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**Translating code-switching and L3. Stieg Larsson's
Män som hatar kvinnor in German, French, Italian, Portuguese,
English, Catalan and Spanish**

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Abstract

The objective of this article is to analyse a translated text's willingness or reluctance to maintain code-switching present in the original text. To that end, we use a corpus comprising *Män som hatar kvinnor*, the first novel in the Millennium trilogy, and its German, French, Italian, Portuguese, English, Catalan and Spanish translations. English words and expressions are scattered throughout the novel, reproducing the code-switching between English and Swedish common in Sweden. The novel also includes instances of multilingualism (L3), which, in principle, require a different translation approach. Our analysis points to the stance taken towards maintaining or eliminating the English words and expressions present in the original having more to do with the power imbalance between literary systems than with how "familiar" or "foreign" readers may find them.

Keywords: literary translation, multilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing, L3, intralinguistic adaptation, interlinguistic adaptation, Millennium

1. Language contact

In today's globalised world, language contact is a phenomenon that occurs even in traditionally monolingual societies, for reasons that include tourism, international trade, migration and even wars (de Higes-Andino, 2014: 211), as well as information and communication technologies (Sundberg, 2013). Sweden, the setting for the novel analysed in this article, is a country that has a single official language with 10 million

speakers, but is home to minority groups that have used Finnish, Romany or Sami for centuries. In this context, English has become a lingua franca for Swedes in their communication with people around the world (Sundberg, 2013). Stieg Larsson's *Millennium* saga reflects the Swedish population's proficiency in English and the fact that the language's presence in education and the economic sphere is so great that:

The position of English in the Swedish speech community has actually become comparable to that of a second language rather than a foreign language, since many people in Sweden today use English on a daily basis in different contexts (Lindberg, 2007: 72).

Both literary and audiovisual works of fiction tend to reflect this situation, which occurs around the world. Various authors (Grutman, 2006; Cronin, 2009; Delabastita, 2009; Corrius and Zabalbeascoa, 2011) have studied multilingualism and the presence of dialects in fiction texts. Delabastita and Grutman (2005: 16) offer the following definition:

The simplest possible definition of a multilingual text would be to say that such a text is worded in different languages, but that still begs the fundamental question of how one should understand the concept of 'language'. We favour a very open and flexible concept which acknowledges not only the 'official' taxonomy of languages but also the incredible range of subtypes and varieties existing within the various officially recognised languages, and indeed sometimes cutting across and challenging our neat linguistic typologies (Delabastita and Grutman, 2005: 16).

Other authors have associated multilingualism with expressive and narrative functions (de Higes-Andino, 2014; Delabastita and Grutman, 2005), or with emotive, sociolinguistic and pragmatic functions (Monti, 2014). Di Giovanni (2007) refers to the use of words from distant realities in the following way:

By the same token, words and expressions which are conventionally attached to cultures and have assumed, in time, an international value can be said to have somehow lost their primary meaning in order to function mainly as auditory reminders of a distant, exotic world (Di Giovanni, 2007: 97).

Delabastita and Grutman (2005) call for recognition of the true function of the presence of multilingualism in texts:

Instead of dismissing foreign-language samples as mere comic relief, or 'as an irrelevant, if not distracting, representational factor' (Sternberg, 1981: 224), it might be more rewarding

to see if and how they acquire a deeper significance with regard to plot-construction or even become a controlling metaphor governing character discourse and behaviour (Delabastita and Grutman, 2005: 17).

1. 1. The concept of L3

In the context of translation, the name L3 has been given to real or imaginary languages and dialects which appear in texts in which there is a majority language. According to Corrius (2008), “the third language (L3) is neither L1 in the ST nor L2 in the TT; it is any other language(s) found in either text”. In other words, L1 is the source text’s majority language, L2 is the target language, and L3 is any other language or variety present in the source and/or target text.

The relevant literature actually considers the presence of L3 in texts in absolute terms, as the density of L3 can vary greatly in literary and audiovisual fiction alike. Grutman (1998) believes that any text containing at least one non-L1 word can be deemed a multilingual production.

