



Persian as Mystery and Arabic as the New Dutch

Heterolingualism in Kader Abdolah's *Salam Europa!* and Fikry El Azzouzi's *Drarrie in de nacht*

Saskia Vandenbussche, UCLouvain

Abstract: *Salam Europa!* (2016) by the Dutch-Iranian writer Kader Abdolah and *Drarrie in de nacht* (2014) by the Belgian-Moroccan novelist Fikry El Azzouzi are novels written in Dutch, but they are interspersed with elements from other languages. This article examines how these forms of 'heterolingualism', defined by Rainier Grutman as the presence of foreign languages in a text, correspond to their authors' public positioning. The literary analysis draws on Myriam Suchet's concept of heterolingualism as a 'continuum of alterity' and her study of 'heterolingual dynamics', as well as on Philippe Blanchet's work on linguistic boundaries. The effect produced by such heterolingual strategies will subsequently be examined in relation to the authors' posture. Finally, I will determine to what extent the heterolingual strategies used by Abdolah and El Azzouzi evoke a blending or a juxtaposition of cultures and whether they contribute to a potential rapprochement between different (sub)cultures and social groups in the Netherlands and Flanders.

Keywords: Heterolingualism, authorial posture, intercultural literature, language change, writers with migration background / Heterolinguïsm, auteurspostuur, interculturele literatuur, taalverandering, schrijvers met migratieachtergrond

Introduction

According to sociolinguist Philippe Blanchet, one of the most complex questions about language is how to define its limits, or how to define the boundaries between languages: ‘Where does a language begin and where does it end?’¹ This question is not just fundamental to linguistics, but probably to everyone living in a multicultural and multilingual environment, and especially to intercultural authors.

Indeed, Lise Gauvin argues that writers in multilingual contexts often experience a kind of ‘linguistic over-awareness’.² Such ‘over-awareness’ also applies to Kader Abdolah (1954) and Fikry El Azzouzi (1978), two ‘exophonic’ writers, and it is evident from their literary texts, written in Dutch while being interspersed with other languages.³ Moreover, both writers frequently discuss language and interculturality in the Netherlands and Flanders in columns, opinion pieces and interviews. These sources show that both authors regularly reflect on the limits and boundaries of language. While Abdolah describes his writing language as ‘een huwelijk tussen twee rassen’ [an interracial marriage] that brings about ‘gezonde kinderen’ [healthy children], El Azzouzi observes that contemporary Dutch has changed under the influence of Arabic street slang and he advocates to include Arabic words in Dutch dictionaries.⁴

Even though the writing style and public positioning of Kader Abdolah has been academically researched, such research does not focus on the use of foreign languages in his novels nor on the relationship between his particular use of heterolingualism and his literary posture.⁵ To my knowledge, no scholarly articles about Fikry El Azzouzi have been published so far. In this contribution, I will therefore investigate how foreign languages are presented in the Dutch main text in the novels *Drarrie in de nacht* (2014) and *Salam Europa!* (2016). In order to do so, I will draw on Myriam Suchet’s (2014) study *L’Imaginaire hétérologue*, in which she assesses heterolingualism among other things as more or less visible ‘discursive mechanisms’ (p. 75) on a ‘continuum of alterity’ (p. 77) and as more subtle ‘processes of differentiation’ (p. 111) resulting

¹ ‘L’une des questions les plus complexes et pourtant largement tenue pour évidente en matière de langues est celle qui consiste à définir les limites d’une langue, ou autrement dit les frontières qui séparent les langues. Où commence et où s’arrête une langue?’, Philippe Blanchet, ‘Seuils, limites et frontières de langues’, in *D’un seuil à l’autre: Approches plurielles, rencontres, témoignages*, ed. by Jacqueline Bergeron and Marc Cheymol (Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 2017), pp. 65-79 (p. 65). All translations in this article are, unless indicated otherwise, mine.

² ‘surconscience linguistique’, Lise Gauvin, *Les langues du roman: Du plurilinguisme comme stratégie textuelle* (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1999), p. 14.

³ ‘[...] an exophonic writer – that is to say, a writer who is not a native speaker of his or her chosen literary language’, Chantal Wright, ‘Exophony and literary translation: What it means for the translator when a writer adopts a new language’, *Target* 22.1 (2010), 22-39 (p.24).

⁴ Frank Van Laeken, ‘Een vluchteling is nooit thuis’, *De Tijd*, 19 April 1997, <<https://www.tijd.be/algemeen/algemeen/Een-vluchteling-is-nooit-thuis/5207453>> [accessed 23 December 2020]; Fikry El Azzouzi, ‘Elke zichzelf respecterende zuurpruim zou straattaal moeten kennen’, *De Morgen*, 17 December 2012, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/elke-zichzelf-respecterende-zuurpruim-zou-straattaal-moeten-kennen~b5a83715/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁵ For Abdolah’s posture, see Bongers 2010, Moenandar 2013 & 2014, Dynarowicz 2015 & 2018; for Abdolah’s writing style, see Heynders & Paasman 1999, Schyns 2000, Van Kempen 2004 & 2010, Beernaert 2009, Van der Velden 2010.

from four ‘heterolingual dynamics’ (p. 111).⁶ Relevant heterolingual passages in *Salam Europa!* will be described according to the discursive mechanisms that influence the perceived alterity of the foreign language in question. In *Drarrie in de nacht*, the heterolingual passages will be analysed according to two ‘heterolingual dynamics’ that result from language contact. Finally, I will examine how the use of heterolingualism and the reading experience it generates relate to both writers’ public positioning and discourses about three interrelated topics: the languages in their writing, their place in the Dutch literary field, and the social relevance of their novels.

