

Switching Codes in Algerian Manga: I Swear and I am Ironic/Sarcastic in Arabic not in French

تبديل الرموز في المانجا الجزائرية: أقسم وأنا ساخر بالعربية وليس بالفرنسية

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Abstract :

ملخص :

Comics¹ have become the center of tremendous studies with scholars focusing on different aspects of this medium by combining different approaches ranging from constructivism, structuralism, to cognitive and applied linguistics. This study aims foremost at exploring irony/sarcasm and swearing under Code Switching in "Houma Fighter" trilogy, an Algerian manga by Said Sabaou. Our investigation lays primary in discovering the reasons why, characters of this manga and namely "the black cat" swears and is ironic and sometimes sarcastic in Arabic in a manga all written in French. A comparative study was also done to show whether characters of this manga are society's archetypes. For this a questionnaire was submitted to 116 persons, males and females of different ages and of different social backgrounds. The primary idea is to know if the informants and the fictional characters use Code Switching the same way and whether switching to Arabic for swearing and for being ironic is purposive. Attempts to find answers to those questions were done using Myers-Scotton Markedness Model and supported by (im) politeness theories and views where it had been noticed that these speech acts are used to create stylistic effects. The author makes use of Code Switching by displaying swear words through the black cat character. By doing so, he confirms that choosing one variety over another is purposive and done as claimed by Myers-Scotton for optimization, getting the best outcomes and being echoic

Keywords: Algerian manga- code switching- irony/sarcasm-swearing

أصبح الشريط الهزلي الكاريون مركزاً لدراسات متعددة تتراوح من علم الاجتماع إلى الفلسفة تجمع بين مناهج مختلفة مثل البنائية والبنوية أو اللغويات المعرفية والتطبيقية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف السخرية باستخدام التناوب الكودي في ثلاثية حوما فايتر" ، وهي مانغا جزائرية لسعيد سباعو. يركز تحقيقنا بشكل أساسي على الأسباب التي تدفع "القط الأسود" ، وهي شخصية مانغا إلى أن تكون ساخرة بالعربية في مانغا مكتوبة بالفرنسية. أيضا ، تم إجراء دراسة مقارنة لتوضيح ما إذا كانت الشخصيات في المانغا هي نماذج أولية للمجتمع الذي نتطور فيه. لهذا، تم تقديم استبيان إلى 116 شخصاً من الرجال والنساء من مختلف الأعمار ومن خلفيات اجتماعية مختلفة. الفكرة هي معرفة ما إذا كان المخبرون والشخصيات في المانغا يستخدمون التناوب الكودي بنفس الطريقة وما إذا كان التحول إلى العربية للتعن والسخرية مقصوداً أم يرجع إلى قيود ثقافية معينة . لقد جعل نموذج مايرز سكوتن (نموذج التمييز) ونظريات التأديب كأدوات تحليلية لهذه الدراسة حيث لوحظ أن السخرية متعددة وتستخدم لخلق تأثيرات أسلوبية. الكلمات المفتاحية: التبادل اللغوي، الثقافة، السخرية، اللعن، المجتمع، المانغا الجزائرية

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¹ Comics is an 'extension including newspaper comic strips, mainstream, underground and 'alternative' comic books, graphic novels, one-off comics in magazines, photocomics, webcomics, and manga.

1. INTRODUCTION:

Needless to define comics which became “the most portable, limitless, intense, personal, focused, intimate, compelling, wonderful visual medium of creation” Jim Shooter (1994) (qtd in Duncan and Smith 2009: 7), it’s no lie that comics in general are part of almost every individual.

This paper explores more the manga genre and especially the Algerian manga largely inspired by the Japanese shōjo². Our case study “Houma Fighter”³ recalls the story of Sofiane Bekhti a young kick boxer who took part in these fights. Along with his black cat, Sofiane participated in fights and get qualified for the big tournament that will take place in Algiers⁴. Said Sabaou wants his characters to be calques of real life individuals by ascribing them different varieties with different accents, swearing and exhibiting irony and sarcasm with a real Algerian touch. For this, he does not hesitate to create characters that are society’s archetypes.