The presence of L3 has certain functions that various authors have defined. In some cases, its function has been related to characters’ identity and their role at a specific point in the story.

In a previous article, we concluded, based on research conducted as part of the Trafilm project (<http://trafilm.net>), that most cases of L3 “perform a double function of contributing to character identity and dramatic context” (Santamaria and Pujol, 2018: 25). That applies to the instances of L3 in the novel *Män som hatar kvinnor*.

While L3 clearly has a lower level of presence than code-switching in *Män som hatar kvinnor*, analysing the former makes it possible to observe and compare how the novel’s different translations have dealt with the presence of English in the original text.

1. 2. Code-switching

According to Stell and Yakpo (2015), the term “code-switching” was coined by Vogt (1954) in his review of Weinreich’s pioneering work *Language in Contact* (1953). As they explain, the term has always been set off against that of ‘code-mixing’. The difference between the two lies in the pragmatic salience of the elements of discourse affected by a change of code (Auer 1998, 1999; Muysken, 2000). Code-switching refers to the use of more than one language in a single utterance, whereas code-mixing refers to the appearance of grammatical features or lexical items from another language in a

single sentence. The same distinction is also made using the terms “inter-sentential switching” and “intra-sentential switching”. The former, taking place outside the sentence level, corresponds to “code-switching”; the latter, taking place within a sentence, corresponds to “code-mixing”.

Another relevant distinction is that made between “code-mixing” and “borrowing”. From a perspective based on language usage, Backus (2015) conceptualises the difference in question in terms of synchrony and diachroneity. While code-mixing, or insertional code-switching, is a synchronous phenomenon, he considers the insertion of a borrowed word into another language to be a diachronic phenomenon that involves the language’s speakers coming to accept the loanword over time:

Insertional code-switching is the use of other-language elements (often, but not always, single words) synchronically, in actual utterances. Borrowing is the diachronic process whereby these words, through their usage, get entrenched in individual speakers, and spread through the speech community as accepted and conventional words in the language (Backus, 2015: 28).

Other authors do not make such a distinction and instead use the term “code-switching” in a broad sense (Skiba, 1997; Jiménez Carra 2004, 2011) to refer to the inclusion of lexical and/or syntactic elements of different languages in a single utterance. The term “marque transcodique” is also used in a very similar way, as a cover term encompassing any phenomenon indicative of the influence of one language on another, e.g. code-switching, borrowing and loan translations (Milroy and Muysken, 1999: 10).

We have opted for this last conceptual and terminological approach, and thus use the term “code-switching” in its broadest sense to refer to the presence of one language in speech in another language.

2. Code-switching in *Män som hatar kvinnor*

The presence of more than one language in the novel *Män som hatar kvinnor* is essentially down to code-switching. Defining a character’s identity is not the main purpose of the novel’s foreign-language lexis; the author has chosen for it to be present. The author only uses it to define character identity in two situations. In one of them, it is used to characterise some Australians who interact with the main character while he is in Australia and include words in English in their speech. The second involves an Austrian who is addressed as *Fräulein* by the main character and opens a dialogue with *Aber*

natürlich on one occasion. Both the cases in question must be regarded as instances of L3.

The code-switching used as a literary resource in the novel mirrors the code-switching between Swedish and English which is part of Sweden's present-day sociolinguistic reality. In her immense work on the characterisation of Swedish-English code-mixing, Sharp (2007) states that Swedes' use of English as an auxiliary language is entirely conscious and that, outside the work arena, they use English as a form of communicative play in everyday speech. She remarks that most of the English words inserted in conversations in Swedish are

primarily speech formulae, i.e. greetings (Morning!, Hello!), farewells (Bye!), apologies (Sorry!), confirmation and assent markers (Sure!, Yes!, Yeah!, Alright!), as well as expletives of varying coarseness (Shit!, Fuck!, Chicken!) (Sharp 2007: 238).

The situation described by Sharp corresponds to the form code-switching takes most frequently in *Män som hatar kvinnor*. There are formulae of apology, such as "Sorry", formulae of farewell, such as "Until the next time", and expletives, such as "Bitch".

