texts as posited by Lemke (1992) make their own meaning on the behalf of previous or other texts. Texts may refer more or less explicitly through plagiarism for say or implicitly through quotations to other texts, allude to other texts or imitated other texts past or future. In this Lemke (1995) argues that all texts share an intertextual relationship.

To emphasize the view that words have already been used and that utterances could not be but intertextual, Kristeva writes:

\begin{quote}
Horizontal axis (subject-addressee) and vertical axis (text-context) coincide, bringing to light an important factor: each word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read.\textsuperscript{35} Kristeva (1980:66).
\end{quote}

In this, she confirms that a text is not a unified, isolated object that gives a singular meaning, but an element opened to various interpretations.

This notion of multi-interpretations was followed by Barthes (1968) when introducing his theory of the Death of the author where he distinguishes two types of readers: on the one hand consumers who read the work for stable meaning, and on the other hand, readers who are productive in their reading, which he calls ‘writers of the text’, this portion of performers when engaged in reading are in a sense re-writing the work, and this practice is at the center of Barthes (1978) theory of intertextuality.

\textsuperscript{33} Dialogism first used by Bakhtin in 1929 in his study of Dostoïevsky, the term is used to denote the quality of an instance of discourse that explicitly acknowledges that it is defined by its relationship to other instances past and future.

\textsuperscript{34} « tout texte se construit comme une mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d’un autre texte » by Kristeva qtd in \url{http://www.etudes-litteraires.com/figures-de-style/intertextualite}.

\textsuperscript{35} Original quotation: « le mot (le texte) est un croisement de mots (de textes) où on lit au moins un autre mot (texte) », quoted in Giroux (2006).
Intertextuality for Barthes means that *nothing exists outside the text*. Barthes’ intertextual theory destroys the idea that meaning comes from, and is the property of, the individual author. Through intertextuality, both the traditional author and the traditional critic, turn into readers. Barthes concludes *The Death of the Author* with the following lines

> a text is made from multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused, and that place is the reader, not, as hitherto said, the author… the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author” (Barthes 1977: 148).

Though Bakhtin, Kristeva, Genette and Barthes are sources of intertextual conceptualizations, their attempt was *fruitless* in developing a rigorous theory of how to use intertextuality in analyzing texts.

Despite the concept’s lack of interest in the mid 1980’s, intertextuality is important in the visual studies and especially in comics in thus, it internalizes the notion of *déjà-vu* where stories and characters in sequential art are sometimes imitations and plots tend to be redundant.

### 2.4. Visual Discourse Analysis:

The fact of *seeing, viewing* and *visualizing* have become central to know the world as it *really is* as claimed by Fyfe and Law (1988), in determining the centrality of the visual to contemporary life, Martin Jay (1993) used the term *ocularcentrism*.

Being the focal point of the comic genre, the visual composes the medium and makes it unique; it is perhaps this combination of text/image that makes comic books fit under what is called visual discourse analysis (VDA) and the context of Sociology of Knowledge Discourse Analysis.

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Such study invites a semiotic approach\textsuperscript{37}, or one in which there is an attempt to describe an overall structural organization of art as a language system, and the social contexts in which meanings are produced.

Visual Discourse Analysis is located within semiotics, discourse analysis, and the grammar of visual design, it is a general term for an approach to analyzing art as a language and its use. It is concerned with a theory and method of studying the structures and conventions within visual texts. More specifically, visual discourse analysts are concerned with and interested in analyzing visual texts, the marks on visual texts within the constructs of art as a language system, and venues besides of community situations in which art as a language is used.

Moreover Visual Discourse Analysis implicates the viewer as an active reader of visual artifacts; in this the amount of knowledge vehicled through this medium must be wider than written language alone, besides its premise lies in capturing the complex and dynamic nature of a system such the comic books for say. VDA questions the speaker/writer intentions, what do these latters want to transmit to the hearer/reader? What feelings, emotions and thoughts does the speaker/writer need his interlocutors to experience with? In this, Albers identifies a six-dimension model that allows answering such interrogations.

\textsuperscript{37} Though the study of comics in general entails a semiotic approach; this will not be the concern of this piece of research due to limitations.
In her model (Figure 1.24), Albers (2007) explains that analyzing texts in VDA is first and foremost multidirectional where dimensions can easily shift or change. In one continuum of this model, the *underpinning systems* permit the interpretation and analysis of texts through visual literacy, in the other one the *disciplinary knowledge* encompasses all features related to works of art in particular and art in general namely enclosure, sequences, the existing language in the text and the identity that this latter shapes. As in any visual text, the concept of *intertextuality* is prevalent where it settles the existing relationship to literary texts.
Depending on the nature of visual texts, conversations can be optional. Another dimension underlined by Albers is the social acceptability through which artists (writers/speakers) display different styles and techniques en vue of a general acceptability from society, culture or institutional forces. Finally, the apparent discourses are the whole techniques and beliefs with which the signmaker (speaker/writer) identifies.

The fact of reading visual texts implies the viewer (hearer/reader) to share some beliefs and thoughts in common with the signmaker (speaker/writer) so the text will be easier to be understood.

Comic books as artifacts are characterized by the fact that they communicate themselves spatially, aesthetically, and, in any case, visually. Thus, in the context of discourse they, so to speak, demand to be represented in a way which is appropriate to their genre, in a way that they can be aesthetically and also visually experienced, so the understanding and analysis of such work needs to be on the ground of how the signmaker sends his message to the viewer and how this latter is implicated in this message.

Visual discourse analysts tasks’ consist not only in analyzing the structural approach of visual texts but also in how language acts as a catalyst in the process of encouraging individuals’ beliefs or actions. Following Albers’ (2006b, 2007) view largely inspired by Gee (2005), Visual Discourse Analysis has four (4) principles:

(1) Visual language is reflexive: depending on how the viewer/reader is familiar with the visual text, this latter can reflect both the context and reality in which it was created.

(2) Language allows for situated meanings to occur, meaning the emphasis of the sentiment of déjà-vu, where texts are a source of other texts which are themselves inspired by other texts. Therefore when producing an art work, signmakers rely on previous experience and belief where suggestions of intertextual connection to other works are ubiquitous.
A third (3) point as suggested by Bakhtin (1981) and posited by Albers (2006b, 2007) is that language is composed of many different social languages, the point is that visuality differs from the signmaker and the receiver and so do the channel of communication, their perception of the visual art is altered. Social languages enable artists to perform their artworks in the way they feel better, in this act of language use, they are called social agents. The last point concerns the units of analysis within visual texts as stated by Albers (2006b, 2007): structural, semantic, artistic, tactile, and visual.

Being an important element in critical literacy, critical linguistics and semiotics, VDA identifies the signmaker intentions and beliefs, the social meanings of objects and how visual texts are structured.

An efficient analysis of art works namely comics needs to be embedded under the sociology of knowledge discourse analysis in which the reconstruction of formal structure of pictures becomes of central importance in analysis.

The sociology of knowledge aims foremost at establishing the relationship between thought and the social context, it studies the social sources and social consequences of knowledge. Emerged at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20st century, this field was primarily pioneered by the sociologists Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, for it is argued that the former established the foundations of this study, closely tied on the notions of his sociology of religion, Durkheim emphasizes the idea that spatial, temporal and other thought classifications are social in nature, his definition thus focuses on the notion of natural classification which this latter pre-existed in society.

Though Durkheim was considered as the founding father of sociology of knowledge, this study scattered somehow from its old definition and became a widespread area of research especially in German-speaking countries where specialists as Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim wrote extensively on it.

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38 Durkheim’s sociology of religion supposes that man’s religious commitments can be traced to his social commitments.
Indeed, the study of pictures or generally speaking image-oriented medium such as the comic book was tacitly ignored due to the ‘linguistic turn’ (R. Rorty 1967) where elaborated and complex texts were under scrutiny and deep study. Nevertheless, images started to gain recognition thanks to Mitchell largely followed by specialists as Hans Belting (2001).

The implication of images in all systems of meaning is largely agreed upon, specialists and scholars locate images in different areas, in the semiotics of Barthes for instance, the image is the ‘signified’ (the mental image) of a given ‘signifier’, Alfred Schultz describes symbols as images being the outcome of iconic knowledge (1964).

Under the sociology of knowledge, analyzing sequential art requires factors to be taken into consideration:

(1) the content, (2) the composition and design of pictures and finally (3) the context of production and publication encompassing the way of reception.

In this, several approaches are used for their suitability as the encoding / decoding approach of Hall and Fiske embedded under Cultural Studies along with Panofsky’s iconographic / iconologic image analysis that ensure an analysis in all three parameters cited above, Barthes semiotic analysis succeeds only in analyzing images through their content and design.

In another register, Structural-hermeneutical symbol analysis which is mainly concerned with text/image interpretations fails somehow in analyzing the way of reception of the picture.

Broadly speaking, what is palpable is that theories aiming to analyze pictures and pictorials works do not agree on a pre-established methodology, they rather use a multidisciplinary approach in which the picture is the central focus.

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39 Iconography is described as the study of traditional images or symbols whereas iconology is the study of icons.
40 Structural-hermeneutical symbol analysis entails the reconstruction of structures of meaning contained within shared symbolism.
Due to the ‘linguistic turn’, the study of pictures was marginalized and left aside, philosophers, especially in Europe concentrated on the relationship between philosophy and language and neglected any sense of visuality that was the concern of Mitchell who introduced the ‘pictorial turn’ (1994) and demonstrated along with other scholars the vitality of understanding images through creative methodologies.

2.5. Iconology versus Iconography:

Pioneering Art historians such as Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl and Ernst Gombrich (1915-1948) established the foundations of iconology; they used the word in the broad sense to denote the descriptive study of images. But, it was Panofky in 1939 who claimed that iconography in fact is the study of subject matter in the visual art as opposed to iconology which is an attempt to analyze the significance of that subject matter within the culture that produced it. In Panofsky’s words “iconography is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter of meaning of works of art as opposed to their form” Panofsky (1973:1). Used as tools to interpreting works of art both iconography and iconology along with the subject matter make up Panofsky’s analysis, he thus, asserts that the first step in understanding art history consists of the perception of the work’s pure form what he views as pre-iconography, in second comes iconography which is the equation of cultural and iconological knowledge or as Hasenmuelle (1978) calls the secondary or conventional meaning and last iconology, a deeper meaning which attempts to take into account personal, technical and cultural history into the understanding of a work of art. It looks at art not as an isolated incident, but as the product of a historical environment.

Though Panofsky set up the foundation of iconology in the History of art, W.J.T Mitchell broadens the concept to include visual media, since any manifestation of art should be analyzed and viewed in terms of its iconicity, iconography and iconology.
By *iconicity*, Mitchell means the power of the image. An *icon* according to him behaves like a *repressed memory* that keeps returning to the surface of the consciousness, in this, the image is regarded as the ultimate reference in the mind (1994).

Mitchell’s overwhelming book *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (1989) commences with asking two questions he considers recurrent in the individual mind “…What is an image? What is the difference between images and words? “(1989:1), in an attempt to answering these questions, Mitchell raises attention that instead of adding a layer to such disputes, it is better to turn these polemics into theoretical interests.

Mitchell calls such achievements ‘essays in iconology’ (ibid), where he describes the meaning of iconology as being the study of images and pictures or “rhetoric of images” (ibid) a twofold view that encompasses first the study of “…what to say about images” (ibid) as linked to Philostratus's(of Lemnon and his grand-son) Imagines and second a study of “what images say” (ibid) meaning the way these images negotiate their existence by describing, narrating and convincing.

Through empirical research, iconology turned to be in Mitchell’s book “…the political psychology of icons, the study of iconophobia41, iconophilia42, and the struggle between iconoclasm and idolatry” (1989:3).

