

3 **Alejandro Leiva Wenger, *Till vår ära***

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This chapter aims to provide a detailed analysis of multilingualism in Alejandro Leiva Wenger's *Till vår ära*, but also to show how it fits into a critique of the monolingual paradigm where Swedish as the dominant language is deterritorialised. As the first writer to use MS as a language of literary expression in Sweden, Leiva Wenger opened a new aesthetic in *invandrarlitteratur* characterised by a heterogeneous integration of styles and informal varieties of Swedish. In an interview for *Stockholmsfria*, Leiva Wenger described how this idea came about:

Jag skrev en roman först som jag skickade till en massa förlag, men den blev refuserad. Romanen var mer finlitterär, jag trodde att litteratur skulle se ut på det sättet. Att det skulle vara fint, vackert, med ett skönt språk. Någon gång där började jag lyssna på Latin Kings och fastnade för språket de använde, och som jag hade haft i min omgivning när jag växte upp i Vårberg. Jag hade aldrig tänkt på att man skulle kunna göra litteratur av de orden. Men när jag

lyssnade på Latin Kings kände jag att det Dogge gjorde var så fint. (Leiva Wenger in Holmström 2016)

I first wrote a novel that I sent to a bunch of publishers, but it was rejected. The novel was more highbrow, I thought that literature had to be like that. That it should be elegant, beautiful, with a nice language. At some point I started listening to the Latin Kings and became fascinated by the language they used, which I had been surrounded by when growing up in Vårberg. I had never thought that one could make literature out of those words. But when I listened to Latin Kings, I felt that what Dogge was doing was so beautiful.

Leiva Wenger admitted that, at first, he conceptualised literary writing as something sophisticated, as he believed that a literary text should be “fint” (elegant); later, inspired by The Latin Kings and surrounded by local varieties in Vårberg, the author began to draw on a language hitherto unexploited in literature. In this sense, in the linguistic construction of *Till vår ära*, Leiva Wenger shifted from a formal to a distinctly more informal approach to literary language, emphasising the importance of styles associated with suburban youth and multi-ethnic contexts (Leonard 2011, 29; Behschnitt 2013, 176), with which he came into contact in the place where he grew up. The excerpt from the interview highlights how MS serve as a solution to an editorial impasse: constrained by the aesthetic canons of what he believed a literary language should be, Leiva Wenger faced multiple rejections; once he had adopted MS and the creativity of TLKs, editorial acceptance arrived, first with the short story *Elixir*, published in 1999 for *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, and then with the short prose collection *Till vår ära* at the age of 25 (where the same story *Elixir* is included). Leiva Wenger was impressed by TLK’s expressivity, as the beauty of Doggelito’s language lies in its unusualness within the Swedish musical canon. Likewise, Leiva Wenger gained popularity by using MS. As Monica Gomér demonstrated in a dissertation based on her private correspondence with Leiva Wenger (2008), it emerges that the author wanted to confront readers with a language never seen before in literature. In other words, Leiva Wenger challenges the readers by placing them in a condition of exclusion (cf. Tidigs 2019). This effect is reinforced by the fact that the author creates words never met before in Swedish vocabulary, which provides an insight into his multilingual creativity. As will be seen, a particular element of Leiva Wenger’s *Till vår ära* is that he displays multiple registers. While the first two short stories are written in MS, from

the third story, *Sakers riktiga namn*, the author switches to a more proper register, although there is no lack of lexical peculiarities.¹

3.1 Alejandro Leiva Wenger: A Short Profile

Alejandro Leiva Wenger was born in 1976 in Concepción, Chile. At nine he emigrated to Sweden with his mother and his two brothers,² where he grew up in the multi-ethnic district of Vårberg, in the south-western suburbs of Stockholm. Today, Leiva Wenger is a writer and playwright. He holds a PhD in sociology at Stockholm University, where he defended a dissertation on the rhetoric of diversity in the domain of management titled *Three Faces of Diversity Rhetoric – Managerialization, Marketing and Ambiguity*, published in 2019. Despite the great success of *Till vår ära*, Leiva Wenger did not immediately follow up his literary vein, spending ten years without publishing. Although there is no clear information on his prolonged literary silence, it is arguable that excessive media pressure may have influenced him as, at the time of his debut, he was portrayed as ‘representative’ of a specific immigrant reality: the use of MS, the suburban setting, and his (and his characters’) South American origin would have made *Till vår ära* an “ethnographic souvenir” (Mohnike 2006, 154).

Not recognising himself within this framework, Leiva Wenger probably abandoned literary writing in order not to further fuel a stereotype, limiting himself to journalistic contributions on multilingualism and diversity, as in the notorious debate against the derogative use of the term *Blattesvenska* perpetrated by Ebba-Witt Brattström in 2006, in which he defended the introduction and the use of the Turkish noun *guss* (girl). An example to understand the media pressure put on Leiva Wenger can be found in the following excerpt from Inger Alestig’s review on *Dagen* in 2002: “Många har väntat på det. Nu sker det, ‘Rinkebysvenskan’ har fått sin första starka litterära stämma, och den kommer från en 25-åring med uppväxt i en stockholmsförort men med rötterna i Chile”.³ In this and in many other reviews, *Till vår ära* is described as a work long awaited by the public, while the author is associated with the use of the so-called *Rinkebysvenska*. Leiva Wenger is indeed reputed

1 Leiva Wenger has frequently maintained that language is an instrument of in – and exclusion, as well as an indicator of class and status (Gomér 2008, 3).

2 The author’s brothers are Felipe and Pablo Leiva Wenger, respectively a famous rapper and a theatre and television actor who also acted in Alejandro’s plays (see <https://www.alex.se/lexicon/article/leiva-wenger-alejandro>).

3 “Many have been waiting for it. Now it’s happening, Rinkeby Swedish has its first strong literary voice, and it comes from a 25-year-old who grew up in a Stockholm suburb with roots in Chile”.

to be the first immigrant writer to use MS as a means of literary expression, transposing it from music to literature after The Latin Kings' hits (with whom he collaborated), and making it a particular aspect of his writing.⁴ Furthermore, Leiva Wenger is often associated with the *Miljonprogram* areas, mainly because of the language, but also because almost all of his stories are set in the south-western suburbs of Stockholm (Mohnike 2006, 152; Hübinette 2019, 35). In fact, in the above-mentioned interview with Naima Chahboun, Leiva Wenger not only states that the label *förortsförfattare* (cf. § 2.6.1) can be used to challenge specific power structures or certain categories, but also that his work is seen as (auto)biographical realism rather than just 'fiction'.

Jag brukar skämta om att jag skulle kunna skriva om en kaffekopp, och någon skulle ändå tolka det som en berättelse om kulturkrockar eller integration [...] Men jag kan också önska att fiktionen skulle få ta mer plats. Allt jag skrivit är icke-realism, men det tolkas ofta som realism. (Leiva Wenger in Chahboun 2013)

I often joke that I could write about a cup of coffee, and someone would still interpret it as a story about cultural clashes or integration [...] But I also wish fiction would take up more space. Everything I have written is non-realism, although it is often interpreted as realism.

Leiva Wenger defines his prose as non-realistic, but he does so not because what he writes does not have a value of social criticism, but rather to detach the fictional dimension from the biographical one.