Theoretical framework

The presence of foreign languages in the main language of a text is a phenomenon that has been defined as ‘heterolingualism’ by Rainier Grutman.⁷ The same term is also used by Suchet (see p. 19), who argues that the perceived alterity of foreign languages appearing in a text can differ greatly depending on the discursive mechanisms involved. Indeed, according to Suchet, the alterity of foreign languages in a literary text is not a given, but a discursive construction: ‘the difference between languages is a matter of discourse – of text [...] which draws dividing lines and makes distinctions’⁸ (see p. 75). In other words, foreign languages are not strange or foreign as such, but can be presented as such in a text, depending on the discursive mechanisms used. Even though the perceived alterity of a foreign language also depends on the interpretation and linguistic competences of the individual readers (p. 76), the form in which they appear in a text influences this perception. In a Dutch text, a French passage can, for example, be ‘typographically marked’ as different from the main text by the use of italics or quotation marks, indicating that French is supposed to be seen as foreign, even when some readers might very well understand this language.⁹ In this sense, discursive mechanisms are indicators of which languages are supposed to be known or unknown to the implied reader (see p. 90).

Apart from discursive mechanisms, Suchet argues that more subtle ‘processes of differentiation’ (p. 111) affect languages: language contact does not leave languages unaltered, but influences them in various ways through ‘heterolingual dynamics’ (p. 111). For the analysis below, two dynamics will be relevant: ‘the dynamic of inherent variation’ (p. 111) and ‘the dynamic of creolisation’ (p. 115).¹⁰

In what follows, I will analyse heterolingualism and its potential reading effects regarding the perception of alterity in *Salam Europa!* and *Drarrie in de nacht*. The results of this heterolingual analysis will then be examined in light of statements by Kader Abdolah and Fikry

⁶ Myriam Suchet, *L’imaginaire hétérologue: Ce que nous apprennent les textes à la croisée des langues* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014); ‘des stratégies discursives’, ‘un continuum d’altérité’; ‘des processus de différenciation’, ‘le travail hétérologue’.

⁷ Rainier Grutman, *Des langues qui résonnent. Hétérolinguisme et lettres québécoises*, revised ed. (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019), p. 60.

⁸ ‘la différence des langues relève du discours-du texte [...], qui trace des lignes de partage et établit des distinctions’.

⁹ ‘le balisage’ (p. 90).

¹⁰ ‘processus de différenciation’; ‘le travail hétérologue’; ‘le travail de la variation inhérente’; ‘le travail de créolisation’.

El Azzouzi in columns, opinion pieces and interviews about their writing language(s), their role and position as a writer and the social relevance of their work.

Kader Abdolah

Heterolingualism in *Salam Europa!* Maintaining the mystery

In *Salam Europa!* we find no less than six foreign languages in the Dutch text: Russian, German, French, English, Persian and some Arabic. Most discursive mechanisms used to present these foreign languages make their alterity striking: several of the below heterolingual fragments are ‘typographically marked’ in italics. Further on, we find ‘the use of a non-Latin alphabet’ (p. 78), i.e. Cyrillic, and transliterations of Cyrillic and Persian script into Latin. Several heterolingual fragments are accompanied by an ‘intralingual translation’ (p. 84). These translations are usually introduced by distinct markers, such as commas, brackets or explicit explanatory phrases like ‘dat/wat betekent’ (that/which means). In several instances, ‘the name of the foreign language is mentioned’ (p. 86): ‘in Russian’, ‘in French’, ‘in German’ etc. Furthermore, we find large passages of intertexts in the original language. Although Suchet mentions the use of heterolingualism in ‘mottos’ (p. 81) and brings up that heterolingual passages can serve as an ‘intralingual switch’ (p. 93) referring to a hidden or hardly visible intertext, she doesn’t distinguish the use of intertextual quotes in the original language as a discursive mechanism in itself. In this contribution, however, I will consider such intertextual passages as heterolingual strategies.¹¹

All of the five discursive mechanisms mentioned above can be found in combination with each other, clearly demarcating the other languages in the text from the main language Dutch, thus making the presence of foreign languages in the text abundantly visible.

Non-Latin alphabet and transliterations

In the fragment below, the Cyrillic alphabet appears when the shah is greeting a Russian train driver. He is doing this rather awkwardly by literally reciting information about the working of a steam engine from an informational booklet, that has been read to him by his favourite wife Banoe.

a) De sjah bracht plechtig een saluut en zei in het Russisch tegen de machinist: Котел заполнен водой. С дерева, угля или мазута огонь горел. Это было задачей кочегаром. Это была тяжелая работа, потому что они должны были держать в теплом во время поездки. Огонь приносит воду до кипения и создает пар. Все больше и больше пар там просыпается создает давление. Пар из пара проходит через трубопроводы до поршня....

¹¹ ‘le changement d’alphabet’; ‘le rembourrage ou la glose intratextuelle’; ‘la mention du nom des langues’; ‘la citation en exergue’; ‘le commutateur intratextuel’.

Het was ongeveer de tekst uit het informatieboekje over de werking van de stoomlocomotief, dat Banoe zo vaak aan hem had voorgelezen. De machinist, die nog in verwarring was, begreep helemaal niet waar de sjah het over had.¹²

[a] The shah solemnly saluted and said in Russian to the train driver (...) It was more or less the text from the informational booklet about the working of the steam engine, which Banu had read to him so many times. The train driver, who was still confused, did not understand at all what the shah was talking about.]

On a narrative level, the heterolingual fragment is a scene of failed intercultural communication: although the shah is speaking Russian, the content of his words is rather inappropriate as a greeting or small talk during a first encounter. Reciting technical information without any introduction is so unexpected in this situation that the train driver is left utterly confused. The absurdity of the situation highlights the cultural and societal gap between the unworldly shah and the down-to-earth train driver. For readers, the incongruity between what is expected from the social situation and what is really said by the shah potentially has a humorous effect. On the other hand, this particular use of heterolingualism with a for most Dutch readers incomprehensible Cyrillic might create an 'effect of linguistic alienation' that resonates with the train driver's confusion and estrangement due to the failed communication in the story.¹³

Apart from fragments in Cyrillic, we also find transliterations from Cyrillic and Persian. In the next fragment, the shah is visiting the *Prinsenhof* in Amsterdam, where Willem the Silent was assassinated and spoke his last words (in French). Sitting in the same spot where the prince was murdered, the shah is anticipating his own death and is practicing his last words:

b) Nog hurkend op de trap oefende hij zijn eigen laatste woorden: 'Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de moi et de ce pauvre peuple.' In het Perzisch klonk dat als '*Godaje man, be man wa be in mardome faghir rahm kon.*' (p. 281).