The orthotypography of the novel's English lexis shows, in each case, whether it is deemed code-switching or borrowing. In the original text in Swedish, the foreign nature of English vocabulary is sometimes indicated through italicisation, signalling the presence of a different linguistic code. When English vocabulary is inserted in the text without italicisation, this means, in keeping with the previously mentioned distinction between code-mixing and borrowing made by Backus (2005), that the vocabulary in question has been accepted by speakers of Swedish.

The novel's code-switching is not limited to single words and expressions; it also extends to full sentences, examples of which include "Kill them all and let God sort them out" and "Armageddon was yesterday, today we have a serious problem". Naturally, the presence of such sentences in the text is a further reflection of Sweden's sociolinguistic reality, specifically Swedish speakers' good command of English.

The two types of insertions referred to above, i.e. single words and full sentences, unquestionably pose challenges of different degrees of difficulty as far as translating them is concerned.

3. The translation of code-switching

As Grutman (2006) postulates, willingness or reluctance to allow a translation to maintain words from third languages present in the source text is more than a matter of assessing the degree of “familiarity”, “foreignness” or “Otherness” a reader of the translation may perceive. It is a question of editorial policies, audience expectations and, in general, the power imbalance between literary systems, which Grutman illustrates using Even-Zohar’s famous observation that “there is no equality in literary contacts” (1978: 49):

The choice to either delete or maintain the original’s multilingualism will depend not only on the translator’s personal ethics (as advocated by Berman), but also on the (in)dependent status and prestige of the source literature in respect to those of the target literature, as well as on collective attitudes towards the languages one is translating from, each having their perceived socio-cultural importance and relative weight on the world market of linguistic goods. Those attitudes, as pointed out earlier on, are reflected in editorial policies of publishing houses and, perhaps less ostensibly, in audience expectations (Grutman, 2006: 27).

Until relatively recently, the most prevalent norm in tackling the problem posed by the presence of code-switching in a literary or audiovisual fiction text was monolingualism (Grutman, 2006: 25; Monti, 2016: 69), i.e. the elimination of the source text’s language-mixing in the translation. That entails the function (aesthetic, identity-related, etc.) fulfilled by foreign languages in the source text being absent from the target text.

All translation norms are inherently unstable and liable to change (Toury, 1995: 104), and the norm of monolingualism is under review. Jiménez Carra explains this change in publishing houses’ perspective in the context of one of the literary manifestations richest in code-switching, literature featuring English-Spanish code-switching by people of Hispanic origin in the United States:

until relatively recently, publishing houses tended to ask for a TT in which neutral Spanish was predominant and any comprehension problem a bilingual text might pose would thus be eliminated; however, increasing awareness that code-switching is not a whim of the author but rather another manifestation of the culture of a group of individuals, and that, furthermore, its significance goes beyond purely linguistic considerations, has contributed to translations that look to maintain the characteristics of the ST beginning to be published (Jiménez Carra, 2011: 177, our translation).

In relation to the translations of *Män som hatar kvinnor*, we can state in advance that another defining characteristic of norms of translation, their sociocultural specificity (Toury, 1995: 104), is evident in the approaches taken to dealing with the novel's code-switching. Owing to that inherent trait, the norms are not applied equally in every culture. Analysis of our corpus reveals that each translation has a different degree of tolerance of code-switching.

4. Code-switching in the translations of *Män som hatar kvinnor*

In our analysis of translations of *Män som hatar kvinnor*, we combine preliminary and operational norms, following Toury's conception and terminology. Where matters related to translation policy are concerned, we look at two of particular relevance to our corpus: 1) the source text used, i.e. whether or not the target text is an indirect translation; and 2) the translation of the title, which, both in general and in the specific case of our corpus, is one of the choices made prior to the actual translation process.