Ten years after *Till vår ära*, the author pursued a flourishing theatre career, debuting with the play *127* (2011), with which he won the *Stockholmpriset* in 2012. Following this, Leiva Wenger published *Författarna* (The Writers) (2013), *No Limit* (2015), *Folkbokförarna* (The Anagraphists) (2016), *Minnesstund* (Memorial) (2016), *It's corona time!* (2020), *Pappas födelsedag* (Dad's Birthday) (2020), *Arvet* (The Inheritance) (2021, with which he won the Karen Boye prize), *Borkmania* (2022, a revisitation of Henrik Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman*), *Nattvak* (Overnight stay) (2024) and *Tunneln* (The Tunnel) (2025). Among these, *127*, *Författarna* and *No Limit* are collected in the volume *Fakta - 3 pjäser* (Facts - 3 Plays), published in 2015 for Bonniers. Leiva Wenger motivated such a shift from prose to theatre as a move towards a more collective, and participatory form of critical experience (Leiva Wenger in Chahboun 2013). In 2013, Leiva Wenger

⁴ Leiva Wenger recorded the single *Hickande Hund* (Sobbing Dog), included in the TLK album *Omertà* released in 2003.

also wrote a short story entitled *Bakom* (Behind) for the *Sveriges Radios Novellpris* competition, which however was never published.

3.2 *Till vår ära*: Structure and Analysis of Lexical Peculiarities

Published in 2001 by Bonniers, reissued in 2015 by Modernista and a third time in 2023 again by Bonniers,⁵ *Till vår ära* consists of six short stories, entitled *Borta i tankar* (Lost in Thoughts), *Elixir*, *Sakers riktiga namn* (The True Name of Things), *Song for My Father*, *Till vår ära*, and *Zaqwertyuop*. The collection did not go unnoticed in Italy, where the first story *Borta i tankar* was translated by Stefania Renzetti in 2006. On the back cover of the Modernista edition, the collection is described as one of those “extremt sällsynta debutböcker som förändrat litteraturen från en dag till en annan. Sex noveller som skakade om vår syn på skriftens möjligheter när de kom ut hösten 2001”.⁶ In the volume *Storia delle letterature scandinave. Dalle origini a oggi* (History of Scandinavian Literatures. From Origins to the Present Day) (2019) edited by Massimo Ciaravolo, Leiva Wenger is introduced as a writer whose stories “hanno il merito di aprire la strada a un territorio nuovo della narrativa, ricco di successivi sviluppi” (Ciaravolo 2019, 894).⁷ As can be seen, the collection is characterised by an element of novelty which heralds the advent of a turning point in Swedish contemporary narrative with a formal and narratological experimentalism that has become a fervent topic of debate as well as investigation (cf. Källström 2003, 2005; Heith 2004; Behschnitt 2010).

3.2.1 *Borta i tankar* and *Elixir*: A Linguistic Focus

Borta i tankar's plot weaves two different narrative lines: one in the present, in which the protagonist Felipe is with his friends, and one in the past, in which Felipe revisits the highlights of his relationship

⁵ The 2023 edition is preceded by a preface by Swedish writer Sonia Saleh, who comments on the transformative power of Leiva Wenger's prose as follows: “Får man göra så här? Kan man skriva så här? [...] Är det här ett brott mot... Jag vet inte, Svenska Akademien? [...] Den lilla novellsamlingen, inte längre än 123 sidor, skapar en reva, en ruptur, varifrån språket springer fram och expanderar” (Saleh in Leiva Wenger 2023) (“Can this be done? Can you write like this? [...] Is this an offence against... I don't know, the Swedish Academy? [...] The small collection of short stories, no longer than 123 pages, creates a rift, a rupture, from which language springs and expands”).

⁶ “Extremely rare debut books that changed literature overnight. Six short stories that shook our vision on the possibilities of writing when they were published in autumn 2001”.

⁷ “Are credited for paving the way for a new narrative territory, rich in subsequent developments”.

with Julia. The story explores themes of identity, alienation, and the complexities of multiculturalism in Sweden between suburban and metropolitan life perspectives. Felipe navigates both dimensions between external and internal struggles as a second-generation immigrant, feeling disconnected from both Swedish society and his cultural roots. Through vivid language and introspective narrative, Leiva Wenger highlights the emotional and psychological toll of living between two worlds. The second story, *Elixir*, delves into issues of urban alienation, cultural identity, and social exclusion. It is narrated in the first person by a character with Hispanic origins, and it follows a group of young men, also with Hispanic origins, from Fittja, Stockholm. The main characters concoct a mysterious elixir able to transform their appearance into the typical traits of Swedish ethnicity (blond hair, blue eyes, fair skin), helping them to cope with their sense of frustration and disconnection from mainstream society. The narrative captures the tension between their desires for recognition and the realities of life on societal margins. The story's short film adaptation, directed by Babak Najafi in 2004, further highlights its exploration of youth and societal boundaries. Part of *Borta i tankar*'s vocabulary resorts to quotations from the homonymous song *Borta i tankar*, released by The Latin Kings in their album *I skuggan av betongen* (Under the Shadow of Concrete) in 1997. Leiva Wenger quotes not only the title, but also a few lines from the song, creating intertextual links between literature and music. One example is the line "Varje gång ni dyker upp, så blir det knas, slingra er iväg, stick iväg, sjaaas!" (2015, 16),⁸ which Felipe goes back to when he sees his friends coming. Another example is the mention of the song's refrain "det enda jag [...] hör e mitt hjärta som bankar, jag e för långt borta i mina [...] egna jävla tankar" (24).⁹ The author resorts to hip-hop as a narrative tool, transforming his text into a form of multimedia work, which in certain passages can be read while singing (Tidigs, Huss 2017), thus earning it the appellation "multilingual soundscape" (Tidigs 2020, 199). Approaching *Borta i tankar* as a multilingual and multimedia text requires constant attention in reading. In fact, in both *Borta i tankar* and *Elixir* we can see how MS work as a kind of allusion to a non-literary language which shapes a mere act of 'mimicking' MS, i.e. an "evocative hybridisation" (Tidigs 2020, 199). In *Borta i tankar*, as well as in the works analysed below, repeated and predictable stylised linguistic features produce

⁸ "Every time you show up, it's trouble, go away, run away, get out!".

⁹ "The only thing I [...] hear is my heart beating, I'm too far away in my [...] own damn thoughts".

what Nikolas Coupland calls “strategic inauthenticity” (2001, 350),¹⁰ i.e. the presence of stereotypical speech elements associated with specific ethno-social categories. *Borta i tankar* is imbued with this kind of vocabulary, where dialogues result incomprehensible to those unfamiliar with MS. An emblematic example is perhaps “abou, aina, aina, axa len” (2015, 16),¹¹ or “sen vi kan beckna och få fett para jao” (20),¹² a third significant example is:

Bollen sa pass på det, vi kom in i perrongen och vi sa softish, men tjockisen fortsatte måla och någon hade sett dom, en vakt, typiskt, abou spring, axa. Shuno kutade efter oss en bit, jag höll på att ramla. Felipe tänker, jävla tjockis, vi sa till dej, ska du alltid spela mangas? (2015, 17)¹³

Bollen said no, we got onto the platform and we said softish, but the fatso kept painting and someone had seen them, a security guard, typical, abou run, run. The guy ran after us a bit, I almost fell. Felipe thinks, fucking fatso, we told you, you always playing cool?