Mitchell did not stop enquiring about the visual aspects of texts, images and iconicity in a world dominated by the visual media; in fact less than ten years later, the groundbreaking author came with; *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (1995) where he again refined his idea of the picture (image) and enriched his theory by offering a rich account of the interplay between the visible and the readable across culture, from literature to visual art to the mass media. A decade later, Mitchell published *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (2006) in which images attain the status of animated beings with desires, needs and demands.

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41 Iconophobia is the fear of images.

42 Iconophilia is the love of images.
Indeed, Mitchell’s trilogy transports readers in the world of images with the whole picture being not so clear as so to say since the problem of image (iconology) is tightly linked to ideology and so the political concerns.

Whether philosophical, pictorial, social, or even ethical representation, the relation of images and words is fundamental.

2.6. Aspects of the Sociolinguistic Situation of Algeria:

Algeria was the objects of invasions and conquests which favored the establishment of different cultures and civilizations and led to the emergences of several languages.

Algeria’s original inhabitants were the Berbers; these people witnessed the coming of the Carthagi civilization led by the Phoenician traders. The reign of the Phoenicians declined in the Punic wars where the Romans took control of the area. In around 429, the Vandals invaded Algeria and the Romans acknowledged their settlement in 435. Berber, Punic and Latin were the languages spoken at that time.

The Vandal domination ended with the coming of the Byzantines, their control finished with the invasion of the Arabs. The Arabs brought with them not only a new religion (Islam) but also new customs and language. By the end of the 15th century, Spanish invaded Algeria and after a considerable period of time, the Ottoman Empire put Algeria under protectorate to protect Islam for a period of about 300 years.

The Turkish rule was ended by the French who occupied Algeria from 1830 to 1962. Within almost 132 years, the French influenced the Algerian society both culturally and linguistically.

Algeria witnessed different cultures, habits and languages, but among all these only three are still used in the Algerian society, Berber, Arabic (Classical and Colloquial) and French.
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2.7. Today’s Algerian Linguistic Repertoire:

Due to its various invasions and conquests, Algeria developed a complex linguistic profile where along the Official language i.e. Classical Arabic coexist Colloquial Arabic which is said to be the majority of most speakers. French which is used for scientific teaching and of course Berber with its different varieties.

Thus, the Algerian linguistic profile is described as such:

2.7.1. Classical Arabic:

The official language used for formal settings and in official circles, as Bouamrane puts it “Algeria is by self-proclamation Islamic in spirit and Arabic in language” (1986:42).

Classical Arabic has prestige for it is the language of Islam, defined by its fixed forms, regular grammatical rules and rich vocabulary. It is the language of the Quran and religious teaching.

However, it is not Classical Arabic which is used in today’s formal interactions but an alternative modern version which is called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This variety is used by the elite for the sake of formality.

2.7.2. Modern Standard Arabic:

Modern Standard Arabic maybe defined as the modern version of CA with the addition of some scientific words from foreign sources. Ennaji defines MSA as being

Standardised and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghrib and in the Arab World at large. It has the characteristics of a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture. (1991:9).
In fact MSA is the variety of mass media found in TV channels, radio and in newspapers. It is also characterized by the use of some borrowings. These loans are adapted in the phonological and morpho-syntactic levels.

MSA is according to Khaoula Taleb Ibrahim is “a unified and a unifying language”\(^{43}\) (1997:35).

**2.7.3. Algerian Arabic:**

Algerian Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of speakers, being the language of daily use; it reflects the folk’s culture and oral heritage of popular songs, stories and sayings.

As far as AA is concerned, three main regions are described: the eastern region with Constantine and Algiers, the Oranie region i.e. the western one and the Saharan region in the Atlas with each divided into urban and rural dialects.

These varieties as Taleb Ibrahimi posits”…constitute the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people…it is through it that the imaginary and affective universe of the individual is built up”\(^{44}\) (1995:33).

**2.7.4. French:**

The French language was imposed on Algerians for more than 130 years; this language is still present despite policies of arabization aiming to regain the national identity. These policies suffered as posited by Taleb Ibrahimi (1981) and emphasized by Bouamrane (1986) from improvisations, “…French continues to have the lion’s share at the […] university level” Bouamrane (1986:46).

\(^{43}\) Original text : « la langue [AS] unifiée *mouahhada* et unifiante *mouahida* ».

\(^{44}\) Original text : « [ces dialectes Arabes] constituent la langue maternelle de la majorité du peuple Algérien…c’est à travers elle que se construit l’imaginaire de l’individu, son univers affectif. 

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From observations, it is noticeable that the use of French is prominent among Algerian speakers and is deeply implanted at both formal and informal levels. French is used in daily life conversations and not restricted to the elite; it is not surprising to hear speakers using French loans in their interactions.

For instance a speaker may say: /roħt/ l’hospital /ljυ:m/, instead of / roht sbi:ŧar ljυ:m/ Lit.Tra: I went to the hospital today.

It is also quite natural for Algerian speakers to use “ready-made” phrases such as ‘ça y est’ or ‘c’est bon’ in sentences like:

C’est bon /rani rajha/ Lit.Tra: It’s alright, Iam going.
Ça y est /kemǝlt/ Lit.Tra : Here we are I’ve finished.

Regarded as “…the language of modernity, techniques […] and of opening to the world” ⁴⁵Taleb Ibrahimi (1995:108), French is still strongly used among Algerian speakers and still carries highly positive connotations.

2.7.5. Berber:

Regarded as a national language, Berber belongs to the Hemetic Semetic language family. It is according to Chaker (1991) the mother tongue of about 20% of the Algerian population. The alphabet used in Berber is called Tifinagh, a script of Phoenician origin.

There are several varieties of Berber in Algeria and are dispatched as such:

- Taqbellit (Kabyle): is the main Berber variety, spoken essentially in Tizi Ouzou, the capital of great (high) Kabylia and in Bejaïa, the center of small (low) Kabylia.

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⁴⁵ Original text : « la langue de la modernité, des techniques […] la langue de l’ouverture sur le monde ». 
• Tashawit (Chaoui): spoken in the Aures mountains area in the eastern south of Algeria and in some regions like Batna and Souk Ahras.

• Tamzabit: spoken in the center of Algeria by the M’Zab. It is regarded as an important Berber community due the conservative nature of its speakers.

• Tamahaq: spoken in the Tassili and Ahaggar regions in the south of Algeria. It represents with Tamashaq and Tamajaq the linguistic variety of the Tuareg used in Mali and Niger.

• Tachenwit: spoken in the west of Algiers in regions such as Tipaza and Cherchell.

2.8. Code Switching:

As an outcome of languages coming into contact, code switching has been discussed in virtually every branch of linguistics and was the concern of scholars and specialists in Formal Linguistics as Jakobson who first talked about ‘switching codes’, in sociolinguistics with diverse definitions as Blom & Gumperz (1972), Poplack (1980), Myers-Scotton (1993), Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) to name just a few, in the discipline of Psycholinguistics with specialists as notably Clyne (2000) who dealt with language disorders, and recently in the field of Digital Technology with Bartscherer and Coover (2011) as front figures.

What is striking when dealing with CS is that almost every scholar focuses on one point rather than another rendering the concept even more complicated. Jakobson (1990:1) states in this vein that:
The notion of alternation between varieties is not conceived of in a homogeneous way, but, rather, that different investigators examine the phenomenon in ways that elude the possibility of providing a definition of code-switching that all will subscribe to.

In an attempt to defining code switching, Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) along with Myers-Scotton (1993b) share the notion of the umbrella term, in their words, code switching is “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”.

Clyne in dealing with types of CS defines the term as “the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences” (1987:740) and Gumperz sustains the view of switching either in bilingual or in monolingual speech communities and between languages in the same conversation, he thus claims that CS is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (1982:59). Nevertheless, the definition describing code switching that will be adopted in this study is the one of Gardner-Chloros who states that

It [CS] refers to the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people. It affects practically everyone who is in contact with more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent (2009:4).

Code switching occurs not only between languages but also between dialects of these languages.

As far as the Algerian speech community is concerned, four (4) varieties are at stake (2.7), first is Berber a member of the Afro Asiatic language family (previously called Hamito-Semitic) spoken by Imazighen.
The official language, *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA) acknowledged as such in 1962, taught at schools but is the mother tongue of no speaker. Along with MSA, *Colloquial Arabic* (CA) or *Algerian Arabic* (AA) is spoken by the majority and is a subject of investigation due to its versatile nature, meaning that it is in constant change depending on social and geographical factors. The Algerian sociolinguistic’s sphere is characterized by the use of *French*, a language deeply rooted in the Algerian speech community due to a period of colonization that lasted over than 130 years.

An empirical investigation allows noticing that Algerian speakers in their everyday interactions code switch in the three (3) grammatical ways depicted by Poplack (1980):

- **Inter sentential switching**, which occurs between sentences;
  E.g.: /lbab rambala$/ le prof ne va pas me laisser entrer
  Lit. Tran. : The door is closed; the teacher won’t let me in.

- **Intra sentential switching**, which takes place within a sentence boundary;
  E.g.: /ɣadi nʒı/ en retard /lju:m/
  lit. Tran. : I will be late today

- **Extra sentential switching** that refers to the insertion of ready-made expressions or tags from one language into a sentence which is otherwise in another language.
  E.g.: bon, /ana nroh darwak/
  lit. Tran. So, I’m going now.

“Everyone knows that language is variable” (Sapir 1921:147), scholars and sociolinguists assume that *every* language exhibits internal variation i.e. all languages have a *number of varieties*. Variety is used to mean all form of language including dialects, registers, jargons, styles and accents, thus to avoid any bias with the *dialect*. 
This study is a trial to explore strategies of diaglossic and dialectal switching in *Houma Fighter*, it is an attempt to identify these varieties and denote their characteristics.

### 2.9. Mapping the Linguistic Varieties existing in *Houma Fighter*:

*Houma Fighter* recalls the story of Sofiane Bekhti, a kick boxer from Algiers. Through his adventure, Sofiane will meet several persons (opponents, challengers and companions) each uses a specific variety. These characters are displayed in the following table (*table 2.1*) according to their chronological order of appearance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Variety used &amp; characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sofiane Bekhti</td>
<td>Kick boxer</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Variety of Algiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakkou ‘la souris’</td>
<td>The houma fighter organizer</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Variety of Algiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Bakir</td>
<td>First Opponent</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Variety of Algiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zahia</td>
<td>Sofiane’s neighbor</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Variety of Algiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafid ‘Chawarma’</td>
<td>Second Opponent</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Variety of Algiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kader ‘Japoni’</td>
<td>The new challenger</td>
<td>Oran</td>
<td>Variety of Oran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The black cat</td>
<td>A ‘magical’ companion</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Variety of Algiers, it displays signs with sarcastic and humorous comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin Liang</td>
<td>Chinese worker</td>
<td>Batna</td>
<td>He speaks French with a specific accent and will represent the city of Batna, consequently he uses this variety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.1*: Characters of *Houma fighter* and their linguistic varieties.
As shown in the table above, most of the characters and even the ‘black cat’ are speakers of the variety of Algiers with the exception of two of them, one using the variety of Oran and the other the variety of Batna.

Though the present dissertation’s purpose is not the study the phonological aspects of these spoken varieties, it is however, worth to cast light on the main phonological features stigmatized in these latters.

As previously stated, the original inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers and the linguistic situation at that time was shaped by the use of Berber which resisted the invasions of the Phoenicians (3rd century B.C) and the Carthaginians, the Romans (40 B.C) too, were not capable to Latinize the Berbers for these latters were profoundly attached to their languages and traditions.

It is until the starting of the eighth (8th) century with the Islamic invasion that Algeria witnessed the most important shift in its linguistic sphere where Arabic replaced Berber in daily interactions.

