

# Multilingual Narration and Narrating Multilingualism in Comics: Mikael Ross's *Der verkehrte Himmel* (2024)

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# 1. Comics and Multilingualism: Introductory Remarks

Comics are a diverse and complex field, and so are, expectedly, the aspects of multilingualism connected to it. First of all, comics have a rich multilingual heritage. As modern mass media they emerge in US immigrant milieus, and they expose the linguistic diversity of these milieus by means like mock accents and artificial code mixing. The most prominent example of this can probably be found in The Katzenjammer Kids, a classical comic strip invented by German immigrant Rudolph Dirks (1877-1968) in which most characters use a mixed code of English as a matrix language with German phonographemic and lexical markers (see Braun & Eckhorst 2022). One reason that connects comics and multilingualism therefore lies in the historical emergence of the classic comic strip in a multilingual environment. Another one would be the travelling hero. Comics have been dominated by genres like adventure, western, science fiction, and, of course, superheroes, full of first contacts and translingual encounters - or encounters that should actually be translingual. Comics can be multilingual to expand their potential audience, like Finnish comics are often published bilingually, usually with English subtitles (see Kauranen 2020). They also may be multilingual to expand their audience's language skills, as in the series Les aventures de Kazh, which

Björn Laser, *Multilingual Narration and Narrating Multilingualism in Comics: Michael Ross's* Der verkehrte Himmel *(2024)*, NuBE, 6 (2025), pp. 163-182.

DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.13136/2724-4202/1696">https://doi.org/10.13136/2724-4202/1696</a> ISSN: 2724-4202

promotes German-French family bilingualism (Guetz 2018), or to preserve minority languages (such as Yenish in Peterhans & Schönett 2022). And finally, they may be multilingual to tell multilingual stories in a multilingual world – an opportunity, however, that is often missed. In *Le lotus bleu* the famous Belgian reporter Tintin is in China dressed up as a Chinese, has an argument with British soldiers, is captured by a Japanese secret agent and confronted with his Italian-Greek-American archenemy Roberto Rastapopoulos – but surprisingly everybody is speaking French (Hergé 2006).

This is quite different in Mikael Ross's acclaimed graphic novel *Der verkehrte Himmel* (2024), a fast-paced crime story set among Viet-German youth in Berlin that displays not only the use of German and Vietnamese, but also of English and Russian, capturing multilingual reality by the "visual language of comics" (Cohn 2013a). The following section 2 will make some general remarks on the semiotic potential of comics for multilingual storytelling and the display of multilingualism, before section 3 is going to show how *Der verkehrte Himmel* uses this potential.

## 2. Multilingualism and the Semiotics of Comics

## 2.1. Modes of Representation

Languages can be represented in comics in different ways and by different means. A taxonomy of six basic modes of representation has been proposed to describe how comics deal with different languages and language differences: presence, indication, evocation, subsumption, substitution, and elimination (see Laser 2024, 201-208; Laser 2025, 94-95). PRESENCE means that different

adapted a taxonomy of the representation of languages other than English in Hollywood

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Laser 2024 and Laser 2025 contain core ideas of the first two sections of this paper. The taxonomy was developed based on categories suggested by Walshe (2018) who

languages appear as themselves. They may appear in speech balloons, but also on objects in the depicted world, in scripts familiar or foreign to the reader and they may or may not be translated. INDICATION means that the usage of a language other than the basic language of the publication is indicated outside the speech: like by a narrator's metalinguistic comments, by angle brackets, form and colour of speech balloons or by typography, often used in combination like in the Astérix series, where the gothic or blackletter type together with square speech balloons is intended to indicate the (fictitious) Gothic language of the character. In EVOCATION the usage of a language other than the basic language is evoked by markers within the speech, like phonographemic shifts, syntactic transfers or lexical code-switching. Jason Lutes' graphic novel Berlin is set in Germany of the early 1930s. The context makes it clear that the characters speak German. But this is also signalled by lexical markers like the addressing Herr for Mr. or the frequent use of Good day, which - unlike the German Guten Tag - is not very common as a greeting in English. Subsumption is very similar to evocation. The modifications of the speech may even be the same, only the aim is not to elicit the use of another language but the use of a language as L2. The variety used is therefore subsumed as an L2 variety under a basic or matrix language, just as the characters in The Katzenjammer Kids signal their German language background when they speak English. Substitution is the case when what is said or written in another language is replaced by the basic language of the publication without any means of indication or evocation. The context, however, makes it clear that the basic language does not stand for itself but represents another language or other languages. Finally, ELIMINATION is arguably the most common mode in comics when dealing with different languages, meaning that just one language is used where several languages should be involved and that whole narrative worlds are monolingualized – like Tintin's China in Le lotus bleu (Hergé

movies from Bleichenbacher (2008). For an overview of the rather limited research on multilingualism in comics see Laser 2024, 185.