In the aforementioned excerpts, several elements stand out, such as *säga pass* (to say no), *softish* (to keep calm; to be soft), *abou* (wow), *axa* (to run away), *shuno* (guy, lad), *spela mangas* (play cool, show off). The use of MS shows how the writer concretely confronts the reader with a language that connects insofar as it signals a common suburban background but also divides insofar as it is incomprehensible to those who are not part of it. This reflection about Leiva Wenger's language is extensively attested in scientific literature about literary multilingualism, as this phenomenon “on the one hand, [...] can build bridges and reduce the distance between groups (of readers); on the other hand, it can also create difference between languages and promote hermetic associations” (Kauranen, Huss, Grönstrand 2020, 13). The linguistic peculiarities of *Elixir* display a vocabulary that is fundamentally similar to that of *Borta i tankar*, but is considerably more complex due to frequent syntactic deviations from conventional spelling, characterised by rather gross spelling and grammatical flaws, giving a “hyperrealist” (Bassini 2009, 122) but also ambiguous impression to language (Grydehøj 2020, 154),

¹⁰ Or, as an alternative provided by Siv Björklund, “modifierad autenticitet” (modified authenticity) (2016, 14).

¹¹ “Wow, cops, cops, run buddy”.

¹² “Then we can sell it and get a lot of money, yo”. Maria Rydell and Nathalia Ganuza (2024) have proposed ‘to push’ as an English translation of *beckna* (to push: to sell something illegal, e.g. drugs).

¹³ Notes on translation: the verb *axa* is a shortened form of *accelerera* (to accelerate). In this text it means ‘to run away’.

thus feeding the stereotype of the uneducated immigrant who does not respect the basic rules with a ‘contaminated’ vocabulary. In particular, *Elixir* is distinguished by free prose features, without division into paragraphs and subparagraphs, alternating direct and indirect speech without appropriate punctuation marks and, above all, without respecting graphic conventions such as capital letters at the beginning of sentences, which are instead scattered randomly in the middle of words (Källström 2010, 145). The lexical peculiarities of Leiva Wenger’s collection will be discussed in more detail in tables in the following sections.

3.2.2 Graphic Features in *Till vår ära*

In *Elixir*, there is a systematic subversion of orthographic conventions with numerous inaccuracies based on homophony between correct and alternative spellings of individual words. Consider the following example: “Marco svärde på hans morsas grav han ska brenna resepetet men jag tycker endo synd om hans tjej” (Leiva Wenger 2015, 35),¹⁴ in which there are some divergences: *bränna* is reported as *brenna* (to burn) (note the phonetic affinity between *e* and *ä*), *receptet* as *resepetet* (the recipe) (affinity between intervocalic *s* and *c*), *ändå* as *endo* (however) (affinity between *e* and *ä*, *o* and *å*). Other misspellings are *igenkligen* for *egentligen* (actually) (Leiva Wenger 2015, 35), and *anor lunda* for *annorlunda* (different) 35), in which Leiva Wenger plays with the widespread problem called *särskrivning* (spacing between words, or ‘separate writing’).¹⁵

Observing such deviations, it is possible to make a subdivision into (1) deviant spellings, marking no differences in pronunciation with the correct forms (*anor lunda*, *földe*, *för utom*, *istellet*, *källar rum*, *leksjonen*, *lektjonen*, *prov smaka*, *ock*, *tillomed*, etc.);¹⁶ (2) deviant spellings marking dialectal flavour (*burja*, *huve*, *pricis*, *stog*, *tidit*, *äcklit*).¹⁷ Leiva Wenger’s spelling deviations are scrupulously consistent: consider the inflected forms of the verb *börja* (to begin) as *burja* + verbal ending (e.g. *burjade*), or the way the adverbial and adjectival suffix - *igt* is reported as - *it* in words such as in *dålit*,

¹⁴ “Marco swore on his mother’s grave he will burn the recipe but I still feel sorry for his girlfriend”.

¹⁵ *Särskrivning* describes the action of separating words that should be compounded. For example, *jätte arg* instead of *jättearg* (very angry).

¹⁶ In order: ‘different’, ‘followed’, ‘without’, ‘instead’, ‘basement room’, ‘lection’, ‘lection’, ‘to taste’, ‘and’, ‘even’.

¹⁷ In order: ‘begin’, ‘head’, ‘exact’, ‘stood’, ‘early’, ‘disgusting’. The preterite of *stå* is *stod*. However, *stog* has always been considered a colloquial variant of it (cf. https://svenska.se/saob/?id=S_13587-0001.N4xv&pz=7).

*konstit, äcklit (dåligt, konstigt, äckligt).*¹⁸ Other consistent occurrences along the story are the onset transformation or semi-omission of the consonant digraphs *gj-*, *hj-* and *lj-* into *j-* as in *jorde, jort, jusare, jålp, järnan, järtat (gjorde, gjort, ljusare, hjälp, hjärnan, hjärtat).*¹⁹ One of the main tenets of the postmigrant condition is a critical stance against migrantisation processes. In his collection, Leiva Wenger asks readers to make an effort to decipher and comprehend the presence of ‘other’ grammars, spellings and vocabularies. In fact, the complexity of *Elixir* is given by the intention to represent what Priyamvada Gopal calls “wordplay” (2012, 182), i.e. a multilingual writing, which is typical of postcolonial literatures, characterised by orthographic, grammatical and morphological deviations that deform the language of literary expression as an act of protest against both the dominant society and the current notion of ‘standard’. With such a graphic configuration, *Elixir* also shows a progressive deterritorialisation of Swedish,²⁰ escaping the assumption that an elegant literary language is the ultimate manifestation of Swedishness.

3.2.3 Morpho-syntactic Features in *Till vår ära*

One example of Leiva Wenger’s linguistic plays is the non-inversion between verb and subject in sentences beginning with adverbs, violating the V2 rule. Until the publication of *Till vår ära*, this phenomenon was mainly known as a typical practice of oral communication in contexts where Swedish is the speakers’ second language. With Leiva Wenger, the non-inversion is not only introduced in a literary text but is even placed in the incipit of his collection: “Till slut dom sätter sig på varsin sida av bänken” (2015, 9).²¹ This is how *Borta i tankar* opens, welcoming the reader into a new linguistic landscape where rules work in their own way. Similarly, also *Elixir*’s incipit shows no inversion: “idag vi lovade vi ska sluta dricka skiten” (2015, 9, 35).²² Other examples connoting *Elixir* from a morphological point of view is the weak declension of strong verbs’ past tense such as *svära* (to swear), conjugated *svärde* instead of *svor*, *ge* (to give) conjugated *gedde* instead of *gav*, *bära* (to carry), conjugated *bärde*

18 In order: ‘bad’, ‘strange’, ‘disgusting’.

19 In order: ‘did’, ‘done’, ‘clearer’, ‘help’, ‘the brain’, ‘the heart’.

20 Graphic deviations in multilingual literature have been investigated by, among others, Tidigs, who in her doctoral thesis discusses orthography as an area of the text in which the idiosyncrasies of literary writing are able to evoke the multiple presence of foreign languages (2014, 51-2).