When Arabic settled if so to say in Algeria, varieties started to appear, sedentary variety split then into Urban and Rural. May be the most important phonological difference as observed by Cantineau (1937) and Marçais (1960) rests in the fact that:

- Bedouin varieties realize the interdentals \( /\theta/ \) and \( /\delta/ \) as /t/ and /d/.

  E.g.: \( /\theta\lambda\z/ \) becomes /tal\z/ in the bedouin variety.

- Another striking feature related to Algerian Arabic diversity is the realization of the phoneme \( /q/ \), which opens gate to four main variation areas as posited by Khaoula Taleb-Ibrahimi
This distribution allows distinguishing in Algeria rural speeches from urban ones (particularly those of Algiers, Constantine, Jijel, Nedroma and Tlemcen) and to witness four dialectal regions: the East around Constantine, the speech of Algiers, Oran and then the South from the Saharan Atlas to the Hoggar, exhibits great dialect diversity from the East to the West (1995).46

Since the varieties this study is concerned with are those of Algiers, Oran and Batna, their distribution is therefore as follow (figure 2.2, map 1):

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/q/ is voiced in bedouin dialects and notably realized as /g/ like in Oran and Batna; it is also realized as /q/ in Algiers and its vicinities. Sometimes, it is palatalized and therefore realized as /ʒ/ or as /dʒ/, /q/ can have also voiceless allophones like /ʔ/ in Tlemcen. It can be also realized as /k/ in Jijel. In this, /q/ is realized in the word /ʔlqamar/ which means moon as:

/q/ in Algiers: /ʔlqmar/.
/g/ in Oran: /ʔlgamra/.
/ʔ/ in Tlemcen: /ʔlmar/.
/ʒ/ in some regions
/k/ in Jijel: /ʔlkmar/

The spread of rural varieties coincides with the period of the Hilali Islamic movements between the tenth and eleventh centuries. In this, Julien claims that:

The hilali invasion is with no doubt the most important event of the Maghreb Middle Age …Bedouins brought their variety with them which can easily be distinguished from the Arabic urban dialects, heritage of the first Muslim conquerors. Most of the rural Arab dialects spoken today in North Africa derive from this variety (1994:643). 47

47: L’invasion hilalienne est à coup sûr l’événement le plus important de tout le Moyen âge maghrébin…les Bédouins apportèrent avec eux leur langue, que l’on distingue facilement des dialectes citadins, legs des premiers conquérants musulmans. De cet arabe bédouin viennent la plupart des dialectes arabes ruraux parlés aujourd’hui en Afrique du Nord.
A second major factor in the reshaping of the linguistic facet of Algeria is the French colonization (1830) where the country faced an upheaval that ends up with a Francization policy which engenders strong opposition from both Arabic and Berber speakers, as in Grandillaume words’ “…ce qui a engendré, de la part des Kabyle principalement, une opposition déterminée à cette politique” (2004:1976)\textsuperscript{48}.

So accordingly, the varieties spoken in Algeria are distributed as such (Figure 2.3, map 2).

\textbf{Figure 2.3:} Map 2: Distribution of Arabic and Berber in Algeria.

\textsuperscript{48} : Quoted in Abdelali Becetti, ENS d'Alger/ Algérie, translation: what engenders from the Kabyle side principally a strong (determined) opposition to this policy.
Invasions on the one hand and the conservative nature of Imazighen (Algerian autochthones) and massive arabization policy on the other molded the present sociolinguistic situation of Algeria, where along Berber varieties coexists Arabic ones. They are regarded as either urban or bedouin.

What is interesting to note from these figures is that language is constantly changing due to several factors (political, geographical or sociolinguistic) and that the most important thing to bear in mind is that each variety spoken exhibits its own characteristics be it phonological, morphological or syntactic.

2.10. Methodology:

Gardner-Chloros in her book Code-Switching (2009) exposes the phenomenon of code switching. She states that the idea of alternating varieties sounded quite odd in the ninetieth century with the spread of the concept of “One Language One Nation”. This view increased with notions of linguistic purity and exclusiveness.

Through time, code switching became much more accepted, identifying it to a linguistic barometer, Gardner-Chloros states that “[code switching] is a goldmine for linguists, because it highlights so many important questions about the relationship of languages to language” (2006:180).

The choice of one code over another as pioneered by Blom and Gumperz (1972) is not just a matter of social identities or due to any other factor; it is rather a means to convey intentionality, in altering varieties speakers intend to “… convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature” (Myers-Scotton 1993:57), these alternations are termed by Gumperz himself as ‘discourse strategies’ (1982).

Speakers in this sense are no more making speech choices on the ground of stable factors as age, education and sex but, because of dynamic factors linked to the conspicuous nature of solidarity and power.
In this, many competing theories and models attempting to describe the strategic nature of CS were held starting from Fishman’s *domain analysis* (1965, 1972), though, societal factors form partially its basis but *fails somehow* in *predicting* and therefore *determining* language switch.

Maybe the most challenging models explaining and analyzing the social implications behind acts of CS are Auer’s *Conversational Analysis* (1998) and Giles’ *Communication Accommodation Theory* (1973) along with the *Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton* (1983, 1993 and 1998).

All three models study linguistic variation on social and psychological grounds, and all the three hold the belief that when making choices, speakers are not only showing identity, group membership or maintaining a variety; they are making ‘*mental calculations*’ and therefore are ‘*rational actors*’, Myer-Scotton (1993, 1998), conscious that their linguistic choices are means to fulfill objectives.

However, while proponents of the Markedness Model agree with the notion of set of Rights and Obligations (1993:84), Conversational Analysis adherents’ plea for a focus on the conversation structure and therefore maintain coherence in discourse via code switching.

In an attempt to answer the crucial question of *why do bilinguals switch in their conversations?* Auer calls for a conversation-analytic approach that focuses on “*members procedures to arrive at local interpretations*” (1984a:3) i.e., *social actors* linguistic choices become the ultimate objective in the analysis of code switching within Conversational Analysis.

Auer’s call echoed more than a decade later to specialists like Sebba (1993), Milroy (1995) and Li Wei (1995, 1998 and 2005) one of the most fervent supporters and contributors of the study of code switching within Conversational Analysis, in this, Li Wei (2005) emphasizes the two assumptions behind the Conversational Analysis model that places first the emphasis on the “*sequential implicativeness of*
language choice” (Auer 1998: 162) in which linguistic choices made by the speakers influence subsequent interactions and their linguistic choice. Besides, CA concentrates on speakers’ mutual intelligibility when speaking and therefore limits analysis in talk-in-conversation, as Li Wei (1998:162) points it, it “limits the external analyst’s interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members’ mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour”.

In addition to that, in the CA approach, the context does not pre-exist, in Auer’s words it is not given a priori, but it is formed from the interaction and the interlocutors. Thus, CA involves the analysis of each code switching occurrence separately in terms of the different speakers that may participate in it. Another point mentioned by Li Wei is that under the CA approach, the point is not indexing speakers’ identity, power or formality; it is rather demonstrating how such things as “identity, attitude and relationship are presented, understood, accepted or rejected, and changed in the process of interaction”(1998:163).

Conversation Analysis framework provides essential tools for investigating code switching in a more detailed way, thus, the functioning of CS within CA approach is unveiled via momentary interactions.

Under this view, the gist of the framework under consideration lies in the priority given to participants and their intrinsic inferential procedures.

Another important theory on the social implications for language choice and code switching is the Communication Accommodation Theory introduced by Howard Giles and his colleagues (1973).

The main assumptions of this approach focuses on the move to make one’s way of communicating converge with that of one's interlocutors or put in another way, speakers change their linguistic code in order to be perceived in a more favorable way by their addressee.
As Patrick Boylan (2004) implies, accommodation theory or as it first appellation *speech accommodation theory* internalizes the notion of convergence, where this term denotes reaching a somehow *common* or a *more intelligible* speech.

Indeed, Giles (1973) suggests that speakers change their linguistic code in order to be perceived in a more favorable way by their addressee. On the opposite, they diverge from other speakers as to emphasize distinctiveness or to shape addressee’s feelings.

In an attempt to refine their theory, Giles and Coupland (1988) substituted the notion of *Speech Accommodation* primarily developed to demonstrate the value of social psychological concepts for a deeper understanding of the dynamics and alternations of speech in interactions to *Communication Accommodation* in which they introduced the notions of *convergence of expression* and *convergence of intentionality*.

Giles’ model i.e. *Communication Accommodation* introduces the notion of *intentionality*; in which speakers converge or diverge according to the purposes they want to accomplish. However, it should be stated that there should be other reasons that drive individuals to accommodate or diverge their linguistic choice from those of others that have not been taken into consideration by Giles.

A third functional model aiming at analyzing CS is Myers-Scotton’s *Markedness Model* 49 widely inspired by Grice’s *cooperative principle model* and often refined and revisited (1983, 1993, 1998). Myers-Scotton led the premises of her model in *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa* (1993), she holds the belief that speakers select one code over another in order to achieve specific goals. Each language in a multilingual speech community is associated with particular social roles, which she calls ‘*rights and obligations (RO) set*’ (1993:84) which expresses the anticipated linguistic behavior, which is the unmarked choice.

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49 A more detailed overview of the MM will be held in the third chapter.
Thus, when a speaker conforms to the RO set of a given interaction and uses an ‘unmarked code’, no social turbulences are provoked. In contrast, when a speaker decides to use a ‘marked code’, that is an unexpected linguistic code, in terms of the participants, the topic and the situation of the interaction, she/he violates the set of rules dictated by society, family, or higher status interlocutors.

In this case, the speaker who wishes to achieve a specific purpose in fact *negotiates* a new code and as a consequence a new RO set.

Finally, Myers-Scotton (1998) argues that when speakers negotiate a new code, they negotiate their social positions and relations with their addressees, so in other words it’s a negotiation of their *persona*.

It is worth to lie a short comparison between these three models, while the Conversational Analysis theory shares some similarities with the Markedness Model in they both emphasize the speakers’ intentions and goals. Speakers converge or diverge according to the purposes they want to accomplish. The main difference of Conversational Analysis in comparison to the other approaches is, according to its proponents, that it does not aim to examine code switching in general, but it attributes to each occurrence different characteristics and considers it unique. As Li Wei (1998:162) stresses, the three most significant aspects of the Conversational Analysis approach are “…relevance, consequentiality and balance between social structure and conversation structure”. Moreover, the proponents of the Conversational Analysis approach argue that this model is not interested in superficial guesses or assumptions of the reasons for code switching, but that it deeply investigates the reasons for which code switching occurs in each case. This approach attempts to present it as it is described within the interaction. Auer and other CA analysts suggest that this method examines actual occurrences of CS and attempts to attribute to each one genuine and unique characteristics rather than attaching the same specific macro-social aspects to all of them.
2.11. Conclusion:

As an attempt to dealing with some theories relevant to the analysis of the genre of comic books and describing on the other hand the sociolinguistic phenomenon displayed in *houma fighter* (namely CS), this chapter commences with Discourse Analysis and notably Visual Discourse Analysis as an emerging concept in the Visual Studies, moves to literary and philosophical concepts (intertextuality, hermeneutics, iconology and sociology of knowledge discourse analysis) aiming at *excavating* the inner nature of comic books, identifying the complexity of their nature and therefore acknowledging their statutes as being works of art on *their own*.

In a sociolinguistic theoretical register, this section was devoted to the description of the salient linguistic features of the varieties present in *Houma Fighter*. Indeed, it highlights the fact that language is not a monolith and that Algerian varieties undergo changes.

Code switching as the object of the sociolinguistic inquiry was put forward and three main theories describing the socio-pragmatic implications of CS were discussed namely the *Conversation Analysis* of Auer (1984), *Communication Accommodation Theory* by Giles and Coupland (1991).