In terms of operational norms, our first consideration is the composition of our corpus. The phenomenon we are analysing concerns translation, so the corpus comprises words that are in English in one or more of the translations because they are in English in the original text. To put it another way, phenomena that are not a consequence of translation are not of interest to us here. We omit, for instance, vocabulary in English present in any of the translations but not in the original, an example being the term "loft" in the Spanish target text (*El resultado fue un loft completamente abierto*), which is not used in the original Swedish text (*Resultatet blev en helt öppen lägenhetslösning*).

While we use "code-switching" as a cover term encompassing all modalities, when analysing our corpus we make a distinction, for methodological purposes, between cases in which the text in English is a word or syntagm and those in which it is a full sentence. We believe length could be a criterion applied when deciding whether to maintain or reject the presence of another foreign language in the target text. In the case of full sentences, we also distinguish between those that are inserted in the narrative discourse and those that are extradiegetic. The latter consist of a newspaper headline and texts printed on t-shirts. We feel that the difference in question could influence decisions as to whether to maintain or eliminate the original's code-switching when translating.

We also take into account the orthotypography used to mark some of the English lexis in the original text. As mentioned previously, the foreignness of English vocabulary in the original text is sometimes signalled through the use of italics or inverted commas to underline the presence of a different linguistic code. Consequently, English vocabulary

included in the original text without being marked in any way can be held to have been assimilated as loan vocabulary. We believe the Swedish source text's use of italics to distinguish cases of code-switching could be another criterion for deciding whether or not to maintain English lexis in the translations.

The English utterances we analyse in the different translations of *Män som hatar kvinnor* are a representative selection. As in the novel, most of our chosen utterances are cases of code-switching, but there are also some cases of L3, which are indicated in this article by adding [L3]. Likewise, in the table we keep the typography in the original Swedish text.

1.	Sentences	[<i>You name it</i>], [<i>not my business</i>], [So what?], [<i>Listen to this</i>], [In your dreams], [<i>Are these people nuts?</i>], [<i>The benefits of living in the countryside</i>], [<i>A man's gotta do what a man's gotta do and all that crap</i>], [Got you], [We got a tourist (L3)]
2.	Extradiegetic utterances	<i>A Swedish success story</i> (Newspaper headline) [<i>I am also an alien</i>] [<i>Armageddon was yesterday _ today we have a serious problem</i>] [<i>I can be a regular bitch. Just try me</i>] [<i>Kill them all and let God sort them out</i>] (Texts written on t-shirts)
3	Phrases	[<i>joint ventures</i>], [<i>'occasional lover'</i>], [<i>cash-flow problem</i>], [<i>out of character</i>], [<i>state of art</i>], [<i>End of problem</i>], [<i>random violence</i>], [fifty-fifty], [<i>young warriors</i>], [cover story], [<i>serious Pain in the Ass</i>], [<i>major problem</i>], [miss Big Tits]
4.	Formulae of greeting, apology and assent	[Sorry], [Sorry, no deal], [<i>Until the next time</i>], [Yes, master (L3)], [<i>All right</i> (L3)], [Well, mate (L3)]
5.	Expletives	[<i>Fuck you</i>], [<i><<Fuck that>></i>], [Bullshit], [Bitch]

Table 1. Code-switching and L3 in *Män som hatar kvinnor*

We now present the results of our analysis of the translations of *Män som hatar kvinnor*. The translations are analysed in their chronological order of publication.

Verblendung

The novel was translated into German from Swedish by Wibke Kuhn. Its German title differs greatly from the original. Nilsson (2016) explains that the aim was for there to be a connection between the saga's three titles in German: *Verblendung*, *Verdammnis* and *Vergebung*. Metaphorically, *Verblendung* means the process of being blinded. *Verdammnis* means damnation and has obvious religious associations with punishment and hell. *Vergebung* means forgiveness and can be associated with redemption, absolution or release. Together, Nilsson observes, the three titles suggest that the series traces a process in which the main character goes from blindness and damnation to a catharsis that makes forgiveness possible.