[b] Still crouching on the stairs, he practised his own last words: 'Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de moi et de ce pauvre peuple.' In Persian this sounded like '*Godaje man, be man wa be in mardome faghir rahm kon.*']

In the text, the Persian transliteration of these French words is introduced as follows: 'In het Perzisch klonk dat als' ['In Persian this sounded like']. This introduction seems to indicate that the transliteration has been added to convey the sound of Persian to readers. However, a transliteration is not a phonetic transcription and therefore doesn't provide the exact pronunciation of the Persian phrase. In this sense, it is not very clear where the added value of the transliterations lies.

¹² Kader Abdolah, *Salam Europa!* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2016), p. 62.

¹³ 'un effet d'étrangeté linguistique' (Suchet, p. 78).

Mentioning the name of the foreign language

Even without inserting the foreign language in the text, there is a possibility to make its presence visible. By the discursive mechanism of mentioning the name of the foreign language it can be made clear that a character is speaking another language, even when there is no trace of this language in the text. However, there are many instances in *Salam Europa!* in which the use of this particular discursive mechanism is rather redundant. In the fragment below, for example, the mentioning of the name of the foreign language is immediately followed by a passage in the mentioned foreign language.

c) In het oorverdovende lawaai dat de muzikanten maakten pakte de sjah daarna Bismarck bij zijn arm en zei in het Frans: '*Nous pensons que vous êtes l'histoire elle-même.* We denken dat u de geschiedenis zelve bent.'

Bismarck boog zijn hoofd beheerst voorover en verraste de sjah met een perfecte dubbelzinnige zin in het Frans: '*Nous avons pensé que vous étiez l'histoire.* Wij dachten dat u geschiedenis was.' (p. 160).

[c] In the deafening noise made by the musicians, the shah took Bismarck by the arm and said in French: '*Nous pensons que vous êtes l'histoire elle-même.*' We think you are history itself.

Bismarck bent his head in a composed manner and surprised the Shah with a perfectly ambiguous sentence in French: '*Nous avons pensé que vous étiez l'histoire.*' We thought you were history.]

In this part of the story, French is used as a lingua franca between the character Bismarck, a German speaker, and the shah, who is said to speak 'gebroken Duits' [broken German] (p. 169). Even though French serves here as a bridge language to overcome linguistic differences, it is opposed to other languages in the text by the discursive mechanisms of typographical marking by italics and the mentioning of the name of the language: it is explicitly stated that the shah and Bismarck are speaking 'in French'. This information seems unnecessary, as the French words appear immediately after. On top of that, the French passages are immediately followed by Dutch translations, making the whole fragment quite repetitive.

Embedded translations

In *Salam Europa!* the use of translations is not very consistent. Except for Persian, which is always translated, and English, which is never translated, we can find French, Russian, and German passages with and without embedded translations. It might seem counterintuitive, but the use of translations can actually enhance the alterity of the foreign language that is being translated. Although translations convey the semantic meaning of a potentially incomprehensible heterolingual passage, the presence of the translation also suggests that readers don't have access to the other language without the mediation of this translation. In this sense, embedded translations might affect the foreign words with a 'stronger strangeness

coefficient'¹⁴ than foreign words without glosses. After all, there are more subtle ways to convey the meaning of foreign passages in a text, for example through the use of 'contextualizing' – a discursive mechanism described by postcolonial scholar Chantal Zabus as 'providing areas of immediate context' that make the foreign words self-explanatory. In contrast to embedded translations (called 'cushioning' in Zabus' terminology), contextualizing is less explicit or pedantic, thus reducing the 'strangeness coefficient' compared to the 'cushioning' strategy.¹⁵

The next fragment shows a Persian (also Arabic) word, accompanied by an extensive translation:

d) Salam. En salam betekent groeten, gezondheid en vrede, dus proost. (p. 13)

[d] Salam. And salam means greetings, health and peace, so cheers.]

The explicative phrasing '*En salam betekent*' ['and salam means'] leaves no room for other interpretations about the semantic meaning of the word *salam*. However, '*salam*' appears no less than ten times in the novel and is part of the title and the first word of the first chapter. As the word emerges in contexts that offer enough information about its meanings, the translation doesn't seem strictly necessary. Yet, the presence of the translation suggests that the word *salam* is unfamiliar and needs explanation. However, as will be shown in chapter four, *salam* has become more or less assimilated into Dutch.

The next heterolingual fragment contains a Dutch translation of a French passage, which is mainly noteworthy for the unidiomatic use of French:¹⁶

e) Nadar pakte ongevraagd de kin van de sjah beet en draaide die zachtjes naar links en naar rechts: '*Un visage royal oriental, un visage que je ne l'ai jamais dépeint. Restez dans cette position, ne pas déplacez.*' Een oosters koninklijk gelaat, zo'n gezicht heb ik nog nooit geportretteerd. Blijf zo staan, niet bewegen.' (p. 416)

[e] Unsolicited, Nadar grabbed the shah's chin and gently turned it to the left and to the right: '*Un visage royal oriental, un visage que je ne l'ai jamais dépeint. Restez dans cette position, ne pas déplacez.*' An oriental royal face, I have never portrayed a face like that before. Stay like this, don't move.]

The French sentence is uttered by a character that is presumably fluent in the language of Molière: French photographer Félix Nadar. When Nadar asks the shah not to move while making his portrait, the mistakes in his French are multiple. First of all, 'dépeindre' is an unidiomatic verb for 'portraying through photography' while 'déplacer' is an inept translation for 'moving oneself', that is moreover wrongly conjugated and should be reflexive if used in this context. In

¹⁴ 'un coefficient d'étrangeté plus fort' (Suchet, p. 84).

¹⁵ Chantal Zabus, *The African Palimpsest: indigenization of language in the West African euphone novel*, 2nd enl. edn. (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2007), p. 176.