Though the *Markedness Model* of Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993 and 1998) was somehow dealt with in this part of the work. It is the approach chosen for the analysis and therefore will be attributed a whole section in the next chapter where it will demonstrate the strategic nature of switching codes.
Chapter three

Marked vs. Unmarked Choice in Houma fighter
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3.1. Introduction:

Sapir (1921) argues that language is variable, and scholars such as Milroy & Milroy (1992) and many others adhered to this idea. In fact, linguistic variation affects the phonology, morphology and syntax of a given language when alternating varieties within the same conversational turn.

Bilingual speakers code switch in conversations using other varieties i.e. along with their native tongue, another variety interferes so that speakers engage in CS either in the process of language shift for say or simply in their everyday interactions where these latters show what Myer-Scotton (1998) calls the same ‘discourse unity’ as monolingual interactions do.

Trudgill (2000) emphasizes the point that no two individuals use language the same way in all situations. In this vein, Myers-Scotton (1998:18) claims that “…IN EVERY SPEECH community, more than one way of speaking exists” [original capitalizations]. In this, speakers make use of the linguistic items belonging to their repertoire and display them according to addressee, the setting and the ‘typical uses’ (Myer-Scotton) of the variety.

This study then, seeks at understanding the reasons behind language alternations and switching in Houma fighter. It investigates the social motivations for code switching and the strategic nature of such a strategy in this comic book. This will be done in the light of Myer-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1995, 1998).

This Rational Actor Model (RA) as considered by its’ author provides evidence that instances of code switching in the present comic book are intentional. This comes first when speakers and more precisely characters when choosing their variety or code, are doing as in Myer-Scotton words’ ‘mental calculations’ to enhance reward and minimize costs, she posits that a given choice is done over another one to ‘optimize’ (1998).
The choice of such model is that it “…provides a mechanism that activates behavior” (Myers-Scotton 1998:30). This idea is largely inspired by Elster (1989) who considers mechanism as rationality; this device explains how things happen on two steps. First, when it comes to rewards and minimizing costs; Rational Actor models explain choices as being goal-oriented. Second, rationality explains why such choices are made, besides Myer-Scotton developed her model so that it can encompass any variation be it between different languages, dialects or styles and therefore “…can be used profitably in other ways” (1998:6).

The date will be analyzed in the light of the Markedness Model. These data represent chunks of speech uttered by characters of *Houma fighter*. This analysis aims at reaching the following purposes:

- Shedding some light at the linguistic variation of *Houma fighter* characters by demonstrating the salient linguistic features existing in each variety.
- Determining the social motivations behinds characters’ CS in the present comic book.
- Exploring CS strategic nature using the MM as a RA model.

In this vein, the Markedness Model may enhance linguistic choices’ predictions. It may also interpret the reasons such choices are more frequent than others and provide tentative interpretations of the choices that do occur in this comic book.
3.2. Outlining the Markedness Model:

Myer-Scotton’s markedness model has extensive theoretical sources in linguistics. It takes its roots from the *Prague school*. Myer-Scotton markedness model’s proponents claim that speakers are rational in their choice of linguistic forms. This view can draw its source from the means-end model, where the emphasis is on how personal values influence individual behavior. This model was first proposed by Roman Jakobson (1962b). Second, the markedness model holds that the choice of a marked variety means more costs. This idea can find its source in the markedness theory established by the *Prague School* with the theory of iconicity of markedness in contemporary cognitive linguistics. Jakobson expands this latter in the study of grammatical theories and semantics. Finally, the markedness model takes the cognitive calculations of human mind as economically biased. This can find support from Zipf’s law, named after the American linguist George Kingsley Zipf and known also as the “Rank-size Distribution”.50

In setting the foundations of the Markedness Model in her ground braking book *Social Motivations for Code Switching: Evidence from Africa* (1993), Myers-Scotton exposes the theoretical approaches upon which her model was build, namely *Grice’s co-operative principle* (1975) and the’ *negotiation principle’*; being the ‘*super premise’* of the model. This principle states

> Choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange. (1993b:113).

50 Zipf’s law states that in data of natural language utterances’, the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its rank in the frequency table.
Meaning that speakers need to establish a set of rights and obligations (RO) set on the basis of negotiation. This depends on social factors along with topic and setting. Participants negotiate their identity and make choices from unmarked to marked. Myer-Scotton (1993, 1998), claims for the universality and the predictive validity of her model in the analysis of bilingual social situations.

She proposes maxims to account for such switching phenomena, the Unmarked Choice maxim that requires the speaker to alternate choice from an unmarked, i.e. an expected choice to another marked (unexpected) choice in conversation on the basis of situational changes.

Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set. (1993a: 114)

Under the Markedness Model, the unmarked choice is the one that meets the beliefs and desires of norms markers in a given community.

Example:

Bravo Sofiane, t’es le meilleur /zaragtọ nta howa babaha/
Lit. Tran. You are the best Sofiane

A second maxim accounting for code switching choice is the Marked Choice maxim which applies when a speaker wishes to renegotiate the actual RO set in order to create an aesthetic effect of increasing social distance. Myer-Scotton (1993a:131) argues that bilingual speakers should

Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange.
A third maxim advanced by Myer-Scotton is the *Exploratory Choice* maxim that applies when a situation is not so obvious depending on situational factors.

*When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour.* (1993a:142).

In an attempt to refine the Markedness Model, Myer-Scotton (1998) includes two additional maxims: the *Deference maxim*:

*Switch to a code that which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by the circumstances.*

Following this maxim, speakers expect a *pay off*, or in a lesser degree avoid costs.

A last maxim exposed by Myers-Scotton is the *virtuosity maxim* in which speakers show off their linguistic repertoire or make themselves ‘enablers’ allowing the conversation to happen.

*Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/accommodate the participation of all speakers present.* (1998:26).

Under the Markedness Model, the core notions are ‘*negotiation*’ and ‘*rationality*’, while in the former, speakers negotiate their identity and are achieving ‘*interactional goals*’, they are in the second taking the best choice for getting the best outcomes,

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51 Exploratory choice maxim is one the Markedness Model maxims but will not be dealt with in this study since the focus is on the marked and unmarked choice only.

52 Exploratory choice maxim is one the Markedness Model maxims but will not be dealt with in this study since the focus is on the marked and unmarked choice only.

53 Exploratory choice maxim is one the Markedness Model maxims but will not be dealt with in this study since the focus is on the marked and unmarked choice only.
whereas desires, values and beliefs are reasons for a choice, actually to act rationally means that the speaker does not just choose the most favored choice but rather the most feasible choice (Myers-Scotton 1998:35).

Myers-Scotton’s model (1983, 1993 and 1998) implies not only the concept of cost and reward but it emphasize too the notion of cognition upon which this whole model is based.

For Myer-Scotton speakers seek for a balance between unmarked and marked choices, where the formers constrain speakers in not taking risks, the latters enhance speakers to get costs and rewards, these extra rewards are termed intentionality and are based on social and psychological associations that individuals make conventionally for the chosen varieties.

This tacit agreement among speakers in the choice of varieties is done on the basis of pragmatics where individuals make use of their ‘pragmatic competence’ i.e. the ability to comprehend and perform a communicative act depending on:

- Context of utterance
- Generally observed principals of communication, and
- Goals of the speaker

Pragmatics is also a means for speakers (writers) and listeners (readers) to get the best outcome of their linguistic choices as Steve Campsall (1999) adds, whenever writing or speaking individuals aim to make their performance (text or conversation) the best ever and attests that “pragmatics allows this”.
3.3. Pragmatics and the Markedness Model:

Meaning beyond the words or the enquiry of making sense of texts and utterances are the core notions of pragmatics, emerging as a subfield of linguistics, this discipline expanded in the 1970’s where extensive researches were held.

The origin of pragmatics goes back to the 1930’s during the era of the ‘philosophy of language’ with Charles Morris (1938), Rudolph Carnap and Charles Pierce who devoted their works to this field. Pierce (1938) divided semiotics into three parts: (1) Syntax (the study of formal relation of signs with each others), (2) semantics (relation of signs to what they denote) and (3) pragmatics (relation of signs to their users and interpreters) (Morris 1938).

Carnap (1942) arranged these parts according to their degree of abstractness, he states that syntax comes first since is the most abstract, followed by semantics and ends with pragmatics.

Interests regarding pragmatics grew up in the 1950’s with philosophers and specialists inquiring on natural language. Theories such as Austin’s speech act theory and Grice’s conversational implicature were set in this environment.

Two decades later, in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s, extensive work was done to settle the premises of pragmatics and establish its concerns following Yeoshua Bar-Hillel (1971:405) advice

Be careful with forcing bits and pieces you find in the pragmatic wastebasket into your favorite syntactic semantic theory. It would perhaps be preferable to first bring some order into the contents of this wastebasket.”

---

Attempts by Chomsky’s followers were held aiming at emptying “pragmatics wastebasket” by promoting their campaign against abstract language view.

Levinson’s book *Pragmatics* (1983) was the cornerstone that not only brings order into this field but, settled it as an independent discipline. According to him, pragmatics is the study of language from a functional perspective, that is, it attempts to explain facets of linguistic structure by reference to non-linguistic causes (1983).

Yule (1996:3) provides a detailed definition encompassing the scope of the discipline. He states that pragmatics is “…the study of speaker meaning,…the study of contextual meaning, how more gets communicated than is said and the study of the expression of relative distance” [emphasis ignored].

Pragmatics for Yule (1993) is then, the study of meaning communicated by speakers (writers) and perceived by listeners (readers).

This meaning varies according to context, this same context plays an important role in what is said (performed). This process implies listeners’ (readers’) ability to make inferences to better grasp speakers’ (writers’) meaning.

In this, what is unsaid contributes greatly in understanding the whole message. In the last part of his definition, Yule questions the reason why speakers (writers) choose between the *said* and the *unsaid*. The obvious answer according to the scholar is ‘the notion of distance’ (1996). Closeness is a determinant factor leading speakers to know how much can be said.

Pragmatics became an important part in general linguistics theory (Levinson 1983). Its interests include: deixis (indexicality), presupposition, speech acts, implicature, and conversational inference. Pragmatics’ notions and concepts are due to a close relation with semantics and syntax along with cooperation\(^{55}\) and implicature\(^{56}\).

\(^{55}\) Cooperation is the expectation that the listener has toward the speaker.

\(^{56}\) Implicature is an additional conveyed meaning, it communicates more than what the words mean.
Yule (1996) shares the assumption along with other scholars that pragmatics is tightly linked to speakers cooperation, meaning that in any interaction (oral or written) individuals are bound to be cooperative. This notion is also the token of the Markedness Model in which it takes its roots.

In fact, under this approach, speakers rely on the cooperative principle and the conversational implicature which they use in understanding the transmitted message.

Leech (1983) states that pragmatics is the way speakers (writers) accomplish goals as social actors. These social actors do not just need to get things done but must attend to their interpersonal relationships with other participants at the same time.

Both converge in what is called “cost and reward” and “predictions”, while the MM core notion is “optimizing”, pragmatics as in Crystal (1997:301) words’ “…studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others.”

3.4. Varieties’ Distribution in Houma fighter:

The present manga is created by a young Algerian manga-ka. Though the author of this comic book is a native Arabic speaker (AA), he chooses to write in French due to some influences (see the whole interview in the appendix), Sabaou’s choice of French aims to reach a diverse audience (Algerian readers and foreigners).

Sabaou considers that mixing language (AA and F) is an integral part of Algerian Arabic Speaking way, to render this authenticity; he does not hesitate to ascribe to his characters such features.

In this manga, characters display typical Algerian way of parlance with humorous tone specific to Algerians; Sabaou’s attempt was mainly to “Algerianize” the manga and make it fit the Algerian style.
Chapter Three
Marked vs. Unmarked Choice in Houma fighter
Belhassena Dalila

*Houma Fighter* exhibits characters inspired from everyday life, each with his/her own problem and all sharing this notion so dear to the author which is "l'Algérianité"\(^{57}\).