The German version maintains most of the original text's English words and expressions in the five categories under analysis, be they cases of code-switching or L3. However, some resistance is perceptible when, as we understand it, readers of the translation are not certain to understand the English lexis. The extradiegetic utterance 'A Swedish success story' is thus translated as *Eine schwedische Erfolgsstory*, and the phrases "out of character" and "state of art" as *dass ihn jemand reingelegt hat* and *Neueste vom Neuesten* respectively. As regards formulae of apology, "Sorry" is almost always maintained, but is also translated as *Doch leider* on occasion. Where sentences are concerned, "Got you" is rendered as "Gotcha!".

The German translation's use of intralinguistic adaptation is particularly interesting. The interjection "Fuck that" is altered to "Let the dogs lie". We believe this solution is intended to be acceptable to readers while adhering to the aim of generally maintaining the Swedish original's code-switching. In this case, in our opinion, it is not a matter of comprehension but rather of avoiding the coarseness of the expression.

Les hommes qui n'aimaient pas les femmes

The French translation is a direct translation from Swedish, as highlighted on its cover, which also features the names of the translators, Lena Grumbach and Marc de Gouvenan. Its title is a literal translation of the original.

The French translation's approach to dealing with the code-switching in the original involves eliminating the text in English in the case of full sentences inserted in the discourse.

The only exception is “We got a tourist”, which is a case of a character actually talking in English, i.e. a case of L3 rather than code-switching. In contrast, all the extradiegetic utterances are left in English.

While only a third of the phrases in English are retained in the translation, a desire to maintain some of the original text’s language-mixing can be seen in the rendering of “End of problem” as “Game over”. The approach taken to the formulae of greeting, apology and assent is similar to that adopted in the case of sentences, with a distinction being made between code-switching and L3. Accordingly, “All right” and “Well, mate” are left unchanged, while “Yes, master” is translated as “A vos ordres, mon commandant”, “Sorry” as *Désolé*, and “Sorry, no deal” as *Désolé, pas d'accord*. As far as expletives are concerned, the strategy applied consists in eliminating the code-switching and translating in every case.

This translation’s prevailing norm in relation to code-switching can be said to be to attempt to strike a balance between acceptance and resistance. The translation maintains part of the English lexis with the aim, we believe, of preserving this trait of the original prose, provided it is deemed comprehensible to target readers. When such comprehension is uncertain, however, the English lexis is eliminated and a translation provided.

Uomini che odiano le donne

The Italian translation was carried out, directly from Swedish, by Carmen Giorgetti Cima. Its title is a literal translation of the original.

This translation tackles the presence of English lexis in the same way as the French translation does, i.e. by seeking to strike a balance between maintaining it to preserve a characteristic of the author’s writing and eliminating it to ensure comprehensibility for readers.

The text in English is eliminated in the case of sentences inserted in the narration. It is worth noting that one of the terms included in our corpus is left in English but with an additional compensatory description: “not my business” is translated as “not my business, *non mi riguarda*”. With regard to the extradiegetic utterances, the one with the most information for the plot, the newspaper headline, is translated. Those that appear on t-shirts are left in English, however.

Three different strategies, applied in more or less equal proportions, are used to translate phrases. Vocabulary with which Italian readers could be familiar is left in English without italicisation, even if it is italicised in the original. That is the case of technical terms such as “joint ventures” and “cash-flow problem”, as well as of loanwords

that are widely known owing to globalisation, such as “fifty-fifty” and “cover story”. Terms that are less common but deemed comprehensible to readers are written in italics to indicate their foreignness, as in the case of “miss Big Tits” and “random violence”. Lastly, terms deemed likely to be inaccessible are translated; for example, “out of character” is translated as “storia a un che di sbagliato”, and “serious Pain in the Ass” as *una spina nel fianco*.

Formulae are dealt with in the same way: the most accessible terms, such as “Sorry”, are maintained, while those that readers are not certain to understand are translated, an example being “*Until the next time*”, which is translated as *Alla prossima*. No distinction is made between code-switching and L3.

Of the four expletives analysed, the only one left in English is “Fuck you”, which is italicised, just as it is in the original text.