¹⁶ This is not the only passage showing unidiomatic use of the foreign language. However, in the other passages, the mistakes and awkward formulations could potentially be explained by the fact that they are uttered by characters who are not native speakers of these languages in the story.

the constituent ‘un visage que je ne l’ai jamais dépeint’, the ‘l’ is not needed and grammatically wrong. Although the French sentences are followed by a Dutch ‘translation’, it rather seems like the French phrases are bad translations from the Dutch sentences supposed to explain them. This is remarkable, as the French phrases have probably been embedded in the text to add some ‘couleur locale’ or authenticity to the story. Indeed, as mentioned by Grutman (p. 293) and Horn, the use of a language different from the language of the narration often underlines or increases the authenticity of the story.¹⁷ However, one can wonder in how far such unidiomatic French, that seems to be a translation of Dutch instead of the other way around, can fulfil a mimetic function or enhance the credibility of these fictitious passages.

Intertextuality: heterolingual quotations

In *Salam Europa!* there are many references to titles from classic novels, such as David Copperfield (p.378), War and Peace (p.66), Oblomov (p. 119) and namedropping of famous authors: Tolstoy (p. 66), Chekhov (p. 78), Gorki (p. 78), Goncharov (p. 120), Khayyam (p. 120), Akhmatova (p. 127), Grass (p.168), Dickens (p. 378), Engels, (p. 360) Marx (p.360), Hugo (p. 386), to name only a few. Furthermore, we find several quotes from novels and poems from the mentioned authors, sometimes in Dutch translation, but often in the original language. To readers, recognizing these intertextual references might create a sociological effect of belonging to the group who understands, as stated by Yra van Dijk and Maarten de Pourcq in the foreword to *Intertekstualiteit in theorie en praktijk* (2013): ‘Imponerend is intertekstualiteit ook opzettelijk: als er wordt verwezen naar highbrow teksten is het de bedoeling om de lezer het exclusieve gevoel te geven dat hij of zij ‘erbij hoort’. This distinctive function of intertextuality might even be enhanced when the intertexts are quoted in the original language, as this seems to suggest that intercultural knowhow can only be achieved by erudite, intellectually inclined and multilingual readers. On the other hand, not being able to read or understand the intertexts might instil a feeling of inadequacy among less multilingual readers and result in a feeling of exclusion by elitism: ‘Naarmate de cultuur waarnaar een tekst verwijst verder verwijderd is, kan het effect op de lezer des te meer zijn dat hij of zij er niet bijhoort en de context mist die nodig is om een tekst te begrijpen.’¹⁸

This becomes particularly clear in the next fragment, in which the shah quotes some verses of Pushkin’s poem *To Chaadaev*, rendered in the text in a potentially undecipherable Cyrillic:

f) De trein naderde Sint-Petersburg en onwetend over dat precedent sprak de sjah de woorden van Poesjkin hardop: Любви, надежды, тихой славы|Недолго нежил нас обман,|Исчезли юные забавы,|Как сон, как утренний туман... (p. 99)

¹⁷ András Horn, ‘Ästhetische Funktionen der Sprachmischung in der Literatur’, *Arcadia* 16 (1980), 225–241 (p. 227).

¹⁸ [‘Intertextuality is also intentionally imposing: when referring to highbrow texts, the intention is to give the reader the exclusive feeling of ‘belonging’/ ‘The more the culture to which a text refers is distant, the more the effect on the reader can be the feeling that he or she doesn’t belong and lacks the context needed to understand a text.’] *Draden in het donker: intertekstualiteit in theorie en praktijk*, ed. by Yra Van Dijk, Maarten De Pourcq and Carl De Strycker (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013), pp. 12-13.

[f] The train was approaching St Petersburg and, ignorant of that precedent, the Shah spoke Pushkin's words aloud: Любви, надежды, тихой славы|Недолго нежил нас обман, |Исчезли юные забавы,|Как сон, как утренний туман...]

In the next fragment, the shah is once more reciting famous verses, this time from the German poet Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*. Interestingly, reciting these verses is the shah's way of greeting Ernst Werner Siemens, whose factory he is about to visit.

g) De sjah, die geen verstand had van techniek en licht en telegrafie, probeerde op een andere manier een indruk op Siemens te maken. Zonder enkele inleiding zegde hij een paar strofen op uit *West-östlicher Divan*, het wereldberoemde boek van Goethe:

Hans Adam war ein Erdenkloß|Den Gott zum Menschen machte|Doch bracht' er aus der Mutter Schoß|Noch vieles Ungeschlachte.

Siemens, die niet begreep waarom de sjah een gedicht opzegde, dacht dat het een oosterse manier van begroeten was. (p. 181- 182)

[g] The shah, who didn't know anything about engineering and light and telegraphy, tried to impress Siemens in a different way. Without any introduction he recited a few verses from *West-östlicher Divan*, Goethe's world-famous book: Hans Adam war ein Erdenkloß|Den Gott zum Menschen machte|Doch bracht' er aus der Mutter Schoß|Noch vieles Ungeschlachte. Siemens, who didn't understand why the shah recited a poem, thought this was an eastern way of greeting.]

West-Östlicher Divan is a collection of lyrical poems about cultural exchanges between Germany and the Middle East. However, the shah's attempt to impress Siemens through this poem is futile as he is not making the Persian culture more accessible to Siemens – quite the contrary. Citing Goethe gives cause to false assumptions about eastern habits. Based on this encounter with the shah, Siemens erroneously concludes that reciting poems must be an eastern way of greeting. This heterolingual passage is once more a scene of awkward misunderstandings that underline the shah's lacking intercultural communication skills.