The present paper is framed under sociolinguistics where the enquiry is to know: 1. whether or not alternation codes in these manga are meant to create specific linguistic effects and 2. The reasons why the author chooses to display swear words, irony/sarcasm, and bad language on the black cat “mouth” rather than on other “human” characters and finally trying to find out via empirical research whether these linguistic speech acts are likely or unlikely according to impoliteness theory. For this, some assumptions are put forward:

- It is generally assumed that Code Switching is done for purposes, be it for creating stylistic effects or making calculations as assumed by Myers-Scotton in the Markedness Model.
- Irony and sarcasm are figurative languages that can be displayed depending on the communicators’ roles and perception.
- Irony/sarcasm and swearing are influenced by pragmatic (contextual) variables such as the conversational topic, the speaker-listener relationship, including gender, occupation, and status, and the social-physical setting of the communication.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW:

Framed under Sociolinguistics, this paper aims at relating linguistic behaviors to sequential art. In our case study, the author has deliberately chosen a marked variety to deliver his “authorial message”, it is also an investigation on the function of these devices (sarcasm, irony and swearing) in discourse. Ascribing instances of sarcasm, irony and swear words to a black cat is with no doubt done for some reasons that will be discussed through this paper. Before going any further, some definitions need to be put forward.

1.1. Irony and Sarcasm: Interchangeable terms?

Irony and Sarcasm have been extensively studied, yet scholars do not agree on clear definitions, rather they propose a degree of aggressiveness in a continuum as emphasized by Attardo” “irony and sarcasm are very closely related and occur on a continuum of aggression: irony is less aggressive, sarcasm is more so” (Attardo, 2013, p. 40). Many scholars join Attardo in sharing the view that sarcasm is the most hostile

² Types of manga meant for boys as opposed to shōnen manga which are meant for girls.

³ “Houma Fighter” a glimpse to the famous video game “Street Fighter”.

⁴ Algiers is the capital city of Algeria.

and offensive version of irony (Dews, Kaplan & Winner, 1995; Vance, 2012). Sarcasm is also associated to many scholars to anger, provocation and even scornfulness (Leggitt and Gibbs 2000). On the other hand, scholars like Littman and Mey (1991) claimed that these two definitions should not be synonymous as irony may be widely defined as a figure of speech based on meaning inversion. The cornerstone of this definition is the duality between what the speaker means implicitly and the meaning of the words they utter, dissociating themselves from them whereas, sarcasm may reduce or enhance the critical effects of a statement (Dews & Winner, 1995).

It is striking to notice the contradictions between irony and sarcasm definitions, this is mainly due to the main feature of irony which is implicitness as claimed by Utsumi (2000); other scholars affirm that irony is a type of pretense. In this approach, the speaker pretends to say something and expects the audience to go through the pretense and know the message behind (mocking, complimenting...) (Clark & Gerrig, 1984; Currie, 2006; Walton, 1990). In this vein, Kumon-Nakamura et al. (1995) pointed the pragmatic insincerity of the speaker: while performing utterances, the speaker makes use of other words to mean something while alluding to something completely different.

Discrepancies also come at play when describing sarcasm being the expression of a dissociative attitude toward an evoked thought or perspective while irony maybe understood as a type of 'echoic allusion' (Sperber & Wilson, 1981), for them speakers may also echo hypothetical sources:

There are echoic mentions of many different degrees and types. Some are immediate echoes, and others delayed; some have their source in actual utterances, others in thoughts and opinions; some have a real source, others an imagined one; some are traceable back to a particular individual, whereas others have a vaguer origin" (1981, p. 310).

As this paper is more focused on the sociological reasons and code switching features and for the sake of simplicity, the terms irony and sarcasm will be used interchangeably with a difference in degree with sarcasm being more aggressive than irony.

2.2. Swearing: a much used speech act and (im)politeness Theory;

Swearing, a linguistic universal that is mainly used to express strong emotions and feelings has kept the attention of scholars from the 1960's. Since then; studies have arisen in different linguistic fields ranging from sociolinguistics to psycholinguistics. Swear words may refer to taboo topics such as: "religion; sex acts; sexuality; genitals and sexual attributes; excretion; race, ethnic group or nationality; political affiliation; any other denigrated or oppressed group; stupidity; undesirable behavior [and] disease" (Thelwall 2008: 85). Depending on the context, the speaker-listener relationship; swearing can be polite, impolite, or neither and it may be used with any emotional state.