Os Homens Que Nao Amavam As Mulheres

The translation to European Portuguese, carried out by Mário Dias Correia, is an indirect translation from *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, the English translation of the novel. Nonetheless, the title of the Portuguese translation is a literal translation of the Swedish title.

This translation contains no trace of the code-switching scattered throughout the original in Swedish. The only English terms retained are phrases inserted in Portuguese as loanwords. Of those included in our corpus, that applies to “joint ventures” and “fifty-fifty”, while “cash-flow” is also kept in English but with “problem” translated as *problema*. All the other English terms are translated, even those that are extradiegetic, such as the texts on Lisbeth Salander’s t-shirts.

Evidently, the English lexis present in the original Swedish text is diluted due to the Portuguese translation’s source text being the English version of the novel. However, the Portuguese translation also rejects the solution used in the English translation, which, as will be discussed shortly, maintains some of the code-switching by translating English vocabulary from the original text into German. In Portuguese, *alles in Ordnung sei*, which compensates for “All right”, is translated as *tudo bem*, and *Scheiß darauf*, which compensates for “Fuck that”, as *Que se lixe*.

We consequently conclude that this translation’s approach to code-switching unequivocally consists in eliminating it.

The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo

Like that of the German translation, the title of the English translation differs greatly from the original, and it does so for the same reason: to establish a connection between the *Millennium* saga's titles. *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, *The Girl Who Played with Fire* and *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornets' Nest* allow for the saga to be identified as the "Girl" trilogy. It is worth noting that the English titles have been criticised for shifting the focus from men (misogynists capable of inflicting pain) to women (the character of Lisbeth Salander). Additionally, some authors believe the translation infantilises the character of Lisbeth Salander and results in the loss of the association Swedish readers could make between her and Pippi Longstocking (Kaiser, 2013; Paludan, 2014).

Another point of controversy is the authorship of the English translation. Steven T. Murray performed the translation directly from Swedish but was so unhappy with the changes made to his work by the publisher Christopher MacLehose, holder of the global English language rights for the novel, that he opted against putting his real name to the translation and used the pseudonym Reg Keeland instead.

As regards operational norms, the lexis in English is diluted, for obvious reasons. However, the translation seeks to partially maintain the code-mixing by rendering some of the original's English expressions in German. "Fuck that" is translated as *Scheiß darauf*, "All right" as *alles in Ordnung sei*, and "Bitch" as *Verdamptes Mistück*, all without orthographic marking.

Els homes que no estimen les dones

The Catalan version of the novel was translated from the French version by Alexandre Gombau Arnau and Núria Vives. Its title, like that of the French version, is a literal translation of the original.

There is clear resistance to maintaining the presence of English in this translation. As an indirect translation, the way it deals with the presence of English is obviously influenced by the way the translation on which it is based does so. However, the Catalan translation rejects the presence of English even where the French version consents to it. All the extradiegetic utterances and cases of L3, which the French translation leaves in English, are translated: "We got a tourist" becomes *Tenim un turista*, "All right" becomes *Tot bé*, and "Well, mate" is omitted. The French translation's adaptation of "End of problem" to "Game over" is not maintained either; the term is instead translated as *Fi del problema*.

The translation does not even retain the legal term “joint ventures”, despite it being commonly used in Catalan in economic spheres. It is instead translated as *societats de capital de risc*, although the accepted term in Catalan is *aliança d’empreses*.

Los hombres que no amaban a las mujeres

The Spanish version of the novel was translated directly from Swedish by Martin Lexell and Juan José Ortega Román. Its title is a literal translation of the original.

This translation’s approach to the presence of English in the original consists in maintaining it, the only exception being the phrase “young warriors”, which is translated as *jóvenes tiburones*. The Spanish translation italicises all the text in English, even where the original does not, as in the cases of “Sorry” and “fifty-fifty”. Spanish readers thus encounter expressions that are accessible, such as ‘occasional lover’ (‘occasional’ is *ocasional* in Spanish, and “lover” is a well known term), and others likely to be utterly opaque to them, such as “state of art” and “Are these people nuts?”.