2006), and even the heroes themselves can be surprised by this: "The monster speaks... English!", the X-Men observe while fighting giant green creatures on some distant planet, and the beast replies: "Doesn't everybody?" (*Uncanny X-Men* #107, cit. Walshe 2018, 50).

#### 2.2. Textual Positions

Comics, of course, are not only about language but a multimodal form of communication. The multimodal character of comics is most evident in the fact that they "have verbal and visual elements seamlessly combined in multifaceted ways" (Kümmerling-Meibauer 2013, 100). We can think of comics as a fundamentally visual form of communication in which according to Cohn (2013b) text can appear in three different ways, inherent, emergent, and adjoined:

- inherent, as part of the depicted world and of the image itself, like text on signs or posters or cell phone displays;
- emergent with a source within the depicted world. That is the case with speech balloons or sound words or also song lyrics that can sometimes be seen hovering through comic panels;
- and adjoined when text and image appear separate but are connected by proximity (e.g. a narrator's voice in captions).

The semiotic positions of different languages and language differences in comics show, however, the need for two further distinctions to be made: for emergent text between characters' voices and soundscape, for adjoined text between captions and subtitles. Characters' voices in speech balloons and thought bubbles appear regularly in the basic language and are subject to translation while words as part of the soundscape – mostly in song lyrics, sound words, or as ambient noise – are more likely heterolingual and may stay untranslated (e.g. Tietäväinen 2014). For adjoined texts the distinction between captions and subtitles should be made for the simple reason that, if a comic is published bilingually, the captions themselves can be subtitled. As a result, we have five different textual positions for

language in comics, and multilingualism with it, making the *discours* of graphic literature semiotically more complex than that of a (regular) linear literary text.

# 2.3. A Specific Potential: Simultaneously Sequential

In comics there are various modes of representing languages and various positions for the appearance of text. Furthermore, there is a special relationship between simultaneity and sequentiality or, more generally, between space and time which generates a specific potential of graphic literature to display multilingualism and to tell multilingual stories. We are talking about a – or maybe *the* – core feature of the media form, famously described in Scott McCloud's "inescapable" (Hatfield & Svonkin 2012, 431) classic *Understanding Comics* with its very broad, strictly formal, and very frequently quoted definition of comics as "juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence" (McCloud 1993, 9). It is this combination of sequentiality and juxtaposition that leads to a special relationship between time and space. The time focused, the panel one reads, is always now. The images before that panel represent the past, the images to come represent the future. But

unlike other media, in comics the past is more than memories for the audience and the future is more than just possibilities. Both past and future are real and visible and all around us. Wherever your eyes are focused, that's now. But at the same time your eyes take in the surrounding landscape of past and future! (104).

Time in graphic literature acquires a spatial quality that it cannot shake off anymore. Since the representation of time as space has even been described as "a truism of comic scholarship" (Nel 2012, 449) this is not a very surprising statement. But concerning multilingualism, this truism enables comics to juxtapose and to position different languages to make them visible and present: in the course of a story, within the framework of a single or double page and even within

a single image. In *Astérix legionnaire*, an entire conversation takes place in a single panel between a Belgian, a Greek, a Briton, and a translator for Egyptian and Gothic, speaking Belgian, Greek, British, and Gothic, as is indicated for Greek and Gothic by typography and evoked for Belgian and British by lexical markers (Goscinny & Uderzo 1967, 30). Of course, this is *Astérix*, and that's why we are talking about fictional languages, not real ones. The crucial point, however, is that they are all there: sequentially in the course of the conversation, and simultaneously as part of the image. What has been said and what will be said is always accessible. Languages, different languages and linguistic differences become visibly and permanently part of the narrated world. This should predestinate comics to tell multilingual stories and to tell stories multilingually, and it may quite well be that graphic literature has not really lived up to this potential yet. A work that without doubt attempts to use this potential is *Der verkehrte Himmel* by Mikael Ross (with the Italian title *Il nirvana è qui*, 2025a).<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Multilingual Storytelling in Mikael Ross's Der verkehrte Himmel