The problem that arise with impoliteness, rudeness, and swearing research is that it's quite impossible to define them universally as they are all culturally and personally determined, besides the meaning of politeness might vary across culture, gender, and power relations (Guodong & Jing, 2005). Classic approaches to politeness (Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) prone the notion of "face". There is the positive face want which is defined as "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others." Brown and Levinson 2006: 311). And the negative face want, defined as "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be

unimpeded by others" (ibid. 312). In this, speakers tend to avoid these face threatening acts (FTA's); this action is regarded by Brown and Levinson as politeness.

More recent approaches to politeness including impoliteness and rudeness (Thomas 1983; Arndt and Janney 1985; Lakoff 1989; Kasper 1990; Beebe 1995; Culpeper 1996; Culpeper et al. 2003; Locher and Watts 2005; Bousfield 2007) incorporate situations where speakers intentionally or unintentionally use offensive speech for purposes other than social harmony. Importantly, Locher and Watts (2005) argue that what is impolite cannot be universally construed, since impoliteness depends on the relationship between speaker and listener. Within impoliteness research, the impetus for swearing is explored and swearing is not regarded as merely a face threatening act. To evaluate whether swearing in discourse is rude, it is necessary to determine participants' identity, relationship, social norms, intentions and motivations. Judgments of rudeness are not only determined by the propositional content of swear words but by a sense of what is appropriate in a particular situation. Over time, speakers learn that politeness is not always the norm, as in situations where rudeness is a must, they learn that what is polite depends on the relationship between participants and the speech practices they negotiate (Locher and Watts 2005). Swearing may be appropriate in a given situation and not regarded as merely polite or impolite.

Impoliteness and rudeness will be taken into consideration in this present paper as a comparison will be done between the manga characters and individuals in real daily conversations.

2.3. Code switching in Algeria and the Markedness model:

The Algerian (socio) linguistic sphere has witnessed some changes, along with Arabic; Tamazight is the new official language of Algeria with more than the third of the population having Tamazight and its varieties as their mother tongue. Along with these two languages coexists French and Algerian Arabic. French is mainly used at university or for administrative purposes whereas Algerian Arabic with its varieties "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"⁵ Taleb Ibrahim (1995:33). Having at least three languages in their speech repertoire, speakers engage in code switching for different reasons and for different purposes. Our case study displays characters that exhibit different linguistic varieties (Table 1). As shown in the table below, most of the characters and even the 'black cat' are users of the variety of Algiers with the exception of some of them.

Switching or choosing one variety 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 alternating varieties speakers intend to "... convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature" (Myers-Scotton 1993:57), these alternations are termed by Gumperz 'discourse strategies' (1982).

Characters	Status	Location	Variety used & characteristics
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⁵ 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.

Sofiane Bekhti	Kick boxer	Algiers	Variety of Algiers
Hakkou 'la souris'	The houma fighter organizer	Algiers	
El Bakir	Opponent	Algiers	
Zahia	Sofiane's neighbor	Algiers	
Hafid 'Chawarma'	opponent	Algiers	
Miss Rym	opponent	Constantine	Variety of Oran
Kader 'Japoni'	The new challenger	Oran	Variety of Algiers, it displays signs with sarcastic and humorous comments
The black cat	'magical' companion	Algiers	
Chin Liang	Chinese worker	Batna	He speaks French with a specific accent and will represent the city of Batna, consequently he uses this variety
Driss Lee	opponent	Skikda	Variety of Skikda
Farah	opponent	Medea	Variety of Medea
Aberkane	opponent	Ghardaia	Variety of Ghardaia
Unknown fighter	opponent	Tamanrasset	Variety of Tamanrasset
Captain Azwiw	opponent	TiziOuzou	Tamazight
Adel	opponent	Mascara	Variety of Mascara

Table1: Characters of Houma fighter and their linguistic varieties

To find out the reasons why of the switches, this study relies on the Markedness Model which primary assumptions lay on "the negotiation principle" and Grice's co-operative principle (1975):

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. Myers-Scotton (1993b:113).