Posture: pars pro toto for Persia

My heterolingual analysis demonstrates that the discursive mechanisms used in *Salam Europa!* underline the alterity of the foreign languages in the text by making them illegible or by the ostentatious use of translations and explanations. The heterolingual strategies in the novel thus seem to maintain the mystery of other cultures by presenting them as foreign or exotic. This is also what Abdollah is doing when he describes his home country Iran, that he invariably calls by its exonym 'Persia', as a foreign, magical fairy tale place. In an opinion piece in *De Morgen* in 2019, he refers to today's Iran as

een historisch land, de wieg van de mensheid. Het gaat om oude magische literatuur waar Sheherazade, de vertelster van de Duizend-en-een-nacht-vertellingen, Ali baba en zijn veertig

rovers vandaan komen. Het gaat om het land van Meden en Perzen waar spijkerschrift en vliegende tapijten deel van uitmaken.¹⁹

[A historic country, the cradle of humanity. It is about old magical literature where Sheherazade, the storyteller of the Thousand and One Nights, Ali Baba and his Forty Thieves come from. It is about the country of Medes and Persians of which cuneiform writing and flying carpets are part.]

While shrouding his native Iran in mystery, Abdolah presents himself as the person par excellence to allow readers a glimpse ‘achter vreemde gordijnen’ [‘behind unfamiliar curtains’] and to unveil the secrets of the east to the west.²⁰ The fact that Abdolah claims to know the orient from within through his eastern origins makes him ‘[...] function as a pars pro toto for the orient: to listen to him and to read his work is to encounter the East in its entirety.’²¹ Moreover, Abdolah claims to have a deep understanding of the west as well, thanks to his migration to and life in the Netherlands: ‘Mijn Perzische geschiedenis in combinatie met mijn ervaringen hier in Nederland maken mij een bevoorrecht schrijver.’²² The combination of his origins and migration background thus allegedly provide the writer with a privileged position in between cultures. Abdolah draws on this position to appoint himself as a mediator who is capable of providing answers to challenges caused by intercultural dynamics. One of these challenges, according to Abdolah, is the migration from Islamic countries to Europe, as he states in an interview in 2006 in the Belgian Newspaper *De Tijd* about his novel *Het huis van de Moskee*:

De afgelopen twee decennia is Europa ingrijpend veranderd door de komst van islamitische migranten [...] De komst van die migranten leidt tot grondige geestelijke veranderingen, die grote vragen doen rijzen. En schrijver Kader Abdolah, die de Islam kent, maar hier in Europa leeft, is door de plek waar hij woont en de tijd waarin hij leeft, rijp om naar het antwoord op zoek te gaan.²³

[In the past two decades, Europe has radically changed due to the arrival of Islamic migrants [...]
The arrival of those migrants leads to profound spiritual changes, which raise big questions. And

¹⁹ Kader Abdolah, ‘Trump moet gek zijn om Iran te bombarderen.’ *De Morgen*, 22 June 2019, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/trump-moet-gek-zijn-om-iran-te-bombarderen~b6be25c9/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

²⁰ Rob Gollin, ‘Voor een blik achter vreemde gordijnen’, *De Volkskrant*, 28 October 2008, <<https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/voor-een-blik-achter-vreemde-gordijnen~bd3c544d/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

²¹ Sjoerd Jeroen Moenandar, ‘Transmitting Authenticity: Kader Abdolah and Hafid Bouazza as Cultural Mediators’, *Journal of Dutch Literature*, 5.1 (2014), 55-73 (p. 61).

²² ‘The combination of my Persian history and my experiences here in the Netherlands make me a privileged writer’ Kader Abdolah wil het liefst terug naar Iran’, *Trouw*, 12 March 2011, <<https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/kader-abdolah-wil-het-liefst-terug-naar-iran~bf76ac21/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

²³ ‘Kader Abdolah: ‘Het huis van de moskee’, *De Tijd*, 23 February 2006, <<https://www.tijd.be/cultuur/algemeen-recensie-boek/kader-abdolah-het-huis-van-de-moskee/2135052.html>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

writer Kader Abdolah, who knows Islam but lives here in Europe, is, because of the place where he lives and the time in which he lives, ripe to search for the answer.

In the above quotation, Abdolah talks about himself in the third person singular and assigns himself a function as intermediary: he considers it his duty to inform his Dutch readership about a foreign and potentially frightening world. According to Moenandar, this literary positioning ‘fits the role that Abdolah takes upon himself in the public debate [...]: that of a cultural mediator whose descent enables him to provide the Dutch with an insight into the fundamentally different culture of the Orient.’²⁴

However, there seems to be a partial dissonance between Abdolah’s claim of being a mediator who is bridging the gap between cultures and the use of heterolingualism in *Salam Europa!* The (in)accessibility of the foreign languages in the novel and their presentation as different and unfamiliar accentuates the disparities rather than the similarities between them, thus widening the gap between languages and cultures. This gap creates a need for mediation, which is filled by translations. In this sense, the writer, who provides the translations, takes on the role of cultural mediator. However, it should not be forgotten that it is also the writer who initially underlined the languages’ alterity through other discursive mechanisms. Seen in this light, Abdolah’s claim of being a cultural mediator seems somehow contradictory to his use of rather alienating heterolingual strategies.

A similar paradox can be observed in the use of heterolingualism through intertextuality in *Salam Europa!* As shown in the heterolingual analysis, the already distinctive function of intertextuality is intensified by the quotation of intertexts in the original language, which inevitably excludes readers from the select group who is able to both recognize *and* to read and understand the intertexts. As a result, this particular heterolingual strategy too is rather widening than bridging the gap between readers from different backgrounds and thus seems inconsistent with Abdolah’s posture as cultural mediator. However, the use of intertextuality does seem to support his posture as a famous Dutch-Iranian writer who earns a place among the big names of literature. Ewa Dynarowicz, who investigated references in Abdolah’s work to classical Persian literature, has pointed out that Abdolah uses intertextuality to enhance his prestige within the Dutch literary field: ‘Door intertekstuele verbanden te leggen, gebruikt Abdolah de statuur en het prestige van de Perzische klassieke literatuur om zijn eigen positie binnen het Nederlandse literaire veld te versterken.’²⁵ Indeed, in earlier as well as in more recent interviews, Abdolah accentuates his descent from a cultivated and intellectual Persian family: ‘Mijn overgrootvader was een vermaard dichter’ (1997, [My great-grandfather was a famous poet]); ‘Ik kom uit een traditionele literaire familie’ (2008, [I come from a traditional, literary family]), ‘Ik kom uit een goede, oude, culturele familie die me alles meegegeven heeft’ (2019, [I come from a good, old, cultural family that gave me everything]).²⁶ In *Salam Europa!*, this positioning is also

²⁴ Sjoerd Jeroen Moenandar, *Depraved Borderlands. Encounters with Muslims in Dutch Literature and the Public Debate* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 48.