#### 3.1. The Book and its Author

Mikael Ross was born in Munich, lives in Berlin and has become one of the most important German comic artists in recent years. His graphic novel *Der Umfall* (*The Thud*) about Neuerkerode, a village in Germany run by people with special needs, received the most prestigious award for German language comics, the Max-und-Moritz-Preis, in 2020. In the same year Ross published *Goldjunge* (*Golden Boy*), a biography on Beethoven's youth, celebrating the composer's 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary. *Der verkehrte Himmel*, a crime and coming-of-age story set among Viet-German youth in Berlin, not only shows a complete change of subject

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At time of writing there is also an edition in Spanish (*Il nirvana está aqui*, 2024b) and French (*Le nirvana est içi*, 2025b), but no English language edition yet.

again, but with its predominantly black and white manga aesthetics also a significant change in artistic style. It was named Comic Book of the Year by a jury of critics from German speaking countries in 2024 (Törne 2024).

The original title *Der verkehrte Himmel* would translate as "heaven upside-down", while the Italian title *II nirvana* è *qui* translates as "Nirvana is here". Both are quotes from a famous poem by Vietnam's most important female poet Hồ Xuân Hương (1772-1822). The poem is quoted several times throughout the work (Ross 2024a, 9-11, 78, 215) and serves as a kind of leitmotif.<sup>3</sup>

At the centre of the story there are 12-year-old Tâm and her elder brother Dennis, whose parents have been living in Germany since the 1980s (see. Ross 2024a, 118) and are now running a small Vietnamese Restaurant in Berlin-Lichtenberg. In the parking lot at a Polish border market, they meet a young Vietnamese woman who is apparently locked up in a van. Back in Berlin, a severed finger turns up in a fast-food bag, and Hoa Binh, the girl from the parking lot, turns up, too, trying to escape from a gangster named Boris. Other notable characters include Alex, a twelve-year old who is striving to become an actor or a secret agent or both, Jutta, a former actress who's now an impoverished alcoholic and lives in an allotment hut, and the Roller Girlz, a combination of Huey, Dewey, and Louie and superheroines who are there when needed.

Ross, as he explains in a promotional interview, was inspired to create *Der verkehrte Himmel* by his work as an assistant teacher at an elementary school in Berlin-Lichtenberg, where he encountered the daily life of the Viet-German community, but which is also a hot spot for human trafficking in Berlin (Avant-Verlag 2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The original title of the poem is "Đài khán xuân". An English translation, "Spring Watching Pavillion", by John Balaban can be obtained from <a href="https://www.johnbalaban.com/wpcontent/uploads/2019/03/h%e1%bb%93-xu%c3%a2n-h%c6%b0%c6%a1ng-poem.mp3">https://www.johnbalaban.com/wpcontent/uploads/2019/03/h%e1%bb%93-xu%c3%a2n-h%c6%b0%c6%a1ng-poem.mp3</a> [23/06/2025].

# 3.2. Languages



Image 1 (Ross 2024a, 185)

Telling a story in this environment at least suggests taking the characters' languages into account. In Image 1 we have Vietnamese, standard German, and very rudimentary L2-English present. Furthermore, there is Berlin dialect, Russian, and L2-Varieties of German spoken in the book. In this scene with Hoa Binh, Jutta, and Alex Vietnamese is not only spoken in the speech balloon in the first panel, where it is present, but also in the third panel, where it is indicated by the square speech balloon. Other than in the rounded speech balloons the language we read there in the narration or *discours* is not the language spoken in the

narrated world, the *histoire*. This is explained on the very first page of the comic, before the story begins:

Untertitel, wie es sie im Film gibt, sind im Comic [...] etwas unpraktisch. Deshalb gilt in diesem Buch folgende Regel: vietnamesisch Gesprochenes steht in eckigen Sprechblasen, deutsch Gesprochenes in runden Sprechblasen (Ross 2024a, [7]).<sup>4</sup>



Image 2 (Ross 2024a, [7])

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "Subtitles, as they exist in movies, are somewhat impractical in comics [...]. Therefore, the following rule applies in this book: Vietnamese speech appears in square speech balloons, while German speech appears in rounded speech ones"; if not specified otherwise, translations are by the article's author.