In opting to preserve a very high percentage of the English present in the novel, the Spanish translation lies at one end of the spectrum of approaches to the dilemma of whether to accept or reject the original’s code-switching. Despite the target system, i.e. the linguistic context of Spanish, not sharing the hybridisation and proficiency in English characteristic of the source system, i.e. the linguistic context of Swedish, the translation makes only minimal changes to address the difference in question.

The table below shows each translation’s tolerance of and resistance to the original text’s code-switching.

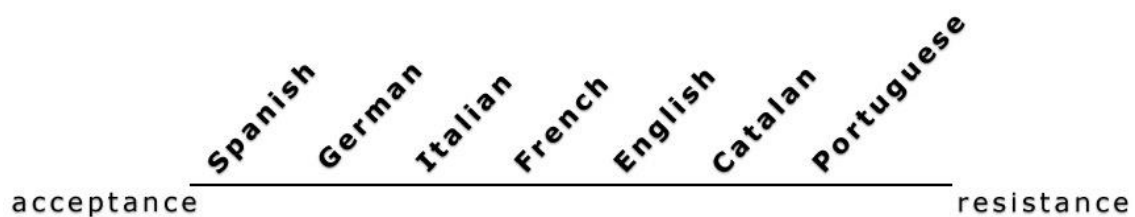


Figure 1: The translations’ tolerance of and resistance to the presence of English in *Män som hatar kvinnor*

5. Conclusions

Firstly, our analysis of the translations of Stieg Larsson's *Män som hatar kvinnor* into German, French, Italian, Portuguese, English, Catalan and Spanish has enabled us to distinguish between the two different purposes for which English utterances are used in the Swedish novel, and to characterise and differentiate between the concepts of code-switching and L3 in translation.

As mentioned previously, the presence of English in conversations in Swedish is common, both because English is regularly used in education and economic activity in Sweden, and because its function in other spheres is more like that of a second language than of a true foreign language. It is thus only logical that Larsson's novel is interspersed with elements of English. They constitute cases of code-switching, according to our definition of the concept, i.e. as a cover term for code-mixing and inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching. As we have seen, the aforementioned trait of Swedish poses a translation difficulty, given that there must be a comparable sociolinguistic reality in the target culture in order for it to be possible to maintain such code-switching and for target text readers to recognise it for what it is.

Our analysis shows that, as indicated, the different target texts have tackled the translation difficulty posed by the presence of code-switching in different ways, i.e. in keeping with their sociocultural specificity.

Comparing the translations analysed has enabled us to place them on a *continuum* in terms of their level of acceptance of or resistance to the presence of another linguistic code in the source language. At one end is the Spanish translation, the most permissive as regards the presence of English; at the other end is the Portuguese translation, the most resistant. The positions of the other target texts on the *continuum* depend on the receiving literary system, editorial policies, and audience expectations, as Even-Zohar (1978) remarked in the past; additionally, we consider being a direct or an indirect translation to be a crucial factor.

According to our analysis, the two translations least receptive to the inclusion of code-mixing are those that were not translated directly from Swedish, i.e. the Portuguese and Catalan translations. This was one of the factors we felt it important to investigate, and our results confirm its relevance. Given that the translations on which the two indirect translations are based, English in the case of the Portuguese translation and French in that of the Catalan translation, do maintain the presence of a third language, albeit partially, we conclude that being an indirect translation lies at the heart of each of the two target texts' resistance to code-mixing.

The English translation is a special case, in that the linguistic Otherness constructed in the original text through the use of English evidently disappears as such. Nonetheless, this translation deems the presence of different linguistic codes in the novel important and thus uses the technique of interlinguistic adaptation, rendering some of the Swedish text's English utterances in German. The use of this technique has proven to be a versatile translation solution to linguistic interference in translation.

Lastly, our analysis has identified another technique useful for tackling the translation difficulty we have studied. It is the technique used by the French translation in altering 'End of problem' to 'Game over', i.e. intralinguistic adaptation. We believe this technique is employed to keep the term in another language while, by using a more familiar expression, ensuring the translation's readers understand it.

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