All written in French with instances of CS in AA, *Houma Fighter* provides an authentic narrative where Sabaou draws the daily life of his young protagonist in a manga of one hundred seventy (117) pages, where along this journey, Sofiane Bekhti, the protagonist experiences all sides of life.

The total of words displayed in this manga is of 6067 words, 131 words uttered in AA and 5936 words in French. The distribution of the unmarked variety i.e. French is of about 48.65 words per page whereas the distribution of the marked variety i.e. Arabic (Algerian Arabic) is of about 1.07 words per page.

Accordingly the percentage of the amount of unmarked variety used is of 97.84% whereas the percentage of the marked variety is of 2.15%, the (Figure 3.1) illustrates this distribution.

\[\text{Varieties' distribution} \]

![Varieties' distribution](image)

Figure 3.1: varieties’ distribution in *Houma fighter*.

\(^{57}\) A term denoting the fact of embracing to the Algerian way of life.
This figure may consider that the most ubiquitous variety is the unmarked choice which is French, mainly used to sustain the narrative, the marked choice (Algerian Arabic) is the variety employed to create surprise for say or deliver a special message.

We may hypothesize that Said Sabaou chooses to write in French for it is the variety in which he feels more at ease, growing up reading French mangas was of a great influence in the choice of French as his variety of writing and shaped his view regarding manga. For him, mangas are better read in French (see the whole interview in the appendix).

The author starts his manga by introducing his main character, Sofiane Bekhti, the fallen kick boxer. To recall the story, this latter uses French which allows him to drive readers into the narrative. All along the manga, he continues to use the unexpected variety, instances of AA are used for emphasis, utter repetitions, express ideas with words not found in the target variety (French) or sometimes introduce new characters. Their main role is also to convey ‘the authorial message’.

As previously stated (see table 2.1, chapter II), the bulk of AA instances are performed in the urban variety and namely the one of Algiers. This choice is maybe due to the origin of the author, in this, a characterization of the dichotomy rural vs. urban must be held.

3.5. Choices’ Variation in Houma fighter:

“…writers or speakers choose what can be considered marked choices to convey certain messages of intentionality” [own emphasis] (Myer-Scotton 1998:4).

The writer’s use of marked choices may be motivated by the fact of optimizing outcomes, every literary creation be it a novel, short story or a comic book “…establishes its own linguistic community, with its own unmarked style, and “sets of rights and obligations” (1998:43).
In fact, authors through their works are constantly negotiating and renegotiating the RO set. They may proceed by maintaining the status quo by through the use of expected choices or through the delivery of an ‘authorial message’ by using unexpected choices.

The idea behind the mixture of varieties, languages, choices (marked and unmarked) might be considered as a clue to the understanding of the way characters think and behave and to the development – dynamics of narrative.

Using the unmarked choice describes the action of the comic book. The marked language, choice on the contrary, suggests the framework (structure, context).

It also emphasizes the recognition of meaning in the flow of action and provides the literary works accuracy and realism. The use of the marked choice serves also to hold a complete introspection on the characters and on the work.

Authors (manga-ka in the present context) use marked choices to convey intentionality. They either ‘mark’ their characters by ascribing them other varieties as the case of Houma fighter where some characters display salient linguistic features or mark the ‘crucial’ passages of the work. These linguistic varieties also vehicle some stylistic effects that authors want to display.

In the parlance of the MM, French is the unmarked choice, the variety in which the whole manga is written and therefore the variety that creates no surprise. Arabic on the contrary, or more specifically AA is the marked choice in which the author intends to vehicle a feeling of sarcasm or irony and where this latter displays his own message.

In a multilingual speech community as Algeria, though, it is worth observing that CS itself is regarded as an unmarked choice. Many Algerians make use in their speech different languages and language varieties namely French and AA. In this context, the opposite is rather true, in a narrative all written in French (the unmarked language choice), Algerian Arabic is the marked language choice.
In this, mixing between Algerian Arabic and French is marked. Through such mixing the author intends to create a special effect, to provide accuracy and deliver a special or ‘authorial’ message.

3.5.1. Urban vs. Rural varieties of AA:

In the second chapter, an overview of the varieties used in Houma Fighter was displayed, in light of the table (2.1:page71), an observation was made that most characters of the manga make use of urban variety. It is worth noting that the whole set of linguistic items displayed in the following table are specific to Algiers speech and some of its vicinities.

Algiers Arabic might be considered as the unmarked language choice in the sense that it is the most recurrent and frequent in the narrative in Houma Fighter, we can also hypothesize that Oran Arabic and other rural varieties are the marked language choices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/la:zǝm nǝrɔ:ho/</td>
<td>/i:liq nǝrɔ:ho/</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>We must go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃi:pa/</td>
<td>/raʃwa/</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>A bribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/waʃʃǝba/</td>
<td>/weiʃǝba/</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Hey beautiful girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ja ʃɔ:/</td>
<td>/ja ʃǝ:jǝ/</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>My brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nta hǝwa bǝboha/</td>
<td>/nta tǝhsilha/</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>You know best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔɬ ɡa:vi/</td>
<td>/ɔɬ ɡa:fi/</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>The lame : the one who doesn’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t}saji wǝɔsmǝk/</td>
<td>/t}saji ʃǝ:jǝ/</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>You are tiring brother (lit. tran.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒmi:ʃ wǝhɔd li/</td>
<td>/ɡaːʃ li/</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>All person that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾoʃ blaʃqal/</td>
<td>/ɾoʃ bʃǝwija/</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Go slowly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3.1): Urban versus Rural (some) words in Houma Fighter.
We also observed that there are lexemes from Algiers Arabic i.e. the unmarked language choice with 93.12%. In comparison to that, Batna Arabic exhibits a percentage of 4.58% and Oran Arabic shows 2.29%, two rural varieties of Arabic that might be considered as marked language choices.

This figure corroborates our hypothesis stating that Algiers Arabic might be considered as an unmarked language choice.

![Urban vs. Rural varieties](image)

Figure 1.29: Urban versus rural varieties

As already stated, this figure emphasizes the view that the omnipresent variety which is the variety of Algiers is in fact the unmarked one which discloses urban linguistic features.
Through these rational choices, the manga-ka seeks for socio psychological rewards. Though he knows the equivalent words in French, Said Sabaou prefers the use of the Algerian Arabic cognates in order to make his manga more accessible to readers. He therefore uses code switching as a conversational strategy as he inserts Algerian Arabic words in a narrative uttered in French.

Examples:
Page 29: /weʃʃǝba/ vous voulez pas venir nous raconter votre journée
Tran.lit: ladies won’t you come and tell us about your day.

Page 31: zahia, une fille très gentille à la beauté inégalable…/bǝnt familja/
Tran.lit: Zahia is a beautiful and kind……she is really a good girl.

Page 76: /jaɣi kǝdab/, il est impatient
Tran.lit: he s a lier, he is impatient.

3.6. Social motivations for CS in Houma Fighter:

The present part is devoted to the social motivations leading to code switching; a glimpse to Myer-Scotton’s overwhelming book (Social Motivations for Code switching: Evidence from Africa 1993), according to this scholar and to the proponents of the Markedness Model, choosing one variety over another is a cognitive act or strategy which engenders rewards. These rewards might be considered as mental calculations enhanced by socio-psychological motivations of speakers.

Being rational actors, speakers (writers) engage in code switching in an act of “accomplishing more than the conveying of referential meaning” Myer-Scotton (1993:75).

Examples:

Page 6: /lazǝm nroho harga/
Lit. Tan. : we must go illigally.

Page 12: de la /dǝbza/ à l’état pure
Lit. Tran. : pure fight.
One of the basic assumptions of Myer-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1983, 1993 and 1998), states that speakers in general have a pre-determined capacity of markedness. The unmarked choice (French in this context) is the ‘safer’ variety which indexes an expected interpersonal relationship (writer/reader or speaker/listener). The marked choice on the contrary sustains a kind of opposition as expressed by Myer-Scotton (1993), though, this opposition is encompassed under markedness; it is not always categorical.

A concept well-known in the literature of sociolinguistics and moreover in the lexis of code switching is ‘indexicality’ or the ‘art of pointing’ as Charles Pierce (1931) assumes. In his words, speakers (writers) are ‘meaning makers’, in this, indexicality points out to the pervasive context-centered nature of language utterances, “…including such phenomena as regional accent (indexing speaker’s identity)” as posited by William Hanks (1990 : 124-126).

Under the Markedness Model, indexicality refers to linguistic choices. The use of a certain variety implies a change in the established rights and obligations (RO) set (Myer-Scotton 1993:84). This change engenders itself a negotiation of “…a different persona for the speaker and a different relationship with the addressee” Myer-Scotton (1993:85).

An alternative interpretation would be the use of language to accomplishing a purpose. This notion has been developed by Austin (1962). He asserts that language can be used as a tool to fulfill a goal. Indeed, what made speech act theory (SAT) so appealing in linguistics is that it did not consider language as an “…isolated structural phenomenon”, Nuyts (1993:3). It rather defines it as committing action within context.

In developing Speech Act Theory, Austin paved the way for the development of the concept of negotiation (relative positions, identity…) in interpersonal relationships. This led other philosophers and specialists to investigate ways in which messages are communicated and conveyed.
In an attempt to deal with theories of co-operation between speakers, Grice (1975) refined ancestral ideas dating back to Aristotle and gave them a new breath by using them to discuss “...the intentional meaning of utterances” ⁵⁸. In this, he introduces the notion of implicature, by implicatures; he means conversational implicatures which according to him are connected with “...certain general features of discourse” (ibid).

Grice and his four maxims (quantity, quality, relation, manner), largely inspired the Markedness Model and enriched it in the sense that this principle discusses how conversational implicatures can arise when speakers (writers) mock at a maxim. Meaning that the more speakers are co-operative, the more efficient they will be in their utterances.

Such discussions lead inevitably to the vision that speakers might be considered as rational actors. Indeed, this idea emerged more than fifty (50) years ago, with scholars interested in speakers’ motivations, mainly, John Thibault and Harold Kelley (1959) and George Homans (1966) and scholars such Giles et al. (1982) and Levinson (1978, 1987).

Under the field of social psychology, Thibault and Kelley (1959) followed by Homans (1966) proposed a framework where the interaction is regarded as a process of exchange.

This vision was adopted by Myer-Scotton (1983, 1993, and 1998); she then applied it to linguistic choices. She argues that the reason why one code is used over another is mainly due to the fact of minimizing costs and maximizing rewards for speakers. This notion has become one of the most important tokens of the Markedness Model.

It may be said that under this approach, speakers are rational actors who make mental calculations to index a particular RO set and get the best outcomes of their linguistic choices following Austin’s Speech Act Theory and Grice’s co-operative principle, besides, speakers choose languages in the basis of “…enhancing their own positions, or at least communicating their own perceptions” Myer-Scotton (1993:112).

What makes speakers (writers) use one variety over another is the central tenet of this study and motivations for code switching will be displayed with regard to social impetus and motivations.

When analyzing *Houma Fighter*, a feeling of deep routed Algerian culture is palpable, the author do vehicle feelings of ‘*Algérianité*’ as he likes to emphasize, pride (typical to Algerians) and adhesion to a united and multilingual speech community at the same time.

Indeed, Sabaou, in his manga lays social motivations of code switching, choosing the marked (Algerian Arabic) might be considered as strategy through which the author aims to reshape the existing RO set in order to express solidarity, group membership and exhibit social norms and Algerian values.

### 3.6.1. Code switching as indexical of social negotiations:

A cognitively based theory introduced by Myer-Scotton (1983, 1993 and 1998), the Markedness Model accounts for implied messages in code switching. It argues that the choice of a marked variety means more costs as opposed to the unmarked one which is favored because the cognitive calculations of speakers are economically biased.