This explanatory page is remarkable in at least three ways:

- 1. The explanation is given a whole page. A discrete footnote might have done and is quite more common, like in the *Love and Rockets* series where angle brackets indicate that Spanish is spoken where we read English (e.g. Hernandez 2001, 4) or that English is spoken where from the context is clear that the language usually spoken by the characters in the story is Spanish (e.g. Hernandez 1989, 26).
- 2. The so-called subtitles are placed in speech balloons and not at the bottom of the panel where they would appear to be more discrete and less impractical.<sup>5</sup> One could even argue that subtitles in comics, properly placed, would be easier to handle and therefore less impractical than in the movies since they do not create any modal divergence (see Laser 2024, 208-209).
- 3. Subtitles are criticized; indication via the shape of the speech balloons seems to be preferable, but subtitles in speech balloons are obviously still used, for example on this very page in Image 2 and in the scene with Hoa Binh, Jutta, and Alex in Image 1. Instead of a "pure" solution, various means are apparently combined here.

Based on these three observations some remarks can be made on the multilingual storytelling in *Der verkehrte Himmel*.

#### 1. The size of the explanation

There may have been functional considerations, but the mere fact that the explanation of the speech balloon shape takes up a whole page puts languages and multilingualism in the spotlight and makes them a central theme for the book. This can be compared to Büke Schwarz' graphic novel *Jein* where the opening scene with a cat meowing in English and being addressed in German and Turkish forms a kind of overture (Schwarz 2020, 10-11): a more discreet way to weave the subject of languages into the story. The explicit explanation in *Der verkehrte Himmel* does not, however, mean that the multilingual way of telling the story dominates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This can be seen in the already mentioned subtitled Finnish comics in Kauranen 2020.

the story being told. In the reviews of Ross's work this aspect hardly appears – which can perhaps be seen as a sign of how natural and thus well the representation of the different languages works.<sup>6</sup> The family's internal language use for example where Vietnamese is generally spoken but the siblings speak German among themselves can be captured at a glance (e.g. Ross 2024a, 104-105, see Platthaus 2024).

## 2. The subtitles

The decision to place the subtitles within the speech balloons rather than below the panels or at the bottom of the page may have had very practical and simple reasons. But the use of different languages as *emergent* within the narrated world instead of *adjoined* to it as subtitles also makes them a more integral part of the narration of the world, be it via presence in subtitled speech balloons or simply indicated by the balloons' form.

#### 3. Various means

Subtitles are called "somewhat impractical in comics" while in some speech balloons they still appear. But the subtitled speech balloons are not used randomly, of course. They mainly appear for two reasons: transition and phrasemes.

On page 104 German is spoken by Tâm and Dennis in rounded speech balloons, on page 105 the square speech balloons show that Vietnamese is spoken. But when Dennis first addresses his parents, the square speech balloon is bilingual,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Grau (2024) describes the language situation in Tâm's and Dennis's family with Vietnamese and German and praises Ross for his precise observation of youth speech. Platthaus (2024) mentions the shape of the speech balloons as a "simple trick" ("simpler Kunstgriff") that Ross had invented "for the bilingualism that characterizes the interaction of the main characters" ("für die Zweisprachigkeit, die das Zusammenspiel der Hauptfiguren ausmacht") and calls it "a prime example for this kind of visual storytelling" ("ein Musterbeispiel für ein derartiges visuelles Erzählen"). The issue of language and multilingualism is not mentioned in the reviews of Courth, Hartmann, Heinze, Heller, Merten, Roth, and Schmechta (all 2024).

with the original Vietnamese subtitled by the German text which is thereby marked as a translation. For the dialogue in its course, this transition point can be seen as an alterity sign that marks the linguistic otherness of the following speech balloons and establishes their square form as an indicator – or re-establishes it since this procedure is found in an extended form at the beginning of the book. In the opening scenes at the Polish border market, the transition periods are significantly longer. Tâm and Dennis talk in German. Then, Dennis takes up his father's phone call, and the original Vietnamese stays present in the square balloons during the whole conversation (Ross 2024a, 14). A little later, Tâm discovers Hoa Binh in the van, and their conversation is also initially presented bilingually (17). Only after the turning of the page the indicational function of the speech balloon shape seems to be fully established (18).