21 “In the end they sit on both sides of the bench”.

22 “today we decided to stop drinking that shit”.

instead of *bar* (2015, 35, 39).²³ In *Elixir* we also find omissions of coordinating conjunctions: “hon står tittar på oss” in place of “hon står och tittar på oss” (29),²⁴ in which the conjunction *och* (and), usually employed between two verbs with a gerundive function, is omitted between *står* and *tittar*. In the collection there are also examples of prepositional omission, such as in *Borta i tankar*: “Jaime vet vad jag snackar” (2015, 21), where *om* (about) is omitted after the verb *snackar* (talk).²⁵ Object pronoun omissions also occur in *Elixir*: “men sen sa marco nej jag vill inte bli för jag är stolt över att va svarting” (2015, 21),²⁶ where the object pronoun *det* (it) is omitted after *bli* (to become). When mentioned, however, object pronouns are often incorrectly inflected such as “efter skolan vi gick hem till han för han skulle visa oss” (2015, 35),²⁷ where the first *han* (he) marks an object pronoun, thus to replace with *honom* (him). The same concerns the following sentence: “så på rasten stängde vi in han i toaletten” (2015, 37).²⁸ Leiva Wenger lets his characters express metalinguistic considerations about the use of different registers, but also about the importance of social recognition in a shared group language. This can be seen in *Elixir*:

när vi snacka, så snacka han lite anor lunda. jag sa va fan pratar du så där för, tjockis. han sa hur??? och jag sa du snackar fett som en svenne. för han jorde det. man hörde inte att han var svarting och han sa ord som svenskar kan. (2015, 37)

When we talked, he talked a little bit differently. I said what the hell are you talking like that for, fatso. He said how??? and I said you talk very much like a swede. Because he did. you could not hear that he was black and he said words that swedes know.

Drinking the elixir brings consequences that go beyond transracial metamorphosis: in their process of ‘Swedification’, the characters start to speak a more refined variety of Swedish, using terms and

²³ Transposed to English, it is as if these three verbs were declined ‘swear’d instead of swore, ‘gived’ instead of gave and ‘beared’ instead of bore.

²⁴ “she is looking at us”. When used in this kind of construction composed of position verb + another verb (for example *stå + titta*), the conjunction *och* helps to create the present continuous in Swedish.

²⁵ “Jaime knows what I’m talking about”. Literally, “Jaime knows what I’m talking”.

²⁶ “but then marco said no I don’t want to become that because I’m proud to be black”. Literally, “but then marco said no I don’t want to become because I’m proud to be black”.

²⁷ “after school we went to his house because he would show us”. Literally, “after school we went home to he because he would show us”.

²⁸ “so during the break we locked him in the toilet”. Literally, “so during the break we locked he in the toilet”.

expressions they would never have employed. This switch does not go unnoticed, and it is given a precise social connotation: *svenne*, i.e. a slang, and potentially derogatory designation of an ethnically Swedish person or a behaviour reputed to be stereotypically 'Swedish'. Since language is first and foremost a social practice, generated by the nature and purposes of interaction (Jourdan 1991, 189), a sense of alienation overtakes the characters when, without being able to control themselves, they use words foreign to their register. Speaking in a more prestigious variety of Swedish is not perceived as the group's everyday language. However, as discussed in the previous chapter (§ 2.3.2), using it proves crucial for 'passing' as a Swede, and "hence for passing the norms of Swedish whiteness" (Runfors 2021, 70). Furthermore, the transformative qualities of the elixir prompt a progressive erasure of Spanish: "plus att sen kom flaco och sa han kunde inte komma ihåg ett enda ord på spanska. vi sa fan den där läsken gör att man blir svenne" (Leiva Wenger 2015, 40).²⁹

3.3 Typical MS Elements in *Till vår ära*

This section provides a comprehensive overview of the typical lexical elements of MS in *Till vår ära* [tab. 1]. It should be pointed out that as early as 2008, Monica Gomér carried out a lexical investigation on Leiva Wenger's work, focusing, however, only on specific elements (intensifiers, insults and the lemmas *len*, *ey*, *shuno*, *keff* and *abou*), as well as syntactic and grammatical elements limited to the short story *Borta i tankar*. In the present work, the scope of investigation is broader because the focus is not only directed at *Borta i tankar*, but at the entire collection, while the spectrum of elements considered is also broader: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and interjections typical of MS. The focus, moreover, is different from Gomér's investigation: here, it is shown how such styles challenge and deterritorialise the concept of the Swedish language.

²⁹ "Then flaco came and said he couldn't remember a single word in spanish. we said damn that soft drink turns you into a swede".

Table 1 Typical MS elements in *Till vår ära*³⁰

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives/Adverbs	Interjections
<i>aina</i> (3) (b, c, d); ¹	<i>axa</i> (2) (b, c, d); ¹⁹	<i>fet</i> + adj.; noun (26)	<i>abou</i> (11) (b, c, d); ³⁸
<i>amchuck</i> (p. 21) (b, c); ²	<i>banga</i> (9) (b, c, d); ²⁰	(b, d); ³⁰	<i>aide</i> (3) (b, c, d); ³⁹
<i>bangare</i> (p. 24) (b, c, d); ³	<i>baxa</i> (9) (a, b, c, d); ²¹	<i>keff</i> (6) (a, b, c, d); ³¹	<i>benim</i> (p. 19) (a, b, c); ⁴⁰
<i>baxare</i> (p. 25) (b, c); ⁴	<i>baza</i> (5) (b, c, d); ²²	<i>lack</i> (p. 16) (b, c, d); ³²	<i>ey</i> (13) (b, c, d); ⁴¹ <i>jao</i>
<i>feja</i> (4) (b, c); ⁵	<i>beckna</i> (2) (b, c, d); ²³	<i>maricon</i> (2) (b, c, d); ³³	(11) (b, c, d); ⁴² <i>shu re!</i>
<i>flax</i> (p. 17) (a, b, c, d); ⁶	<i>gitta</i> (3) (b, c, d); ²⁴	<i>skum</i> (2) (a, b, d); ³⁴	(p. 11) (b, c, d); ⁴³
<i>floos</i> (p. 27) (b, c, d); ⁷	<i>händish</i> (2) (b); ²⁵	<i>softish</i> (2) (b, d); ³⁵	<i>walla</i> (2) (b, c, d) ⁴⁴
<i>guz</i> (6) (a, b, c, d); ⁸	<i>spela bonanza</i> (p. 11)	<i>shok</i> (p. 36) (b, c, d); ³⁶	
<i>kardash</i> (2) (b, c); ⁹	(b, c, d); ²⁶	<i>värsta</i> + adj./noun	
<i>knas</i> (4) (a, b, c, d); ¹⁰	<i>spela mangas</i> (3) (b,	(11) (b, d); ³⁷	
<i>knasare</i> (3) (b, c, d); ¹¹	c, d); ²⁷		
<i>len</i> (18) (b, c, d); ¹²	<i>tagga</i> (3) (b, c, d); ²⁸		
<i>morre</i> (p. 21) (b, c); ¹³	<i>zutta</i> (p. 15) (b, c); ²⁹		
<i>orre</i> (2) (b, c); ¹⁴			
<i>para</i> (2) (b, c, d); ¹⁵			
<i>partoos</i> (p. 23) (b); ¹⁶			
<i>pass</i> (3) (b, c, d); ¹⁷			
<i>shuno/shonne</i> (6) (b, c, d); ¹⁸			

1 From Turkish *aynasız* (literally, without mirror). It is used in MS as a synonym to Cops (Sjödin 2017, 13), probably because cops carry a sense of shame so they can't stand looking at themselves in the mirror (Milani 2020). Attested in Kotsinas in the forms *aina*, *ayna*, *aino* (1998, 1); in Doggelito, Kotsinas *ayna*, *aina*, *ainasis* (2004, 32). Cf. <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=aina>. Cf. Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.