Therefore, to balance with the extra costs, a marked choice (Algerian Arabic in this manga) necessarily indicates that the speaker intends to get some extra rewards. These extra rewards convey additional messages, which are termed *intentionality* (Myer-Scotton 1993, 1998) and are based on social and psychological associations that people conventionally make for the chosen variety.
This notion of intentionality is encompassed in what Myer-Scotton calls *negotiation of the RO set*, indeed, whenever a speaker (writer) wishes to emphasize something or deliver a special message to the hearer (reader), she/he makes use of the available choices that he/she has in her/his speech repertoire.

By shifting varieties in *Houma Fighter* between marked and unmarked, Sabaou aims to signal ‘otherness’ as put by Auer (1992:31) when discussing contextualization cues\(^59\), the author uses intentionally words in the marked variety (Algerian Arabic) to express solidarity, group membership and “…shared ethnicity within an addressee” (Holmes 2000)\(^60\).

Table (3.2) shows chunks of passages in the marked variety illustrating what has been previously said.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA Words</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lazem nroho harraga</td>
<td>/laːzəm nroː haːrəɡa/</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>We have to go illegally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rani sa3edtek</td>
<td>/raːniː saːʃetk/</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>I helped you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya khi mareg</td>
<td>/jaː kʰi maːɾɛk/</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>He is smart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bent familia</td>
<td>/bɛnt ʃaːmilaː/</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>A good girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya jeddek</td>
<td>/jaː jɔːdɛk/</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Damn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanouni</td>
<td>/haːnuːniː/</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>My dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma fhamna wallou</td>
<td>/maː ʃamnə waːlʊː/</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>We understand nothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3.2): Words indexing social negotiations.

\(^{59}\) This concept was first introduced by Gumperz (1982a, 1982b) and much discussed.

\(^{60}\) Quoted in Walid M. Rihan, *Why do people code-switch*.
3.6.2. Code switching, the vehicle of social norms:

Another point to denote is the amount of some ‘non translated words’ which the author chooses to display in Algerian Arabic to vehicle social norms.

Before going further, a clarification of norms and social norms must be held. In any anthropological and sociological work, the concept of norms and social norms is prevalent, but there is no consensus about the power of norms governing human action Christina Bicchieri (2006).

In fact, two distinct views arise when dealing with norms. The first view sustains the idea that norms influence and may direct human action. The second view is that“…the concept is too vague, and the evidence we have about norm compliance is too contradictory to support the claim that they appreciably affect behavior” Bicchieri (2006:1).

Such views are generated due to confusion in defining the concept of norms, in a narrow sense, a “…norm can be formal or informal, personal or collective, descriptive of what most people do, or prescriptive of behavior” Bicchieri (2006:1-2).

Social norms on another angle are defined as customary rules of behavior coordinating speakers’ interactions with each others. As Lewis (1969) puts it, social norms entail the notion of conformity, meaning that once a norm is established as a rule, it continues in force because individuals prefer to conform to the rule given the expectations that others are going to conform.

In this vein, David Hume (1734-37) was the first to attest that norms are the corner stone of social order. In this, norms define property rights or who is entailed to do what. Individuals in a given community are aware of their roles and conscious of what to do, how to behave and what to speak depending on factors.
Speakers have a natural theory of markedness, “…any code points to a particular interpersonal balance. It is partly because of their indexical qualities that different languages, dialects and styles are maintained in a community” Myer-Scotton (2000:127).61

Such identification is translated by the use of words having a connotative meaning, tightly linked to the habitus of the Algerian speech community, habitus a term already used by Aristotle and largely spread in the field of sociology among scholars as Marcel Mauss and especially Pierre Bourdieu which is defined as a structure of the mind characterized by a set of acquired schemata, sensibilities, dispositions and taste.

These non translated words reflect the conservative nature of the Algerian society. The author makes sure to use words shared and understood by the readership, in this, such utterances are performed by the old authoritative figure which is represented by the father of the protagonist’s neighbor, table (3.3) illustrates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA Words</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eddoukhli le dar</td>
<td>ǝddυ:li: l da:r/</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Come home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wlid el hram</td>
<td>wli:d ǝl hra:m/</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Bastard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La hchouma</td>
<td>ǝl hʃʊːma/</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taht dari</td>
<td>/taht da:ri:/</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Under my roof</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3.3): Words denoting social norms words in *Houma Fighter.*

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61 Quoted in Li Wei (1998).
3.6.3. Code Switching and Transmission of Social Values:

Social values in any community are said to be norms directing the general behaviors of humans, following Jennifer Trusted view (2002:1) “we all have moral values and we all make moral judgments”.

In any literary work, writers engage in transmitting values (respect, tolerance, family…), by doing so, they manage to negotiate the actual RO set.

Indeed, signaling social values needs to establish a discursive writer(speaker)/reader (listener) contact, this whole process does not entail the chosen variety but as Rodriguez-Yañez (1994:74) expresses it, it is rather “…the fluctuating choice of the degree of code fluctuation” that allows the vehicle of such concepts.

In a narrative uttered totally in French, Algerian Arabic might be considered as a bypass to signal social values and enhance feelings of tolerance, spirituality and love of others.

Sabaou’s major aim is to promote authentic Algerian values encompassing love of the country and a special tribute to the Algerian veiled woman, who is regarded somehow weak from Western societies. In this, the author ascribes to her a special martial art consisting of hiding powerful weapons under her veil.

In choosing to insert cognates of Algerian Arabic, the manga-ka seeks for more reward; table (3.4) illustrates this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA Words</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hadjoubisu</td>
<td>/haʒuːbiːtsuː/</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>A martial art special to veiled women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La hchouma</td>
<td>/la hʃuːma/</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Shame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3.4): Words indexing social values.
Choosing a marked variety (Algerian Arabic) might be used to convey special effects, for this purpose, writers are constantly looking for the right words.

### 3.6.4. Code Switching as echoic:

To create ‘stylistic effects’ and deliver the ‘authorial message’, writers use instances of code switching in their literary works but, what makes such mixture works is “…the unexpectedness or markedness of the choice” as Myers-Scotton (1993:140).

In fact, authors try to make their works, more realistic, more accurate and especially more interesting, for this marked and unmarked choices are available to them. These authors try to take the best outcomes from their choices and make them *echoic* as Sperber and Wilson (1982) establish it. By echoic, authors refer to effects of irony which under the Markedness Model implies a change of the RO set.

In this, Sabaou’s narrative is not an exception *per se* for the author displays irony and sarcasm through the black cat “words” (table 3.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA Words</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
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<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T3ayyi wesmek</td>
<td>/tʕaji wesmek/</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>You are tiresome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jmi3 wahed ma yeslah</td>
<td>/ʒmiːʕ waːħəd maː jəsλah lɐ waːluː fiː blaːdːuː/</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>All person that is good for nothing in his/her country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwallou fi bladou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hseb rouhou fi film</td>
<td>/hʃəb rɔːħoː fiː fiːlm hənduː:/</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>He thought he was in a Bollywood film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handout</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telfet ga3</td>
<td>/təlfɛt gaːʕ/</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>We don’t know what to do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3.5): Instances of CS as echoic.
In such enterprise, the focus is more on the writer than on the reader; thus, the author is constantly making calculations as to get the best outcomes of his choice. Choosing a marked variety is then *gambling* while the expected effect is *innovating*.

### 3.6.5. Code Switching as an indicator of folkloric speech:

Folklore happens everywhere. Because everyone experiences and lives folklore differently, it is often difficult to confine the diversity and fluidity of folklore into a set, rigid definition. As the study of folklore evolves, so do the definitions.

A term which refers to the collective oral traditions and beliefs of a culture, the *American Society of Folklore* defines the term as “…the traditional art, literature, knowledge, and practice that is disseminated largely through oral communication and behavioral example” (1997).

Barre Toelken (1979:28-29) on the other side emphasizes the dynamics of the concept and defined it in the ground of being a huge diapason of individual expression, in his words, folklore is:

*A word very much like culture; it represents a tremendous spectrum of human expression that can be studied in a number of ways and for a number of reasons. Its primary characteristic is that its ingredients seem to come directly from dynamic interactions among human beings in communal-traditional performance contexts rather than through the rigid lines and fossilized structures of technical instruction or bureaucratized education, or through the relatively stable channels of the classical traditions.*
Under the Markedness Model assumptions, folklore is linked with the variety chosen by the writer (in the present context); moreover, folklore is equated to the dialect use as Pound (1945:151) stresses it.

Folk and folk songs and the peculiarity of folk speech of dialect start in many ways, from sources among many classes, and in many regions, and they should no longer be defined by hypothetical anonymous beginnings among the lowly.

Though in this study, the words variety and choice are privileged, it is worth to note that most of the time folklore rhymes with dialect and popular culture and the author adheres to this view by ascribing to one of his characters a popular chaoui song.

Table (3.6) explains what was previously said.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AA Words</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zawali we fhel</td>
<td>/za :wa:li :wə fhəl/</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Needy and worthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manahmelche del</td>
<td>/ma:jəhməlʃədələ/</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Does not support contempt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3.6): Instances of CS as folkloric speech.
3.7. Conclusion:

This chapter was a mere applying of Myer-Scotton’s Markedness Model (1983, 1993 and 1998) as a tool to determine the social motivations behind code switching.

According to Myer-Scotton and proponents of this approach, the author alternates codes either to

- Deliver the authorial message, or
- Because of some social factors.

In fact, through the analysis of *Houma fighter*, it had been noticed that Said Sabaou not only delivers intentionality through his switches but, he also vehicles identity, social values and norms besides of providing accuracy and realism.
General Conclusion
General Conclusion:

“Comics are important because we love to read them”, Reinhold Reitberges and Wolfgang Fush\(^62\), it is striking to notice how over the last years comic book culture seems to have captured the attention and central focus of the general opinion. Even Hollywood seems to be addicted to this culture when issuing blockbuster films based on comic book heroes and inspired by comic books stories. This addiction goes even further with the creation in the 1970’s of the San Diego Comic-con International, an annually held convention dedicated to comic books, film/television, fantasy and manga and which became one of the premiere gathering of pop culture in the world.

Indeed, from the Golden Age to the Iron Age, comic books have faced ups and downs, until the 1990’s where this medium revived and was the central topic of serious academic researches.

In fact, scholars specialized in the study of comic books such as Julia Round\(^63\) focused on the literary aspects of this medium and applied concepts such as the theory of existentialism, she also tackled comic books through visual perspectives and narratives. In another register, other scholars used comic books to promote visual literacy arguing that

Because of their close connection to the world of appearance, images approximate reality: they are concrete. The brain simultaneously perceives all parts of the whole integrating the part synthetically into a gestalt. The majority of images are perceived in an all-at-once manner\(^64\).

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\(^62\) Quoted in Duncan and Smith (2009 :17)

\(^63\) Lecturer at Bournemouth University (MA, Ph. D), UK and editor of Studies in Comics.

\(^64\) Quoted in Leonard Shlain (1999 :4)
Indeed, more and more academic studies are carried on comic books and this present study is framed under sociolinguistics where the focus is on the social motivations behind code switching as put by Myer-Scotton using the Markedness Model (1993, 1998) as a way to analyze instances of linguistic alternations.

One of the earliest studies dealing with varieties of language can be traced back to 1947 with works of George Barker describing the language of Mexican-American speakers in Tucson, Arizona. Barker was seeking “how does it happen, for example, that among bilinguals, the ancestral language will be used on one occasion and English on another and that on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause, from one language to another?” (1947:185-86)

Indeed, extensive sociolinguistic work on CS was held. Linguists such as Jakobson and Haugen contributed to its development, along with many other scholars, such studies demonstrated the interactional, discursive and the social nature of alternating codes.