Meaning that speakers need to establish a set of rights and obligations (RO) 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 varieties.

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

3. METHOD AND DATA:

The data of this study represents chunks of speech uttered by characters of the trilogy "Houma Fighter". For the sake of realism, the author ascribed to each character a specific linguistic variety from different parts of Algeria (table 1, p6). The author wanted his manga to be representative of society's different accents. For this a questionnaire was given to 116 informants to compare the answers of fictional characters and real life individuals.

3.1. Questionnaire:

Closed-ended and open-ended questions were used in this paper, 116 informants among which 53.4% females and 46.6% males of different ages and different social backgrounds responded to the questions. The aim was to elicit natural data among the informants without giving any information about the manga under study or the relationship and the correlation wanted to be explored through this paper.

The informants were asked about the languages they speak and whether they code switch or shift to another variety or other varieties and the reasons behind doing this. They were also asked what language(s) they use when they want to be ironic / sarcastic and for swearing.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

4.1. Code Switching and languages at play

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 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.

This notion of negotiation is the reason behind choosing Myers-Scotton Markedness Model; "...writers or speakers choose what can be considered marked choices to convey certain messages of intentionality" (Myers-Scotton 1998:4).

The author's use of marked choices may be motivated by the fact of optimizing outcomes. Every literary creation "...establishes its own linguistic community, with its own unmarked style, and "sets of rights and obligations" (ibid: 43).

Characters of the manga under study exhibit instances of irony/sarcasm and swearing, the aim of this paper is to compare whether individuals in their daily life conversations exhibit these linguistic acts the same way and for the same purposes as the manga's fictional characters as the author claims that his mangas are the mirror of society.

Algeria is developing a somehow complex linguistic profile where several languages are at stake with linguistic phenomena like code mixing, borrowing, multiglossia and code switching. The following table (table 2) shows the languages informants have in their speech repertoire.

		Frequency	Pourcentage	valide Pourcentage	cumulated Pourcentage
Valide	1	3	2,5	2,6	2,6
	2	18	14,9	15,5	18,1
	3	71	58,7	61,2	79,3
	4	15	12,4	12,9	92,2
	5	8	6,6	6,9	99,1
	7	1	,8	,9	100,0
	Total	116	95,9	100,0	
Manquant	Système	5	4,1		
Total		121	100,0		

Table 2: Languages used by the informants

Table 2 exhibits the different languages used by the informants, most of them speak 3 languages (Arabic/French/English). More than 14% use Arabic and French. In “Houma Fighter”, characters also use 2 languages French which the marked variety and code switch in Arabic, the unmarked variety with the use of few words in English. What is also worth to notice is that the frequency of switching is higher in women aged from 23-28 year old than in men.

	Frequency	Pourcentage	valide Pourcentage	cumulated Pourcentage
Valide	5	4,1	4,1	4,1
English	5	4,1	4,1	8,3
Arabic	19	15,7	15,7	24,0
Arabic/English	12	9,9	9,9	33,9
Arabic/French	31	25,6	25,6	59,5
Arabic/French/Engli sh	8	6,6	6,6	66,1
Arabic/French/Engli sh/ Other	2	1,7	1,7	67,8
Arabic/French/Tam azight	6	5,0	5,0	72,7
Arabic/Tamazight	2	1,7	1,7	74,4
French	19	15,7	15,7	90,1
French/English	4	3,3	3,3	93,4
French/ Tamazight	6	5,0	5,0	98,3
Tamazight	2	1,7	1,7	100,0
Total	121	100,0	100,0	

Table 3: Languages used in daily conversations

When asked if they start a sentence in a language and finish it in another one, most of the replies were ‘yes’ (table 4) as code switching is part of their daily life and can even be consider as being part of their culture (table 5).