²⁵ [‘By making intertextual connections, Abdolah uses the stature and prestige of Persian classical literature to reinforce his own position within the Dutch literary field.’] Ewa Dynarowicz, ‘Intertekstualiteit als positioneringsstrategie. Perzische soefidichters in het werk van Kader Abdolah’, *Internationale Neerlandistiek*, 53.1 (2015), 29-46 (p. 43).

²⁶ Van Laeken; Ann Jooris & Fernand Van Damme, ‘De vragen van Proust: Kader Abdolah’, *De Morgen*, 27 January 2019 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/ik-heb-de-code-van-het-leven-begrepen~b89c3ba2/>> [accessed 23 December

highlighted by the many references to ‘old’ Persian literature, for example through the structuring of the novel in ‘hekajats’: ‘Voor het vertellen van de gebeurtenissen heb ik voor een oude oosterse vertelvorm gekozen: de hekajat. Het moet een reeks vertellingen over Europa worden in de stijl van oude Perzische vertellingen’ (p. 7 [For the narration of the events, I have chosen an old oriental narrative form: the hekajat. It should become a series of stories about Europe in the style of ancient Persian tales]). Abdolah thus presents his work as a ‘mixing of eastern and western literary traditions’.²⁷ Furthermore, the fame of Persian literature, and by extension of Kader Abdolah, who claims to be directly connected to this literary tradition, is emphasized in *Salam Europa!* by mentioning that well-known historical characters grew up with translated Persian folk tales: it is said that Stalin was very interested as a child in *The Arabian Nights* (p. 45) and that the young Dutch princess Wilhelmina read Persian fairy tales, such as *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* (pp. 363-364) in French translation.

According to Abdolah, his personal affinity with this ancient literary tradition also affects his writing style and his Dutch:

Mijn manier van denken is nog altijd Perzisch, maar ik giet mijn gedachten in Nederlandse grammatica [...] Het resultaat is geen Nederlands, maar ook geen Perzisch. Het is een huwelijk van twee rassen en dat brengt vaak gezonde kinderen voort.²⁸

[My way of thinking is still Persian, but I pour my thoughts into Dutch grammar [...] The result is not Dutch, but it is not Persian either. It is a marriage of two races and this often brings about healthy children.]

Further on, Abdolah considers his works as a ‘geschenk aan de Nederlandse taal’ [‘gift to the Dutch language’] that is different than the contributions of ‘autochthonous’ authors:²⁹

Ik doop mijn Nederlandse woorden en thema’s in mijn Perzische gedachten. Ik geef de smaak, kleur en geur van de oude Perzische literatuur aan mijn Hollandse teksten. Dat maakt de literatuur van Abdolah anders dan die van bijvoorbeeld Harry Mulisch.³⁰

[I dip my Dutch words and themes into my Persian thoughts. I give the taste, colour and smell of the old Persian literature to my Dutch texts. This makes Abdolah’s literature different from for instance Harry Mulisch’s.]

According to Abdolah, this writing in-between cultures does not mean, however, that he does not deserve a place among the established Dutch authors. In the above quotation, Abdolah indeed

2020]; Meryem Kanmaz, ‘Kader Abdolah over zijn vertaling van de Koran’, *De Standaard*, 26 April 2008 <<https://www.standaard.be/cnt/7s1r96tj>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

²⁷ Borderlands, p. 80.

²⁸ Van Laeken.

²⁹ Jolly van der Velden, ‘Interview met Kader Abdolah. Over de wendingen van het leven en zijn geschenk aan de Nederlandse taal’, *Neerlandica/Nederlands van Nu*, 114 (2010), 22-23.

³⁰ Odile Heynders & Bert Paasman, ‘De ziel van dit volk komt goed in gedichten naar voren, maar in proza niet. Een interview met Kader Abdolah op 18 oktober 1999’, *Literatuur*, 16 (1999), 365-369 (p. 366).

compares himself to and thus claims a place on the same level as Harry Mulish, said to be one of the ‘Big Three’ of Dutch literature. Later on, he puts his novel *Papegaai vloog over de IJssel* (2014), that has not been nominated to any literary prize, on a par with the famous Flemish author Hugo Claus’s much-acclaimed masterpiece *Het verdriet van België* (1983): ‘Het verdriet van België van Hugo Claus was in 1983 voor België wat Papegaai vloog over de IJssel nu is voor Nederland. Zowel Claus als ikzelf schetsen een caleidoscopisch beeld van ons land.’³¹ (*The Sorrow of Belgium* by Hugo Claus was in 1983 to Belgium what *Papegaai vloog over de IJssel* now is to the Netherlands. Both Claus and I sketch a kaleidoscopic image of our country.)

Fikry El Azzouzi

Heterolingualism in *Drarrie in de nacht*: Arabic is the new Dutch

The discursive mechanisms in *Drarrie in de nacht* are less diverse and less varied than in *Salam Europa!* Although we do find the use of italics in most heterolingual excerpts, mentioning the name of the foreign language appears only once, and there are hardly any translations accompanying the foreign words that frequently appear in the many lively dialogues. However, examples of what Suchet calls ‘heterolingual dynamics’ (p. 111) can regularly be observed in *Drarrie in de nacht*. Below, I will analyse how the dynamics of ‘inherent variation’ and ‘creolization’ are at work in the novel.