Code switching was regarded as a mere oddity or even pathology, things have changed and the notion of alternating varieties became familiar among speakers and widely studied by scholars. Specialists such as Poplack (1980), Sankoff & Poplack (1981), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) to name just a few were interested in syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on language alternations. Romaine (1989) among others concentrated on learners’ cognitive abilities involving the use of more than one language.

May be such diverse concerns in different fields emanate from Sapir’s call (1929: 214) that urged scholars to worry about their language and the interpretation of the general conduct when saying

It is peculiarly important that linguists, who are often accused, and accused justly, of failure to look beyond the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general. Whether they like it or not, they must become increasingly concerned with the many anthropological, sociological, and psychological problems which invade the field of language.
On the social and interactional side, names such as Hymes (1964), Blom & Gumperz (1972) and Myer-Scotton (1993) pleaded for a more socially engaged linguistics and therefore, for a more socially oriented studies. Such scholars were committed to revitalize these kinds of linguistic analysis and thus, follow Sapir’s call (1921).

At the outset of this research work, a categorization of comic books was held aiming to differentiate between types of this genre. Indeed, from the old tapestries to present-day comic books, this genre has witnessed great changes and evolutions.

Melting sociolinguistics with sequential art was the starting point of this study, where discourse analysis, visual discourse analysis and linguistic variation where the major concepts dealt with; along with more literary concepts like intertextuality, iconography and iconology that were largely discussed with theories of Barthes, Panofsky, Kristeva and Mitchell.

The study’s core inquiry was to demonstrate the strategic nature of code switching when used in comic books with the attempt to answer whether these linguistic alternations are purposive, i.e. code switching instances vehicle intentionality.

Analyses showed that following the Markedness Model predictions’, the writer is doing mental calculations when switching to optimize.

In Myer-Scotton words’, under the Markedness Model, code switching is predictable and is indexical of social negotiations, meaning that speakers are driven to choose the right code in their RO set to arrive “at the relational import of a conversation” Myer-Scotton in Li Wei (2005:127).

In light of these analyses, it has been determined that in fact, the speaker or more precisely the writer (in this case) is doing mental calculations to echo intentionality and thus deliver the authorial message.

Code switching in this case might be strategic.
To end up, it is of great importance to raise awareness that comic books are primarily an *art* and deserve all the necessary attention on both the artistic side by promoting this genre through manifestations and exhibitions and the scientific one by enhancing academic researches and enquiries.

I wish at the end if I am allowed to say so to witness more papers, more memoirs, more dissertations and more scientific works on comic books, visual studies and sociolinguistics for I believe that all disciplines do overlap and each one completes the other.
Appendices
Said Sabaou was very supportive during the writing of this work, he sent his biography via Facebook on May, 26nd 2013.

Said Sabaou est un dessinateur, scénariste et character-designer de mangas. Il est né le 22 juillet 1987 à bordj el kifane dans la ville d’Alger.

Dès son plus jeune âge, Said se passionne pour les bandes dessinées et particulièrement pour le manga qu’il découvre grâce à l’émission Club Dorothée mais aussi grâce à un environnement familial très artistique.

Devenu très vite un inconditionnel de la série Dragon Ball, il est très inspiré par l’univers de son auteur Akira Toriyama.

Il commence à dessiner dès l’âge de 5 ans de courtes histoires sur des héros aux super pouvoirs mais pris par les études, la passion se fait plus fade et les dessins plus rares. Il obtient son diplôme d’interprète traducteur et est recruté comme cadre administratif au sein de la compagnie internationale GROUPEMENT DAEWOO Engineering&Construction Mais lorsqu'il tombe malade, atteint d'une tuberculose, il remet en cause sa vie et détermine ses priorités.

C’est pendant cette période de convalescence qu’il dégaine à nouveau son crayon. Adepte de l’originalité et des révolutions artistiques, il étudie différents concepts avant d’aboutir à l’idée d’un nouveau genre manga alliant le style graphique de ce dernier à la culture ainsi qu’au folklore Algériens.

Découvert par Lazhari Labter « Lazhari Labter editions » au festival international de la littérature, il publie en 2011 son premier ouvrage intitulé Mondialé ! Ou il raconte une histoire profondément algérienne. Fan de football et entraîné par la liesse qui a gagné les Algériens, le temps d'un rêve avorté, il a compris que c’était là un thème « qui accroche le lecteur et lui parle». 
Cette année, il revient avec pleins de surprises :
Le tome 2 de Mondialé ! Qui s’intitule « l’ascension » et qui relatera l’entrée en scène du jeune Amine Selmi dans le monde du football toujours aux éditions Lazhari Labter.
Le tome 1 de « Houma fighter » un Hommage au légendaire jeu de combat street fighter mais là encore une histoire 100% Algérienne. Une recette à base de combats spectaculaires et d’un HUMOUR complètement décalé chez Z-link editions :
Sofiane Bekhti, kick boxeur professionnel est viré de sa fédération pour comportement violent, décide de quitter le pays en harraga mais c’est en cherchant la somme demandée par un pécheur qu’il découvre le houma fighter : un tournoi de combats de rue où la seule règle est qu’il n’y en a pas. Il deviendra le principal protagoniste de cette compétition.
Et enfin « Le prix de liberté ». Un manga en l’honneur du 50ième anniversaire de l’indépendance de l’Algérie qui suivra les aventures de Mohamed Amirouche, un ancien engagé dans le débarquement en Normandie et qui sera le témoin impuissant du massacre du 8 mai 1945.
Il décidera par la suite de s’engager dans les rangs du FLN afin de libérer son pays des griffes de l’occupation française. Il sortira aux éditions Dalimen.
Said Sabaou is a cartoonist, scriptwriter and manga designer. He was born on July, 22nd 1987 in Bordj el Kiffan-Algiers.

Said was fascinated from his childhood by comic books and especially manga. He discovered these latters by watching Club Dorothée TV show that featured Said’s favorite cartoons such as Dragon Ball.

Inspired by Akira Toriyama (Dragon Ball creator), Said started to draw at the age of 5 short superhero stories, but too busy with his studies, he left aside his drawings.

He graduated from university and worked as an administrator in DAEWOO Engineering & Construction Company.

Said fell ill, suffering from tuberculosis, he spent time to recover, it was during this period that that the young man returned to his drawings.

Interested in all what is new and original, Said analyzed and studied different concepts to achieve a new genre of manga in which are melted the graphic style of the genre with a purely Algerian Folk touch.

Discovered by Lazhari Labter « Lazhari Labter editions » in the International Festival of Literature, he published in 2011 his first work untitled Mondialé! In which he depicts the story of Amine Selmi a football avid fan.

2012 was a very good year for the talented manga-ka where he issued the second volume of Mondialé and of course Houma fighter, a typical Algerian story recalling the adventure of Sofiane Bekhti, the young kick boxer.

Sabaou also issued « Le prix de liberté », a manga about the Algerian Revolution and especially about “the massacre” of the 8th of May 1954 where Mohamed Amirouche, the protagonist witnessed helpless the terrible death of thousands of Algerians.
Said Sabou’s original interview

The purpose of this study was to determine the social motivations for code switching; therefore, an interview was done with the author on April 16th, 2013, in order to have his point of view on the languages used by most Algerians.

Belhassena Dalila : pourquoi tu as choisi d'écrire en Français?

Said Sabaou : J’ai choisi d'écrire en français parce que je m'exprime beaucoup mieux en utilisant cette langue. Je trouve aussi qu'habiller cette langue de différents dialectes algériens est beaucoup plus fidèle au folklore Algérien que pour l'arabe littéraire.

B.D : crois-tu que la BD et surtout le manga se lisent mieux en Français?
S.S : Je pense effectivement qu'en français, le manga se lit beaucoup mieux. À mon avis, le fait d'avoir grandi en lisant des mangas en français influence de façon assez conséquente mon opinion sur la question.

B.D : Comment t'est venue l'idée d'associer les dialectes d'Oran et de Batna?
S.S : Pour moi, une œuvre Artistique doit être le reflet de la société. c'est tout simplement ma démarche et une voie artistique que j'ai décidé d'adopter. à savoir promouvoir les différents dialectes Algériens et la culture Algérienne en général par la même occasion.

B.D : Selon toi, crois-tu que les dialectes Algériens sont stigmatisés (ex; Oran=wah)
S.S : Je crois effectivement que les dialectes Algériens sont stigmatisés mais à des degrés différents (Certains sont plus tolérés que d'autres). Et c'est une chose que j'essaye de combattre à travers mes mangas.
B.D : En attribuant à tes personnage leurs accents respectifs (Alger, Oran, Batna), quel effet recherches-tu?

S.S : Je cherche avant tout à sensibiliser le peuple Algérien sur sa richesse et sa diversité culturelle. Je veux aussi rassembler les gens en mettant en scène différents Héros issus des différentes communautés qui vivent en Algérie.

J’essaye en somme mettre en évidence les différences des gens pour mieux les rassembler et le fait d'utiliser l'humour fait passer plein de messages beaucoup plus facilement.

B.D : Y’a-t-il une stratégie linguistique derrière tes choix de dialectes (Alger, Oran, Batna)?

S.S : Pour moi, ces dialectes sont d'une richesse linguistique incommensurable et sont les piliers de l'identité nationale dans ce pays et c'est pour cela que j'en ai fait mon cheval de bataille.
Belhassena Dalila: Why did you choose to write in French?

Said Sabaou: I choose to write in French because I express myself better in this language; besides, I think that insert within this language different Algerian dialects is more faithful to the Algerian folklore than the Classical Arabic.

B.D: Do you think that comic books and especially manga are read better in French?
S.S: Yes of course, I think that the manga is effectively read better in French. Having grown up reading stories in French was of an immense influence in my works.

B.D: How does the idea to associate dialects of Oran and Batna emerge to you?
S.S: For me, any artistic work has to be the mirror of society. This is the approach I decided to adopt in order to promote the Algerian dialects and the Algerian culture.

B.D: according to you, do you think that the Algerian dialects are stigmatized? (Eg. Oran=wah)
S.S: Yes of course, but again I think that these dialects are stigmatized to some extent (some are more tolerated than others), and this is what I am trying to fight through my mangas.

B.D: What effect do you seek when ascribing to your characters their respective accents (Alger, Oran, and Batna)?

S.S: By doing so, I’m looking primarily to raise attention on the Algerian cultural diversity and gathering people (Algerians) when recalling stories of heroes from different (Algerian) communities.
I try therefore to highlight people’s differences to bring them together using humor to transmit some sensible messages.
B.D: Is then any linguistic strategy behind your choice of varieties (Alger, Oran, and Batna)?

S.S: According to me, these dialects are of a great linguistic richness and are the pillars of the Algerian identity; this is why I made this diversity be an integral part in my works.
Words about the work

- First and foremost, this piece of research has not the pretention to judge or criticize any theory, scholar, specialist or writer, therefore if any attempt in doing so is felt, it is only due to claims of scholars quoted.

- Name of scholars, specialists, books, articles and concepts are in *italics*.

- Code-switching is sometimes found in the literature written as two separate words, sometimes with a hyphen and sometimes as one word. The two-word orthography is taken into consideration in this work.

- For the sake of a detailed and accurate analysis, the pages of the manga under study were numbered.
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Résumé

Cette thèse a pour but d’explorer le monde de la bande dessinée (comic books) où la combinaison entre le texte et l’image véhicule toutes sortes d’informations et submerge les lecteurs d’émotions, le tout basé sur une étude sociolinguistique.

Etant donné que dans la vie de tous les jours, les individus sont enclins à alterner leurs codes, cette recherche se veut être une tentative qui détermine les raisons sociales de ces alternances codiques.

Des instances d’alternance codique entre l’Arabe Algérien et le Français ont été analysées en utilisant le modèle de marquage « Markedness » de Myers-Scotton.

**Mots Clés :** Bandes dessinées (comic books), Manga, Les Etudes Visuelles, L’analyse du Discours, l’Alternance Codique (Arabe Algérien/Français) et le Modèle de Marquage.