The other main case where subtitles in speech balloons appear are phrasemes, Vietnamese sayings and proverbs, usually spoken by the father and less often by the mother. On page 105 we find a political slogan ("Sparen ist nationale Politik!"), in Image 2 a traditional Vietnamese proverb: "Selbst ein scharfes Messer kann seinen eigenen Griff nicht schnitzen" ([7])<sup>7</sup>. The use of phrasemes here is a specific speech act that serves a dual purpose: to make the Vietnamese language visible and to characterize literary figures, aptly in the generation of the parents, who thus appear as representatives of traditional Vietnamese values and culture.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Parsimony is a reason of state!" and "Even the sharpest knife can't carve its own handle".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The presence and translation of Vietnamese lyrics on page 268 can be interpreted in the same way. Less clear is the function of the bilingual speech balloon in Image 1 (185). Since it follows after two pages in which Alex thinks and speaks in German, it may be a transition point as well, but it also may emphasize the confrontational nature of the situation in which Alex is not only pelted with stones but is also greeted in a language he does not know. That Hoa Binh is shouting and the speech balloon therefore is neither really square nor really rounded may also play a role.

Another language made visible in *Der verkehrte Himmel* is Russian. It is spoken only by Vasja, a Russian member of a people smuggling ring, and mostly to his dog Tyson – or Тайсон, since Russian in the novel is displayed in Cyrillic letters. There are only a few incidents and single speech balloons where Russian is used. In most cases it is subtitled (264, 306, 311, 313, and 314), in very few cases it is not: One time it is a simple "Да. Да." ("Yeah, yeah.", 290), two other times Vasja insults his (probably male) dog as "сука" ('bitch', 293 and 314).9 In one case, what looks like a subtitle is not a translation, but a continuation of what is said in Russian: "Да блядь! Geh schon ran!" (222). When Vasja speaks German he does so with morphosyntactic markers subsuming his speech as L2 variety (e.g. 222, 265-266). Other L2 varieties of German are used the one time the father speaks German (118), when Hoa Binh tries to pronounce the word Schrebergarten (allotment garden) used by Tâm, since she doesn't know a Vietnamese word for it (203), and when Tâm imitates her mother's accent to excuse herself from school (125). L2 varieties of English are spoken by Jutta, Hoa Binh, and Vasja (185, 290) and they remain untranslated, as it is probably assumed that they are understandable to the readership.

## 3.3. Glotta-Pithanony and Glotta-Aporia: On Poetry and Translation

English, German, L2-German, Russian: All Languages except Vietnamese appear in rounded speech balloons. The rounded speech balloons therefore do not indicate German as the square ones indicate Vietnamese. They are the unmarked case, signalling that what one reads in the *discours* is what is spoken in the *histoire*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Apparently, the meaning of the words here is considered sufficiently clear from the context or not really important. The same can be assumed for the only Vietnamese present without translation, the "Hoan Hô!" when Tâm and Hoa Binh toast with ice tea (206). <sup>10</sup> "Well, shit! Pick up the phone!".

However, there is one passage in the book where this doesn't seem to work. Tâm speaks Vietnamese fluently, but she cannot read or write it. She complains that nobody has taught her, and she has to rely on her elder brother Dennis to read what is written on the back of a photography she found (78). It turns out to be the poem on nirvana by Hồ Xuân Hương, which appears here for the second time in the novel as it is read aloud by Dennis (see Image 3). The written text is marked as Vietnamese, and Dennis's spoken words should also be Vietnamese when he reads the poem to Tâm. But while the speech balloons with the poetic text are clearly different from those in the siblings' normal conversation, their shape does not indicate Vietnamese.



Image 3 (Ross 2024a, 78)

We could, of course, regard this as inconsistency and criticize the author for it. On the other hand, it seems to work. Readers read to understand, and as long as the text is understood in the *discours*, there is no urgent need to question the languages of the *histoire*. Furthermore, the shape of the speech balloons sets the poem apart from everyday life and everyday speech, not angular, but airy and floating, fitting the poem's content. But the question remains: What language is being spoken here?