2 Derived from Turkish, this word means 'vagina'. Attested in Kotsinas in *amuk* (1998, 2); in Doggelito, Kotsinas *am*, *amchik*, *amjick*, *amjuck*, *amuk* (2004, 34). Cf. <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=Amcuk>.

3 Approximately translatable as 'coward'. Agent noun derived from *banga* (to back down) (Kotsinas 1998, 9; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 41). In *Slangopedia* it is attested as 'unreliable person' (<http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=bangare>). Cf. Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.

4 Approximately translatable as 'thief'. Agent noun derived from *baxa* (to steal) (Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 43).

5 Slang term of uncertain origin for 'face' (Kotsinas 1998, 47; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 71). Attested in Slangopedia as *fejja* (<http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=fejjan>). Cf. Khemiri 2003.

6 Term for 'luck', from an archaic slang form (cf. https://www.saob.se/artikel/?unik=F_0663-0257.QMaj&pz=5); cf. Kotsinas 1998, 55; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 73; Khemiri 2003.

7 From Maghreb Arabic, meaning 'money'. Attested in Kotsinas as *flus* (1998, 56); in Doggelito, Kotsinas as *floos*, *flos* and *floss* (2004, 74). Cf. Khemiri 2003.

30 In table 1, as in all subsequent tables, the numbers in brackets indicate the occurrences of a specific word. When a word has only one occurrence, the brackets contain the page number where the lexical entry was found. Words sharing the same root (*baxare*, *baxa*) will be placed in the respective columns according to their grammatical category.

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- 8** From Turkish, meaning ‘girl’, attested in written texts since 1994 (Agazzi 2015, 105). Attested by SAOL since 2005 as *guss* (<https://svenska.se/tre/?sok=guss&pz=1>); in Kotsinas *gus*, *guss*, *guz* e *guzz* (1998, 73); in Doggelito, Kotsinas *guss*, *guzz* e *gusse* e *kuz* (2004, 82, 105). Cf. Sjödin 2017, 8; Khemiri 2003; Bakhtiari 2012.
-
- 9** From Turkish, meaning ‘brother’ or ‘friend’ (Kotsinas 1998, 49); in Doggelito, Kotsinas as *gardash* (2004, 78, 98).
-
- 10** Attested by SO as adjective for ‘crazy’, and as a noun for ‘foolishness’ (cf. <https://svenska.se/tre/?sok=knas&pz=1>). Attested in Kotsinas as ‘mistake’, ‘stupid/strange person’ and ‘cope’ (1998, 104); in Doggelito, Kotsinas, as ‘problem’, ‘argument’ (2004, 102).
-
- 11** Approximately translatable as ‘troublemaker’. Agent noun from *knas*. Cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas as ‘person who often goes to jail’ (2004, 102).
-
- 12** From Turkish *ulan* (boy, young man, guy) (Sjödin 2017, 209), Attested in Kotsinas as *len* and *län* for ‘friend’ and ‘immigrant’ (1998, 119, 125); in Doggelito, Kotsinas for ‘listen’ (2004, 107-8).
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- 13** Greek term used in Balcanic languages for ‘friend’. Used to attract attention (Joseph 1997, 257). Attested in Kotsinas as *moré* (1998, 134); Doggelito, Kotsinas *morre* (2004, 117).
-
- 14** Shortened form of Turkish *orospu* (prostitute) (Sjödin 2017, 138): in Kotsinas as ‘slap’, ‘girl’, ‘child’, ‘orgasm’ (1998, 144); in Doggelito, Kotsinas ‘girl’, ‘prostitute’ (2004, 124).
-
- 15** From a Turkish word for ‘money’. Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 147 (reported as *para* and *parra*); Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 125; Sjödin 2017, 142; Khemiri 2003.
-
- 16** In Doggelito, Kotsinas in *partooz* as ‘to have sex’ (2004, 126).
-
- 17** Of uncertain origin, linked to Spanish *paz* (peace) to express negation. Cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 126; <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=pass>; Sattarvandi 2008.
-
- 18** From Turkish, referring to both male, and female persons. Leiva Wenger indicates only a male figure, five times as *shuno*, and once *shonne* (2015, 21); Cf. Kotsinas (1998, 176-7) as *shono*, *shonu*, *chono*, *chuno*, *shuno*, *chuno*; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 139 as *shonne*, *shono*, *shomme* e *shuno*; Khemiri 2003.
-
- 19** Synonym to ‘run away’. Attested in SAOB as shortened form of the verb *accelerera* (to accelerate) (<https://svenska.se/tre/?sok=axa&pz=2>). Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 6; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 37. Cf. Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
-
- 20** Occurring eight times in the form *banga* and once in *bangish* (2015, 13). Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 9; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 41; Khemiri 2003; Bakhtiari 2012; Sattarvandi 2008.
-
- 21** Attested in SAOB as a synonym to *stjåla* (to steal) (cf. <https://svenska.se/tre/?sok=baxa&pz=1>). It occurs once in *baxish* (2015, 18). Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 10; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 43; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2003.
-
- 22** Slang term of uncertain origin whose meaning is ‘to have sex’. Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 10 (also attested as *bazza*); Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 41 (attested as *bassa*; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008).
-
- 23** From Romani *chib*, ‘to sell’ (Carling, Lindell, Ambrazaitis 2013, 142). In MS it acquires the specific meaning ‘to sell drugs’, ‘to steal’. Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 11; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 44; Sjödin 2017, 21; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
-
- 24** From Turkish *gitmek* (to go) (<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/gitta#Swedish>). Attested twice as *gitta*, once as *gittish* (2015, 17). Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 66 (with the same meaning); Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 79 (as *gittish*); Sjödin 2017, 63; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
-
- 25** -ish form of the verb *hända* (to happen), translated as “how are you doing?” (cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 89).
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- 26** Words from Spanish, attested in the Dictionary of Real Academia Española, meaning ‘sunny weather’, ‘prosperity’, ‘abundance’ (<https://dle.rae.es/bonanza?m=form>); Attested in Sjödin as ‘economic success’ and ‘lucky event’ (2017, 25). Attested in Kotsinas as ‘to have an argument’, ‘to irritate’ (1998, 17); in Doggelito, Kotsinas as synonym to *Besserwisser* (Know-it-all) (2004, 49). Cf. Khemiri 2003.
- 27** Greek form for ‘playing cool’ (cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 112). Cf. Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
- 28** Verb attested since 1993 for *klottra* (to scratch) (Agazzi 2015, 245; Sjödin 2017, 195). Used twice as *tagga in* (to break in) (Kotsinas 1998, 215; Doggelito and Kotsinas 2004, 147).
- 29** From Maghreb Arabic *Zat* (weed, hashish); attested in Doggelito and Kotsinas in *zutta e zuttla* (2004, 159). Also attested in the Police Glossary released by the newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten*, associated with drugs (Abrahamson 2024).
- 30** Intensifier occurring eight times as *fet* (before a noun), and eighteen as *fett*, of which six as *fett med* + adj. or noun. Cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 7; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
- 31** As previously discussed, it is attested since 2005 in SAOL (<https://svenska.se/tre/?sok=keff&pz=1>); Kotsinas 1998, 100; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 99; Agazzi 2015, 129; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
- 32** Attested in Kotsinas as ‘angry’, ‘sad’, ‘tired’ (1998, 117) (cf. <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=lack>). Cf. Khemiri 2003.
- 33** Popular Spanish word. Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 128; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 113; *Svensk Slang Ordbok* (<http://sv-slang.wikidot.com/invandrarsvenska>; Khemiri 2003).
- 34** Attested in SAOB, meaning ‘dark’, ‘uncertain’, ‘suspicious’. Attested in Kotsinas for ‘unreliable/strange person’ (1998, 184). Cf. Khemiri 2003; Bakhtiari 2012.
- 35** *-ish* form of *soft*.. Cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 143; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
- 36** From the Turkish adverb *çok* (much). Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 28; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 58; <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=cok>; Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
- 37** Lit. ‘the worst’. This construction supports in two cases an adjective, in six cases a noun. Although it is a superlative absolute of *dålig* (wrong, bad), it is often used in a positive sense. Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 240 as ‘better person’, ‘strong person; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 156; Khemiri 2003; Bakhtiari 2012.
- 38** Expression of wonder and surprise. Of uncertain origin, Sjödin associates it to Turkish (2017, 13) (cf. <http://sv-slang.wikidot.com/invandrarsvenska>), while Milani and Jonsson to Arabic (2012, 56). Cf. Kotsinas 1998, 1; Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 31. Also attested as *abow* (cf. <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=abow>). Cf. Sattarvandi 2008.
- 39** Of Greek origin, attested in Kotsinas as *ade* and *ayde* (1998, 1); in Doggelito, Kotsinas *aide*, *ajde e ade* (2004, 32) with the meaning ‘let’s go’, ‘stop it’, ‘go’ (cf. <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=aide>).
- 40** Genitive form of Turkish first-person pronoun *ben* (cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 45, where it is also attested as *benom*; Young 2021).
- 41** Informal greeting. Cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 68; <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=ey>.
- 42** Of uncertain origin. In Doggelito, Kotsinas as ‘listen’, ‘friend’ (2004, 93). Cf. Khemiri 2003.
- 43** Bosnian greeting for “hi brother” (Joseph 1997). Occurring three times as *sho bre*. Cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 132; <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=shu> (attested as *shu*); Khemiri 2003; Sattarvandi 2008.
- 44** Attested in Kotsinas as *valah*, meaning ‘I swear’ (1998, 234); in Doggelito, Kotsinas *walla*, *valah e wallawalla* (2004, 154). It takes and indexical function in MS. Attested in *Slangopedia* in *wallabarn* (lit. ‘son of walla’) for Swedes not resident in suburbs who enact strategies of *crossing* (cf. <http://www.slangopedia.se/ordlista/?ord=wallabarn>). Cf. Bakhtiari 2012.