Inherent variation: Teen and street slang as a tool for inclusion and exclusion

According to Suchet, the ‘dynamic of inherent variation’ involves that variation is a normal characteristic of any language: ‘language is fundamentally heterogenous’.³² Grutman equally states that internal variations of language, such as dialects or sociolects, should be considered as a form of heterolingualism, as any language is ‘always already plural, always already hybrid’.³³ In *Drarrie in de nacht*, such hybridity is omnipresent in the dialogues between the main characters: four youngsters from various origins and backgrounds who call themselves ‘drarrie’, an Arabic plural term that signifies ‘young people’. In Dutch street slang, the term is also used as a singular and it means ‘street kid’ or ‘friend’. According to El Azzouzi, *drarrie* is considered a positive label, associated with cool and rebellion among those street kids.³⁴ In *Drarrie in de nacht*, the four main characters converse in an idiom that consists of a mixture of youngster and street slang and dialectic variations on the standard language, littered with abuse in Dutch and Arabic. The Arabic words in the *drarrie*’s dialogues mainly consist of Moroccan Arabic exclamations, interjections, swear words and insults, such as ‘*chataar*’, ‘*kardasj*’, ‘*kifash*’, ‘*safi*’, ‘*shmetta*’, ‘*tarnon*’, ‘*taz ya*

³¹ ‘Een asielzoeker moét wel liegen’, *De Morgen*, 4 October 2014, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/een-asielzoeker-moet-wel-liegen~b6ff7b60/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

³² ‘la langue est fondamentalement hétérogène’ (p. 111).

³³ ‘des entités toujours déjà plurielles, toujours déjà ‘hybrides’ (p. 62).

³⁴ Michaël De Cock, ‘Als ik vandaag zestien was, zou ik waarschijnlijk ook naar Syrië vertrekken’, *Knack*, 15 October 2014, p. 90.

taz, ‘*zehma*’, ‘*zemmer*’ and ‘*zina*’. As can be seen in the fragments below, the Arabic words are never explained in the text and their meaning cannot readily be deduced from the context:

h) *Tfoe*, wat een *tarnons* zijn we toch. We zetten andere *Drarries* voor schut. (p. 24)

Brilletje, Italiaanse helm en leren jas. *Zehma Chataar*. *Zehma stijl*. Jammer van die jas die je blijkbaar op de groei hebt gekocht. (p. 13)

Taz ya taz. *Zehma* slim doen. Als je iets doet, doe het dan goed. Je kunt bijvoorbeeld de kasten weer dichtdoen, zegt Maurice. (p. 37)³⁵

[h] *Tfoe*, such *tarnons* we are. We make fools of other *Drarrie*. (p. 24) / Shades, Italian helmet and leather coat. *Zehma Chataar*. *Zehma style*. Shame about that coat. Looks like you bought it to grow into. (p. 13) / *Taz ya taz*. *Zehma* genius. If you do something, do it properly. You can close the cupboards, for instance, says Maurice.]

Readers who don't understand the idiom might, on the one hand, feel 'excluded' and left out from the conversations between the four *drarrie*. On the other hand, reading their dialogues also gives those readers a chance to get acquainted with them: via the idiom, they are allowed a glimpse into a world that is meant to be hidden, potentially resulting in a better understanding between different layers of society. Young readers with an affinity to the street life, however, might feel included, as they do understand the *drarrie*'s idiom. Individuals understanding the idiom will be identified as insiders, whereas those who don't understand it will be banned as outsiders. Indeed, simultaneous inclusion and exclusion is the social purpose of slang.³⁶ Using this kind of slang in a novel might therefore appeal to an 'insider' readership of young people with affinity to street life. That this is the case for *Drarrie in de nacht* can be inferred from a video starring an interview with Fikry El Azzouzi in a secondary school in Ghent.³⁷ While discussing the Arabic street slang in *Drarrie in de nacht*, the author asks the audience of teenage students if they know the meaning of the following words from the novel: *zehma*, *kardasj*, *tarnon*, *chataar*, *taz ya taz*, *schmetta*, *rwina*, *zina*, *kifash*, *ewa*, *yallah* and *tfoe*. His question is met with hilarity among the youngsters, who, as it turns out, understand the words very well and seem to be proud about this fact.

Language creolization as a consequence of increased diversity

Despite the initial outsider status of the *drarrie*'s idiom, many of its Arabic words have started to be more widely used. The word '*drarrie*', for example, has been elected as word of the year by Flemish youngsters in 2020. According to Ruud Hendrickx, Van Dale's editor-in-chief and language specialist for the Flemish broadcasting company VRT, the choice for "ewa drerrie" laat zien dat kinderen één grote diverse en inclusieve groep vormen. Kinderen pikken woorden en

³⁵ Fikry El Azzouzi, *Drarrie in de nacht* (Antwerpen: Vrijdag, 2014), e-book.

³⁶ Heinz Sieburg, 'Ebenen der Sprachstandardisierung', in *Literatur und Mehrsprachigkeit: ein Handbuch*, ed. by Till Dembeck and Rolf Parr (Tübingen: Narr, 2020), pp. 69-76 (p. 73).

³⁷ Avv Gent. (2016, April 20). *Fikry El Azzouzi*, online video recording. YouTube, 20 April 2016; <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUdedWFVSGw>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

uitdrukkingen van elkaar op en breiden zo de Nederlandse omgangstaal uit met taalelementen uit de hele wereld.’³⁸ This integration of words from one language into another through cultural contact is an illustration of what Suchet (p. 115) calls the ‘dynamic of creolization’, which implies that languages evolve as extralingual conditions change: Suchet’s interpretation of ‘creolisation’ stresses the process of progressive transition that happens to any language over time: ‘a becoming different of ‘language’, independent from the existence of a creole based on that language.’³⁹ This corresponds to what Blanchet describes as

[...] inventing the means of expressing a way of being in the world here and now, of expressing a changing environment, of expressing and characterising new human and social relations, etc. In fact, we are caught up in a permanent process of a kind of general creolisation.⁴⁰