Summary

This dissertation is an attempt to explore the comic book world where text and image combination’s conveys meaning and submerges readers with emotions all framed under a sociolinguistic study.

Given that individuals in daily life are inclined to alternating codes; this work tries to determine the social motivations behind such alternations.

Algerian Arabic / French code switching instances were analyzed using the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton.

**Key words:** Comic books, Manga, Visual Studies, Discourse Analysis, Visual Discourse Analysis, Code Switching (Algerian Arabic/French) and the Markedness Model.
Summary

Comic books have contributed to provide an incredible joy to their readers from their early days, they were parts of news magazines all painted in rose. These rose pages were devoted entirely to comics and superhero stories, depicting the adventures of fictional characters and their escapades.

Despite their growing popularity, comic books faced rude criticism; they were depicted as mindless stories perverting teenagers and child stories with no literary merit. In this vein, anticomics’ crusaders aimed at discarding comics claiming that they were nothing but injections of sex and violence besides of considering them as pathologies.

But through time, people familiarized with works in this appealing and diverse format, where artists like Art Spiegelman, Will Eisner, Hergé and Naoki Urasawa with respect to all remaining comics’ creators, illustrated their masterpieces like ‘Maus’, ‘The Spirit’, ‘The Adventures of Tintin’ and ‘20th century boys’. In fact, more innovative, experimental and high-quality stories flourished and people became eager to read more and more of them.

Indeed, some specialists claim that comic books reading is an act of participation, as emphasized by Scott McCloud (1993:65), comics “is a medium where the audience is a willing and conscious collaborator”. This process is reflected in the fact that comic books are a combination of words and images through which the reader gives entirely him/herself to an autonomous content through the text. Reading comic books is in a sense, object-driven and essentially based on dialogues and reflections (illustrated in sorts of balloons).
It is striking to notice how over the last years, comic book culture seems to have captured the attention and central focus of the general opinion. Even Hollywood seems to be addicted to this culture when issuing blockbuster films based on comic book heroes and inspired by comic books stories.

This addiction goes even further with the creation in the 1970’s of the San Diego Comic-con International, an annually held convention dedicated to comic books, film/television, fantasy and manga and which became one of the premiere gathering of pop culture in the world.

Indeed, from the Golden Age to the Iron Age, comic books have faced ups and downs, until the 1990’s where this medium revived and was the central topic of serious academic researches.

In fact, scholars specialized in the study of comic books such as Julia Round focused on the literary aspects of this medium and applied concepts such as the theory of existentialism, she also tackled comic books through visual perspectives and narratives. In another register, other scholars used comic books to promote visual literacy.

Along with the process of facilitating participation in the generative aspects of culture, comic books are framed with the Visual Culture’s concept, which is concerned with visual events through which the consumer looks for information, meaning or leisure by means of visual technology (television, internet…) as pointed by Mirzoeff (1999).
This present study is framed under sociolinguistics where the focus is on the social motivations behind code switching as put by Myer-Scotton using the Markedness Model (1983, 1995 and 1998) as a way to analyze instances of linguistic alternations.

One of the earliest studies dealing with varieties of language can be traced back to 1947 with works of George Barker describing the language of Mexican-American speakers in Tucson, Arizona. Barker was seeking “how does it happen, for example, that among bilinguals, the ancestral language will be used on one occasion and English on another and that on certain occasions bilinguals will alternate, without apparent cause, from one language to another?” (1947:185-86)

Indeed, extensive sociolinguistic work on code switching was held. Linguists such as Jakobson and Haugen contributed to its development, along with many other scholars, such studies demonstrated the interactional, discursive and the social nature of alternating codes.

Code switching was regarded as a mere oddity or even pathology, things have changed and the notion of alternating varieties became familiar among speakers and widely studied by scholars. Specialists such as Poplack (1980), Sankoff & Poplack (1981), Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) to name just a few were interested in syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on language alternations. Romaine (1989) among others concentrated on learners’ cognitive abilities involving the use of more than one language.
May be such diverse concerns in different fields emanate from Sapir’s call (1929) that urged scholars to worry about their language and the interpretation of the general conduct.

The manga under study is *Houma fighter*. It was published in Mai 2012, it is a glimpse to the well known video game ‘*street fighter*’ created in 1987, in fact, *Houma fighter* paints the portrait of Sofiane Bekhti, a kickboxing fighter disqualified from official conquests because of his violent temper and his non respect of the rules. This latter decides to leave his hometown and manages to save some money for ‘El harga’ until he heard about the *Houma fighter* i.e. the street fighter. No rules exist for these fights, all kicks are allowed and Sofiane adheres completely, he enters the ring and proves to be a talented kick boxer. The story depicts Sofiane’s fights and describes the characters with an incredible sense of humor.

This study also aims at relating aspects of language within sequential art and exploring the linguistic variation and the reasons leading to it. A number of questions are raised in this vein:

- Are comic books worth to be considered as a channel of communication and thus as a medium *per se*?
- Considering comic books as being *the mirror* of society and *past testimony*, why does the author in *Houma fighter* ascribe each character a specific variety?
- Is linguistic variation in *Houma fighter* considered as a linguistic strategy?

In order to find reliable answers to these questions three assumptions are put forward:
• Comic books were from their publication and throughout their evolution confronted to confusion and hostility of a more mature readership, parents even prevented their children from reading them as they regarded them as materials with any interest and merit;

• It is assumed that speakers vary their styles according to factors (social, geographical…), and *Houma fighter* characters’ are not an exception *per se*, where each one uses his/her own variety besides, the author uses specific varieties to provide realism and accuracy;

• The linguistic variations used in *Houma fighter* are strategic in the sense that the author chooses to mark some short passages, to create an effect (stylistic) mainly sarcasm or irony…and intend to express *intentionality* when delivering his own message.

The present dissertation is composed of three chapters. The first chapter is a brief overview of the literature regarding the comic book genre including a brief history of its emergence, a section devoted to the development of the medium, types of comic books and definitions. It also provides backgrounds of concepts used in the comic book genre namely the Visual culture (introducing Mirzoeff and Visual Studies). To end a brief part regarding the status of comic books in Algeria is dealt with.

The second chapter starts with a discourse analysis based exploration to examine the real nature of comic books introducing *Intertextuality* first framed by Mikhaïl Bakhtine and then refined by Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes with his *text/image* theory.
It introduces Visual Discourse Analysis, an analytical tool in this investigation which considers art as a language. A section will be bestowed to Bilingualism (as a language contact phenomenon) favoring the use of Algerian Arabic and French. Code switching as an outcome of languages in contact will be discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter is concerned with methodology and includes mappings used to delimit the different dialects investigated in *Houma fighter*. This chapter also tackles linguistic variation in the light of the *Markedness Model* pioneered by Gumperz and refined by Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993 and 1998).

The data analyzed in this chapter represent chunks of speech uttered by characters of *Houma fighter*, the manga under study.

In fact, bilingual speakers code switch in conversations using other varieties i.e. along with their native tongue, another variety interferes so that speakers engage in code switching either in the process of language shift *for say* or simply in their everyday interactions where these latters show what Myer-Scotton (1998) calls the same *‘discourse unity’* as monolingual interactions do.

Trudgill (2000) emphasizes the point that no two individuals use language the same way in all situations. In this vein, Myers-Scotton (1998:18) claims that “…IN EVERY SPEECH community, more than one way of speaking exists” [original capitalizations]. In this, speakers make use of the linguistic items belonging to their repertoire and display them according to addressee, the setting and the *‘typical uses’* (Myer-Scotton 1998) of the variety.
*Houma fighter* is not an exception; characters of this manga exhibit their linguistic variety and mix their language codes. This study then, investigates the social motivations for code switching and the strategic nature of such a strategy in this comic book. This will be done in the light of Myer-Scotton’s *Markedness Model* (1983, 1993 and 1998).

This *Rational Actor Model* as considered by its’ author provides evidence that instances of code switching in the present comic book are intentional. This comes first when speakers and more precisely characters when choosing their variety or code, are doing as in Myer-Scotton words’ ‘*mental calculations*’ to enhance reward and minimize costs, she posits that a given choice is done over another one to ‘*optimize*’ (1998).

The choice of such model is that it “…provides a mechanism that activates behavior” (Myers-Scotton 1998:30). This idea is largely inspired by Elster (1989) who considers mechanism as *rationality*; this device explains how things happen on two steps. First, when it comes to rewards and minimizing costs; Rational Actor models explain choices as being goal-oriented. Second, rationality explains why such choices are made, besides Myer-Scotton developed her model so that it can encompass any variation be it between different languages, dialects or styles and therefore “…can be used profitably in other ways” (1998:6).
The Markedness Model may enhance linguistic choices’ predictions. It may also interpret the reasons such choices are more frequent than others and provide tentative interpretations of the choices that do occur in this comic book.

In light of this model, it has been assumed that the unmarked language variety was the one that sustained the narrative i.e. French whereas the marked language variety which is Algerian Arabic was the one which created a *stylistic* effect for say.

When analyzing *Houma fighter*, a feeling of deep routed Algerian culture is palpable, the author do vehicle feelings of ‘*Algérianité*’ as he likes to emphasize, pride (typical to Algerians) and adhesion to a united and multilingual speech community at the same time.

Indeed, Sabaou, in his manga lays social motivations of code switching, choosing the marked (Algerian Arabic) might be considered as strategy through which the author aims to reshape the existing rights and obligations set in order to express solidarity, group membership and exhibit social norms and Algerian values.

In fact, under the Markedness Model, code switching in *Houma fighter* might be:

- **Indexical of social negotiations** since the choice of a marked variety means more costs as opposed to the unmarked one which is favored because the cognitive calculations of speakers are economically biased. This notion of intentionality is encompassed in what Myer-Scotton calls *negotiation of the RO set*, indeed, whenever a speaker (writer) whishes to emphasize something or deliver a special message to the hearer (reader), she/he makes use of the available choices that he/she has in her/his speech repertoire.
• **The vehicle of social norms**, speakers have a natural theory of markedness, “…any code points to a particular interpersonal balance. It is partly because of their indexical qualities that different languages, dialects and styles are maintained in a community” Myer-Scotton (2000:127). Such identification is translated by the use of words having a connotative meaning, tightly linked to the habitus of the Algerian speech community, habitus a term already used by *Aristotle* and largely spread in the field of sociology among scholars as Marcel Mauss and especially Pierre Bourdieu which is defined as a structure of the mind characterized by a set of acquired schemata, sensibilities, dispositions and taste.

• **Transmission of social values**, social values in any community are said to be norms directing the *general* behaviors of humans. In this, the author Sabaou’s major aim is to promote authentic Algerian values encompassing love of the country and a special tribute to the Algerian *veiled* woman, who is regarded *somehow* weak from Western societies. In this, the author ascribes to her a special martial art consisting of hiding powerful weapons under her veil.

• **Echoic**, meaning that authors try to make their works, more realistic, more accurate and especially more interesting, for this marked and unmarked choices are available to them. These authors try to take the best outcomes from their choices and make them *echoic* as Sperber and Wilson (1982) establish it. By echoic, authors refer to effects of irony which under the Markedness Model implies a change of the RO set.
• **An indicator of folkloric speech**, folklore is a term which refers to the collective oral traditions and beliefs of a culture, the *American Society of Folklore* defines the term as “…the traditional art, literature, knowledge, and practice that is disseminated largely through oral communication and behavioral example” (1997). Under the Markedness Model assumptions, folklore is linked with the variety chosen by the writer (in the present context); moreover, folklore is equated to the *dialect* use.

In light of these analyses, it has been determined that in fact, the speaker or more precisely the writer (in this case) is doing *mental calculations* to echo *intentionality* and thus deliver the authorial message. Code switching in this case might be *strategic*. 