	Frequenc y	Pourcentag e	valide Pourcentage	cumulated Pourcentage
Valid e	5	4,1	4,1	4,1
No	4	3,3	3,3	7,4
Yes	112	92,6	92,6	100,0
Total	121	100,0	100,0	

Table 4: Do you start a sentence in a language and finish it in another one

	Frequency	Pourcentage	valide Pourcentage	cumulated Pourcentage
Valid e	5	4,1	4,1	4,1
Culture	24	19,8	19,8	24,0
daily life	53	43,8	43,8	67,8
daily life, Culture	12	9,9	9,9	77,7
daily life, Identity	3	2,5	2,5	80,2
daily life, Identity, Culture	5	4,1	4,1	84,3
Identity	8	6,6	6,6	90,9
Identity, Culture	2	1,7	1,7	92,6
Other	9	7,4	7,4	100,0
Total	121	100,0	100,0	

Table 5: Do you think that switching codes is part of

As compared to the manga under study, all characters display instances of code switching mainly Arabic and French code switching, being the 2 languages mostly spread and used among Algerian speakers. In a manga totally written in French, Arabic and Tamazight are the unmarked varieties and are shown in the following.

Houma Fighter I

Page 6: /lazəm nrōho harga/

Translation: We must go illegally.

Page 7: /rani: sa:ʕətʔk/

Translation: I helped you

Page 12: de la /dəbza/ à l'état pure

Translation: Pure fight.

Page 87: /əddv:ɛli: l da:r/

Translation: Go home

Houma Fighter II

Page 48: /əvra əʕardəd/

Translation: you'll taste

Page /əəɲ/

Translation: here you are/take this.

Houma Fighter III

Page 28: /səkla/

Translation: a slap

4.2. Code Switching and irony / sarcasm

Irony and sarcasm are linguistic strategies often used by speakers; they imply a native-like control of the linguistic varieties being used because of their implicit nature. Speakers and writers as well engage in these speech acts for creating 'stylistic effects' and delivering the 'authorial message'. In our context, both irony and sarcasm are performed through code switching with the use of Arabic, the mother tongue of

the majority of speakers (Table 6). The reason behind such choice is that when it comes to degrees of aggressiveness of irony and sting of sarcasm, speakers wish to be clearly understood.

The following are examples of irony/sarcasm in Houma Fighter trilogy:

Houma Fighter I	Page 111: /təlfət ga:ʃ/ Translation: We don't know what to do
Houma Fighter II	Page 21: /ja:yi bnaðəm/ Translation: completely out Page 21: /dzəjər wəf raha rafda/ Translation: there are only crazies in Algeria
Houma Fighter III	Page 46: /hbəs rasi/ Translation: amazing Page 66: /hadi el bidəja w mazal mazal/ ⁶ Translation: it's just the beginning

	Frequency	Pourcentage	valide Pourcentage	cumulated Pourcentage
Valide	5	4,1	4,1	4,1
Arabic	32	26,4	26,4	30,6
Arabic/English	9	7,4	7,4	38,0
Arabic/French	21	17,4	17,4	55,4
Arabic/French/English	7	5,8	5,8	61,2
Arabic/French/Tamazight	4	3,3	3,3	64,5
Arabic/Tamazight/English	1	,8	,8	65,3
English	7	5,8	5,8	71,1
French	19	15,7	15,7	86,8
French/English	4	3,3	3,3	90,1
French/Tamazight	4	3,3	3,3	93,4
Other	2	1,7	1,7	95,0
Tamazight	6	5,0	5,0	100,0
Total	121	100,0	100,0	

Table 6: Languages used for irony/sarcasm

4.3. Code Switching and swearing

Swearing is mostly defined as an expression of feelings and emotions, so why do curse? Why do we swear? Is it because we are angry or simply because we want to emphasize what we are saying. Though almost all informants and characters of the manga are bilingual speakers, when it comes to swearing, they use Arabic (Table 7) being the language that conveys a powerful meaning and expresses their feelings and emotions.

Uttering taboo words and swearing in Arabic where the whole narrative is written in French is a way to exorcize emotions and feelings.

Houma Fighter I	Page 33: /ɣra/ Translation: shit
Houma Fighter II	Page 62: /zma:ʃliman/ Translation: I swear Page 66: /ja rabi/ Translation: Oh! God

⁶ A popular song of soccer supporters.