Most of the collected elements in Table 1 occur in dialogues, although there are also extra-dialogical cases (see for instance the first-person narrating voices, especially in *Elixir*). As can be seen from the footnotes, although the linguistic documentation on the terms listed often appears scarce and uncertain, typical MS vocabulary is present and available in reliable sources today. Reading *Till vår ära* today does not imply a fragmented textual understanding as it used to when it was published. As a matter of fact, with the exception of the 1998 glossary edited by Kotsinas, at the time of the collection's publication in 2001 there were still neither similar literary works nor comprehensive studies providing further mentions, explanations or translations to its vocabulary. Therefore, *Till vår ära* is a text that cannot be understood by consulting only an ordinary monolingual dictionary but rather requires the consultation of other sources to fully understand its lexical content. In *Borta i tankar*, there are new words replacing commonly employed ones, which allow the monolingual paradigm to be overcome and Swedish to be deterritorialised, as in the case concerning the pronoun *benim* and the noun *mangas*: as explained in the dedicated notes, *benim* replaces the Swedish pronoun *jag* in one case: "om benim sa okej" (Leiva Wenger 2015, 19),³¹ and is included among the interjections, as it is so classified by ISOF. *Mangas*, on the other hand, is roughly translated as 'boaster'. However, its background is historically relevant: the term derives from the Greek μάγκας, a figure from national culture and folklore referring to a rebellious man, indifferent to laws and therefore relegated to the margins of society (Petropoulos 2000). One of the earliest uses seems to date back to the Greek-Turkish War of Independence, when μάγκας denoted unorganised anti-Turkish rural militias (Hyper Lexicon: English-Greek, Greek-English). In *mangas* we see how, thanks to migration, a topos linked to a foreign culture is territorialised into Swedish: from being an exclusively Greek term, *mangas* is introduced into Swedish, deterritorialising it from its own monolingualism. Interjections include further examples of deterritorialisation, such as *abou*, used to express surprise and wonder. *Aide* is an interjection typical of Balkan languages and is used for instance in the sentence "Aide det räcker..." (2015, 26),³² replacing the traditional Swedish *kom igen* (come on). *Walla*, on the other hand, is a very popular Arabic expression, and its meaning today goes far beyond the simple *jag svär* (I swear). In Leiva Wenger we find an interesting use: "säg walla du har" (2015, 17),³³ whereby *säg walla* has the same meaning as 'swear' or 'be honest'. In this quotation,

31 "If I say ok".

32 "Now it's enough...".

33 "Swear that it is true".

the exclamation *walla* replaces the noun *sanning* (truth), constructing the imperative/exhortative expression *säg sanningen* (tell the truth) with *säg walla* ('be honest', 'tell the truth'). The interjection 'shure' (11), on the other hand, is an alternative form of the greeting *sho bre*, which has already been mentioned above.³⁴ Other terms related to friendship are the Turkish *kardash* and *len*, which replace *bror/brorsan* (brother/bro), and *kompis/polare* (friend/buddy). The examples provided above, *benim*, *mangas*, *abou*, *aide*, *walla*, *bre*, *kardash* and *len*, show how the Swedish language is enriched by words with vocative function, acting as "contextualization cues" (Woolard 2004, 85), i.e. indexical elements of a well-known framework of interaction where code-switching occurs normally at intra-sentential level: "Interactants who share backgrounds use 'contextualization cues' to signal and infer such interactional frames, allowing them to interpret particular utterances. Code-switching is one of the many possible cues that speakers rely on" (Woolard 2004, 85).