With terms coined by Robert Stockhammer (2015) this is a question of glottapithanony and glottaaporia. Together with glottamimesis and glottadiegesis these terms refer to the narration of languages in literary texts. More specifically, they refer to how languages appear in the narrated world (glottamimesis), how their use is narrated (glottadiegesis), to what extent the use of languages in the communication of characters is credible (glottapithanony) and to what extent impossible constellations arise (glottaaporia), in which literature can prove its autonomy. Regarding glottamimesis, Stockhammer identifies three basic possibilities for how languages spoken at the level of the *histoire* are represented in the *discours*. If French is spoken in a German text, the text can 1. glotta-amimetically appear in German, 2. appear in French in iconic glottamimesis, and 3. can appear in German, but indicate in indexical glottamimesis through linguistic clues such as "Monsieur" that French is being spoken (Stockhammer 2015, 148). In the taxonomy presented in 2.1, this corresponds to substitution, presence, and evocation. Glottadiegesis is about how languages are identified when they are not marked glottamimetically: Do phrases like "he answered in French" or "they switched to Spanish" glottadiegetically indicate which languages are being spoken, or does the context simply presuppose, e.g., that characters in France speak French (149)? The phrases would be examples of indication; the glotta-adiegetical text would correspond to substitution again.

Glottapithanony is about the credibility of the described use of language and the possibilities of making it plausible: If astronauts on a foreign planet can communicate with the aliens there without difficulty, that would be glotta-apithanon. However, if it is explained that they possess a universal translator, that would be glottapithanon (151).

Glottaaporia occurs when linguistic constellations in the *histoire* are not only implausible, but actually impossible, at least in the sense of linguistic consistency in the narrated world: for example when a business card is translated from Spanish into Spanish (165) or when in *Astérix* the Romans do not normally speak Latin, but a basic language shared with the Gauls, which is also understandable for the British, Belgians, Spaniards and Normans.

But back to Dennis and the question of which language the poem is recited in. That the declaration of the poem is in German is not credible and therefore glotta-apithanon. Tâm would understand the spoken Vietnamese, so Dennis would not have to declaim a German translation even if he knew one by heart or was able to do one spontaneously. At the same time the markers for Vietnamese are missing, so that there is no indication that the declaration of the poem is not in German. This is classical aporia or – to quote from Stockhammer's abstract – a case "in which it is impossible to determine the language spoken within the fictional 'world'" (146).

Constellations like this are not that rare in comics at all: Apart from the universal language in *Astérix* just mentioned, one could think of the classic Western comic *Blueberry* in which the discourse of the Apache characters bear the same markers regardless of whether they are speaking to Mexicans, Anglo-Americans, or among themselves (Giraud & Charlier 1990, 3, 5, 47) or of the French everybody seemingly speaks in Tintin's China (Hergé 2006).

But is it French? On the level of the *histoire* a cartoon character like Tintin is hardly linguistically specified or nationally assigned, but rather "a vacuum into which our identity and awareness are pulled" (McCloud 1993, 36). In an English or German translation of *Le lotus bleu* the reader would, as long there is no information to the contrary, assume that the language spoken is English or German. If we ignore the specific translation, we arrive at a nameless, unmarked basic language that only needs to fulfill the condition that it agrees between the reader and the perspective of the reader's identification.

This leads us to the question of whether the language in the unmarked speech balloons in *Der verkehrte Himmel* is actually German. The question may seem a bit odd, though, since the language is glottadiegetically referred to as German, and the story is not set in any genre-based fictional world, but in our world of today. But apart from the fact that there are several intertextual signals throughout the book that connect it to genre worlds,<sup>11</sup> its translations raise precisely this question. Obviously, the story is set in Berlin, "en ce début d'été Berlinois", as the French blurb reads (Ross 2025b). But the language in the rounded speech balloons isn't supposed to be German, but French: "Les phrases en vietnamien figurent dans de bulles carrées, les paroles en français dans des bulles rondes" (Ross 2025b, [7]). The same goes for the Italian edition: "nuvolette quadrate per il parlato in vietnamita e nuvolette tonde per il parlato in italiano" (Ross 2025a, [7]).

There appears to be a tension between the semiotic potential of comics to represent multilingualism and the aesthetic potential of comics to create (mono-)linguistically coherent worlds. Perhaps this is one reason why multilingualism in comics has not yet received that much attention yet: neither in production nor in reception nor in academic research.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> E.g. the manga aesthetics with its extremely dynamic speed lines (Ross 2024a, 153) or a snot bubble signalling a person is asleep (283), the superheroine like Roller Girlz (53) or Dennis's friend Götz who is visually and character-wise a blend of Beavis and Butt-Head (80-82).

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