Houma Fighter III

Page 96: /jɑyi hma:r/

Translation: donkey, used to mean stupid, idiot

Page 39: /a: hawzi/

Translation: Oh! My God

Page 116: /yrat ʃli:k/

Translation: you are in a big shit

Most informants asked claim that when swearing, cursing and insulting or uttering taboo words, they use Arabic because it's their mother tongue, it's easier for them to find the right words, it's more expressive and because the bulk of their vulgar vocabulary is in Arabic.

	Frequency	Pourcentage	valide Pourcentage	cumulated Pourcentage
Valide	5	4,1	4,1	4,1
Arabic	53	43,8	43,8	47,9
Arabic/English	6	5,0	5,0	52,9
Arabic/French	18	14,9	14,9	67,8
Arabic/French/English	2	1,7	1,7	69,4
Arabic/French/English/Other	1	,8	,8	70,2
Arabic/French/Tamazight	5	4,1	4,1	74,4
Arabic/French/Tamazight/English/Other	2	1,7	1,7	76,0
Arabic/Other	1	,8	,8	76,9
Arabic/Tamazight	1	,8	,8	77,7
English	6	5,0	5,0	82,6
French	11	9,1	9,1	91,7
French/Tamazight	3	2,5	2,5	94,2
Other	2	1,7	1,7	95,9
Tamazight	5	4,1	4,1	100,0
Total	121	100,0	100,0	

Table 7: Languages used for swearing

CONCLUSION:

Through this paper it has been agreed that swear word is a word or an oath that can be rude, profane or obscene used to express emotions, depending on the context or closeness of the speaker-hearer relationship, swear words can be a sign of friendship or camaraderie. Irony and sarcasm are linguistic strategies that aim to be echoic and create a stylistic effect. All these speech acts are widely used among speakers in different ways and in different settings. We also noticed gender differentiation with women using more instances of code switching in irony and sarcasm than men; this comforts the hypothesis that women tend to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face as emphasized by Levinson and Brown.

The pragmatic nature of these speech acts settled the basis of appropriateness, meaning that while a boxer for instance is likely to swear in the locker rooms because of all the stress and anxiety generated because of the fight, it is inappropriate on the other hand for him to swear on the ring, in front of his opponent because he owes him respect.

The change of the unmarked variety under the Markedness Model aims at reshaping the existing Right and Obligation set in order to exhibit social norms and values. By

shifting varieties in Houma Fighter trilogy between marked and unmarked, the author aims to signal 'otherness' as put by Auer (1992:31), the author uses intentionally words in the marked variety i.e. Arabic to express solidarity, group membership and "...shared ethnicity within an addressee" (Holmes 2000).

These findings comfort our hypothesis regarding the pragmatics of irony/sarcasm and swearing in light of (im)politeness theory and the Markedness Model claiming that these speech acts are purposive and optimize cost and reward.

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Appendices:

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. Age
2. Gender
3. How many languages do you speak
4. Which are they?
5. Which langue do you use in your daily conversations?
a) Arabic b) French c) Tamazight d) Other
6. Which language do you use when reading?
a) Arabic b) French c) Tamazight d) Other
7. When you want to be understood, which language do you use?
a) Arabic b) French c) Tamazight d) Other
8. Why?
9. When you want to be humorous, which language do you use?
a) Arabic b) French c) Tamazight d) Other
10. Why?
11. When you swear, which language do you use?
a) Arabic b) French c) Tamazight d) Other
12. Why?
13. When you are ironic /sarcastic, which language do you use?
a) Arabic b) French c) Tamazight d) Other
14. Why?
15. Do you start a sentence in a language and finish it in another one?
a) yes b) no
16. How often do you do that?
a) always b) frequently c) sometimes d) rarely e) never
17. What switching do you do?
a) Arabic/French b) Arabic/Tamazight c) Arabic/English
d) French/Tamazight e) French/English f) Tamazight/English
18. You switch languages for (reasons):
a) making yourself understood b) there are no equivalent translations in the target language c) other reason
19. Do you think that code switching is part of your:
a) identity b) culture c) daily life
20. Justify