Analysing these examples, we notice how specific terms are associated with MS, and "are sometimes used in humorous stylisations of CUV (Contemporary Urban Vernacular) speakers in popular cultural output" (Rydell, Ganuza 2024, 9). Swedish has no special need for new appellatives, as expressions such as *bror/brorsan* (brother) or *mannen* (man) are already well established in everyday language. Among these appellatives, the pronoun *benim* deserves a special mention. *Benim* is attested by the ISOF as a neologism of Swedish since 2019 and it is recognised as a synonym to *jag* (I, me), just like *guz/guss*, listed in SAOL since 2005, which is now recognised for all intents and purposes as a synonym to *flicka* and *tjej* (girl) (§ 1.7.4). This linguistic embedding of new exogenous vocabulary in Swedish also allows for a broader reflection on the concept of code-switching itself. Some of the expressions above would now be so deeply rooted in usage that they would barely be recognised as acts of code-switching. The use of these words highlights how, in the linguistic experimentation of MS, Swedish becomes deterritorialised, i.e. its vocabulary acquires new terms that shift from the geographical coordinates of Sweden, connecting, by means of exogenous resources, different territories, histories and connotations. Leiva Wenger makes Swedish a minor language, overcoming monolingualism by including traces of other languages that make his Swedish a motherless language (Yıldız 2012). A strategy of linguistic deterritorialisation also occurs with the suffix *-ish*. It recurs frequently in *Borta i tankar*, where it is found in both verbal (*bangish*, *baxish*, *gittish*, *händish*) and adjectival (*softish*) functions. As we can see, *-ish* has the function of a verbal ending. Consider, for instance, the following examples, in which several

34 Cf. fn. 21 from Chapter 1.

verbs undergo an argotic camouflaging: “eh shu len, vad händish, hälsar du inte längre, fan är det jao, har du blivit fin?” (2015, 12);³⁵ “om du är så kan du bangish nu” (13);³⁶ “Bollen tog den och gittish” (2015, 17);³⁷ “om du har så kan vi baxish” (18);³⁸ The verbs *händish*, *bangish*, *gittish* and *baxish* further exoticise the more common forms *hända* (to happen), *banga* (to back down), *gitta* (to run away) and *baxa* (to steal). Moreover, it has been observed that MS words do not only come from foreign languages, but also from Swedish jargons, fostering the resemantisation of neglected items. An example in Leiva Wenger (and elsewhere) is the verb *baxa*, defined by SAOB – among other meanings – as an archaism that shifted from ‘dragging heavy objects’ to committing burglary (cf. Doggelito, Kotsinas 2004, 43; Gendolavigna 2023b). Typical MS elements also include adjectives and adverbs, such as the construct *fett med* + adj. or noun, which works as both a quantity and quality adverb. *Borta i tankar* attests the forms “fett med skit” (full of shit); “fett med shunar” (full of boys), while in *Elixir* a superlativised use with adjectives is attested, as in “fett med äcklit” (very disgusting) and “fett med dåligt” (very bad) (2015, 12, 13; 37). In Swedish, *fett* (fat) only works as an adjective, while in MS it also serves an adverbial and adjectival function, replacing *mycket* (very) and proving. Examples are “fet respekt” (much respect) (35), “feta grejerna” (great things), “fett kul” (very funny), “feta låten” (beautiful songs), “fett lack” (very pissed off), “fet flax” (a lot of luck), “fett många” (a lot), “feta knasare” (great trouble-makers) (15-18, 22). In this case, the use of *fett* is semantically expanded, taking on a positive meaning. Another example of adjectives used positively and in a superlative sense is the construction *värsta* + adj. or noun, as in “värsta knasarna” (worst trouble-makers), “värsta skrattanfall” (very loud laughter), “värsta knäckarna” (the toughest crackers), “värsta söt” (very beautiful), “värsta tönt” (very silly) (14, 20, 22).³⁹ The use of *keff* with adjective function is also attested, occurring six times in the collection, confirming its meaning in the sentences “jag gick in sängen var keff bäddad” (2015, 21),⁴⁰ and “okej jag vet jag [...] var keff” (2015, 25).⁴¹

35 “Eh yo bro, what’s up, don’t you say hi anymore, what the hell yo, are you getting fancy?”.

36 “If you are [scared] back down now”.

37 “Bollen took it and left”.

38 “If you did it then we can steal”.

39 As demonstrated by Eva Sundgren (1998, 2010), *värsta* has undergone a process of grammaticalisation over time, taking on adverbial and reinforcing functions.

40 “I went in, the bed was badly made”.

41 “Okay, I know I was bad”.

3.4 Foreign Influences not Typical of MS in *Till vår ära*

In addition to MS, Stockholm dialect, Anglisms and Hispanisms not relatable to MS also play an important role in *Till vår ära*. Table 2 shows loanwords from English and Spanish, including those adapted to Swedish morphology.

Table 2 Foreign Influences not Typical of MS in *Till vår ära*

Anglisms	Hispanisms
<i>bitch</i> S (2); <i>dissad</i> A (p. 9); ¹ <i>fuckade upp</i> V (p. 16); ² <i>pieces</i> S (p. 17); <i>skippa</i> V (p. 41) ³	<i>apagera</i> V (p. 50); ⁴ <i>compañeros</i> S (p. 68); <i>conchetumadre</i> E (p. 41); <i>empanadas</i> S (2); <i>kaminera</i> V (p. 50); ⁵ <i>lija</i> V (p. 51); ⁶ <i>oja</i> S (p. 50); ⁷ <i>venceremos</i> V (6)
1 Adjectival participle from <i>to dis/diss</i> . In the text, the verb takes the typical Swedish ending – <i>ad</i> to create adjectival participles of non-neutrum gender (cf. Sjödin 2017, 38).	
2 Past tense form of <i>to fuck up</i> . In the text, the verb takes the typical past tense – <i>de</i> ending from the first group verbs, using <i>upp</i> as in English.	
3 Morphological adaptation of <i>to skip</i> . SAOB attests the same meaning (cf. https://www.saob.se/artikel/?unik=S_04117-0043.lxLy&pz=5).	
4 Hispanism declined in – <i>era</i> (typical loanwords ending) from <i>apagar</i> (to turn off).	
5 Hispanism declined in – <i>era</i> from <i>caminar</i> (to walk).	
6 Non-existent word in Swedish, possibly adapted from the Spanish verb <i>lijar</i> (to sand down), conjugated with the typical Swedish infinite suffix – <i>a</i> .	
7 Non-existent word in Swedish, possibly adapted from the Spanish noun <i>ojo</i> (eye), mixed with the Swedish <i>öga</i> .	

The presence of loanwords allows us to observe a dynamic language that, in a monolingual flow, resorts to foreign elements. An example of Anglisms is “pieces in *Borta i tankar*, in which Felipe tells Julia about his graffiti: “om du hade [...] sett våra pieces du hade säkert gillat” (2015, 17),⁴² “Pieces” replaces common Swedish terms such as *graffiti* or *stycken* (literally ‘pieces’) as it is probably more common to an international jargon. In *Sakers riktiga namn*, the noun “truism” is not reputed loanword, as it is now an established entry in the SAOB, in use since at least 1848:⁴³ “men vissa saker måste upprepas, även om det numera är en truism att återge vad han vid ett tillfälle sade” (2015, 45).⁴⁴ Not only single words, but also cases of entire sentences given in English in intra-sentential CS are attested, as in *Song for my father*: “Ja, jag tänkte det. Men du kan få den. A pleasure doing

42 “If you had [...] seen our pieces, you would have surely liked them”.

43 Cf. <https://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=truism&pz=2>.

44 “but some things have to be repeated, even if it is now a truism to repeat what he once said”.

business with you" (2015, 73).⁴⁵ Concerning Hispanisms, we see how in "Jag sa din jävla fitthuve idiot conchetumadre och han sa ja ja men jälp mej nu istället" (41),⁴⁶ Leiva Wenger switches to Spanish to emphasise the narrator's high emotional involvement (the switch concerns a swearword in Spanish). Well-known terms from Chilean cultural, political and culinary traditions are found in the collection, such as *compañeros*, *empanadas* and *venceremos* (the latter linked to the politically engaged music of Víctor Jara), through which Leiva Wenger seems to establish a personal (and emotional) contact with Chile. In addition to these, there are also several Hispanisms, which are morpho-phonetically integrated into Swedish: *apagera*, *kaminera*,⁴⁷ *lija* and *oja*, all occurring in *Sakers riktiga namn*: "Kulås i en oja när de kaminerade och apagerade ljuset [...] Du opåar mig verkligen. kommer du lija en öpa? [...] Zaqzaq, zaqwertyuop" (2015, 51).⁴⁸

In what may seem a meaningless linguistic action, we can discern Leiva Wenger's attempt to emphasise the way speakers creatively exploit the fluidity of linguistic boundaries by negotiating and challenging social and cultural boundaries (cf. Garrett 2004, 55). However, terms such as *Kulås*, *oja*, *opåa*, *lija*, and *öpa* appear as *hapax legomena*, upon which any monolingual reader would simply place a *crux desperationis*. While some theoretical speculation and intuition might suggest that *oja* could be a Hispanism for *öga* (eye), *lija* an adaptation of the Spanish *lijar* (to sand down), and *opåa* a privative version of *vara på* (often shortened to *påa*, i.e. 'to get sexually excited'), there seems to be no plausible explanation for the meaning of the nouns *Kulås* and *öpa*, at the moment. These dialogues in *Sakers riktiga namn* reveal language as an exclusive system, without providing solutions or clues, lexicalising Hispanisms and using words that destabilise the monolingual balances of the text.

For that matter, the incomprehensibility of such terms is also acknowledged by the narrator himself, who points out the meaninglessness of the dialogues between the main characters Daniel and Laura: "Vad allt detta betyder är än så länge inte känt. En andra utredning kommer förhoppningsvis att kunna ge oss svaret nästa

45 "Yes, I thought so. But you can have it. A pleasure doing business with you".

46 "I said you fucking cunt-headed idiot conchetumadre and he said yes yes but help me now instead".

47 Note that SAOB reports the verb *inkamminera*, which was brought from Italian via German (from the seventeenth century) and defined as 'to set off', 'to launch'. (cf. <https://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=inkamminera&pz=6>).

48 "*Kulås* in one eye when we walked and turned off the light. [...] You really make me unexcited. Will you sand down an *öpa*? [...] Zaqzaq, zaqwertyuop". Given their untranslatability, *Kulås* and *öpa* are identical in translation.

höst, även om sannolikheten för det är försvinnande liten” (2015, 51).⁴⁹ Be it group or individual language, elements from MS, English, Spanish or an invented vocabulary that re-elaborates Swedish, the effect is the same: to define one’s identity by distinguishing oneself through the multiple forms of multilingual communication (Heith 2004, 6-7). Typical and non-typical MS loanwords are resources that unplug the traditional ties between language and ethnicity (Yıldız 2012, 198), expanding the expressive boundaries of Swedish. This is perhaps the reason why Swedish *bror/brorsan* does not have the same confidentiality as Turkish *kardash*, or that the use of *vad fan* (what the hell) does not have the same emphasis as Spanish *conchetumadre*.

3.5 Creative Compounds and New-Words in *Till vår ära*

Below are listed *Till vår ära*’s lexical new-word, mostly made up of unusual and original compounds: the verb *fitta sej* (2015, 9) and the nouns *keffmat* (2015, 37),⁵⁰ *kulås* (2015, 50),⁵¹ *svennebrudar* (2015, 36),⁵² *svergekillar* (2015, 36),⁵³ *öpa* (2015, 51),⁵⁴ *zaqwertyuop* (13 hits), which we divide into resemantisations and novel compositions. We speak of resemantisations in the case of the verb *fitta sig* (to back down) from the noun *fitta* (vagina): “bara snudd och aldrig på samma ställe, den som fittar sej är ute” (2015, 9).⁵⁵ Due to its low frequency and the abundance of more popular synonyms, *fitta sig* poses some translation problems: it is literally translatable to ‘to cunt’, but considering that Felipe is disqualified from the challenge for backing down, we infer from the context that the sense of *fitta sig* is different than its literal meaning. Further new formations with clear meaning are *keffmat*, *svennebrudar*, and *svergekillar*, all occurring in *Elixir*. *Keffmat* is composed of the adjective *keff* and the noun *mat* (food), relating to the poor quality of food at school (2015, 37). *Svennebrudar* and *svergekillar* are synthetic compounds replacing the analytical but more correct *svenska brudar* (Swedish girls) and *svenska killar* (Swedish boys). The use of *Sverige* as a prefix is unusual, which is why *svergekillar*, a graphically improper rendering of *Sverigekillar* (lit. Sweden boys) applies as a neoformation, in which *sverge* (Sweden)

49 “What all this means is not yet known. A second investigation will hopefully be able to give us the answer next autumn, although the likelihood of that is vanishingly small”.

50 “Bad food”.

51 Term not found in any source and still with a mysterious meaning.

52 Literally ‘Swede-women’.

53 *Sverge* is a misspelt rendering of *Sverige* (Sweden). Hence, literally, ‘Sweden-men’.

54 Other terms that, like *Kulås*, find neither attestation nor valid translation.

55 “Only a touch and never in the same place, the one who gives up is out”.

replaces the demonym *svensk* (Swedish). *Kulås*, *öpa* and *zaqwertyuop* have already been discussed in the previous section. These elements can also be treated as neologisms, although they are, as mentioned, obscure and, thus, untranslated.

To conclude this chapter, multilingualism as it is presented in Leiva Wenger not only resists its minor status but rather exploits it. It refuses to obey the constraints of a variety judged as standard to artistic purposes. Encompassing both MS-typical elements of the first two stories and the more unconventional ones of the following four, Leiva Wenger's intricate linguistic system enables him to detach from the literary canon and craft a text that resonates with readers both within and beyond Sweden – which is deemed significant enough to be published in three editions (2001; 2015; 2023).

As Leiva Wenger roots his Swedish deeply in other languages, he simultaneously exposes it to linguistic contact, refusing to leave the reader in the comfort of an intact and seemingly secure language. In doing so, he deconstructs the assumptions of the monolingual paradigm, which views languages as whole entities naturally tied to a specific group of people.