That language transforms over time due to intercultural dynamics, is exactly what El Azzouzi described in an open letter to Van Dale’s editorial team in 2012, in which he advises to adjust the content of the dictionary to the new reality: ‘Het wordt tijd dat je aanpast. Heb je er nooit aan gedacht iets anders te proberen? Een taalbad in de straten van een grote stad? Een inburgeringscursus?’⁴¹ While reproaching the editorial staff of being old-fashioned and narrow-minded, El Azzouzi points out that youngsters from all backgrounds are using street slang and are mixing Dutch with other languages on a regular basis since quite a while. In 2015, he stressed again that it is about time that not only English loan words enter Dutch dictionaries and that Arabic loan words get accepted as part of the Dutch language as well: ‘Vlaanderen evolueert in taal. Leenwoorden moeten niet meer alleen uit het Engels komen. Schattige blonde meisjes gebruiken die woorden uit het Arabisch overigens ook.’⁴²

El Azzouzi’s words proofed to be prophetic: as it turns out, quite some Arabic words appearing in *Drarrie in de nacht* have recently been added to the dictionary: ‘*drarrie*’ and ‘*tfoe*’ in 2015, ‘*ewa*’ and ‘*wajo*’ in 2017, ‘*salaam*’ in 2019 and ‘*rwina*’ in 2020. It is not clear if the novel’s

³⁸ [shows that children form one large diverse and inclusive group. Children pick up words and expressions from each other and extend the Dutch colloquial language with linguistic elements from all over the world], see Ruud Hendrickx, “Ewa drerrie” en “simp” zijn Kinder-en Tienerwoord van het Jaar’, *Vrtnieuws.be*, 14 December 2020 <<https://vrttaal.net/nieuws/ewa-drerrie-en-simp-zijn-kinder-en-tiener-woord-van-het-jaar>> [accessed 14 December 2020]; The spelling ‘drerrie’ is slightly different from ‘drarrie’. Written Arabic is not vocalized, which can cause diverging transliterations in Dutch.

³⁹ ‘un devenir autre de “la langue” indépendamment de l’existence d’un créole basé sur cette langue’ (Suchet, p. 117). Suchet interprets creolisation in a different way than the definition prevailing in postcolonial studies, which describes creolisation as the merging of two languages into a new one: a creole language.

⁴⁰ [...] inventer les moyens de dire une façon d’être au monde ici et maintenant, de dire un environnement changeant, de dire et de caractériser des relations humaines et sociales nouvelles, etc. En fait, nous sommes pris dans un processus permanent d’une sorte de créolisation générale [...]’ (Blanchet, p. 79).

⁴¹ It’s time for you to adjust. Never thought of trying something different? Language immersion in the streets of a big city? An integration course? Fikry El Azzouzi, ‘Elke zichzelf respecterende zuurpruim zou straattaal moeten kennen’, *De Morgen*, 17 December 2012 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/elke-zichzelf-respecterende-zuurpruim-zou-straattaal-moeten-kennen~b5a83715/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁴² ‘Flanders is evolving in terms of language. Loan words are no longer from English only. Cute blond girls use those Arabic words too, by the way’ Guinevere Claeys, ‘Fikry El Azzouzi protesteert niet, hij schrijft’ *De Standaard*, 18 April 2015 <https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20150416_01633515> [accessed 23 December 2020].

publication had anything to do with the spread of these words, but Hendrickx's statement about Van Dale's 'opnamebeleid' [addition policy] for new words, seems to suggest it might have: 'Lezers van *Drarrie in de nacht*, die roman van Fikry El Azzouzi, moeten kunnen opzoeken wat een drarrie is.'⁴³ According to Van Dale's policy, new words are included in the dictionary once they have become 'gangbaar Nederlands' [current Dutch], i.e. when the editors find them regularly in journals, magazines and books and on the internet in many different texts. Still, according to this policy, new words are only accepted when they are 'algemeen bekend' [commonly known] and have become 'ingeburgerd' [assimilated].⁴⁴ The fact that many Arabic words appearing in *Drarrie in de nacht* are nowadays included in Van Dale therefore indicates that they have become current in Dutch. Somehow, the integration of Arabic into Dutch following the migration of Arabic speakers in Flanders and the Netherlands, could be interpreted as a 'reversed' creolisation. After all, the term creolization originally meant that 'indigenous languages' changed under the influence of European languages due to colonization and slave trade.⁴⁵ However, from the use of Arabic words in *Drarrie in de nacht*, the European language Dutch seems to be changing under the influence of the 'indigenous' language Arabic. The following fragments illustrate this reversed creolisation in more detail:

i) *Salaam aleikum.* 'Aleikum salaam.' 'Broeder Ayoub, alles goed?' 'Met mij niet. Met jou blijkbaar wel, Abu Karim. (p. 118)

[i] *Salaam aleikum.* 'Aleikum salaam.' Brother Ayoub, are you alright?' 'I'm not, but apparently you are, Abu Karim.]

Ik kende ze allemaal, ik ben zelfs met hen opgegroeid. Oké, ze zijn wat ouder dan ik en het is niet dat ik met hen optrok of gesprekken met hen voerde, hoogstens een knik of een *salaam* als ik ze tegenkwam. (p. 114)

[I knew them all, I even grew up with them. OK, they're a bit older than me and it's not like I hung out with them or had conversations with them, at most I gave them a nod or a *salaam* when I met them.]

In these fragments, the word 'salaam' appears when two of the *drarrie*, Ayoub and Abu Karim, greet each other, and when Ayoub mentions that he greets people he encounters in the street with a nod or a 'salaam'. In contrast to the examples from *Salam Europa!* (see 3.1), where the meaning of the word 'salam' is elaborately clarified, there is no explanation or translation provided in

⁴³ 'Readers of *Drarrie in de nacht*, that novel by Fikry El Azzouzi, need to have the possibility to look up the word *drarrie*'. Marnix Verplancke, 'Hoofdredacteur Ruud Hendrickx over de Dikke Van Dale 2.0: 'Ik weet niet of er nog een papieren editie komt' *Knack Extra*, 17 October 2018 <https://www.knack.be/nieuws/boeken/hoofdredacteur-ruud-hendrickx-over-de-dikke-van-dale-2-0-ik-weet-niet-of-er-nog-eeen-papieren-editie-komt/article-longread-1381095.html?cookie_check=1623000042> > [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁴⁴ Van Dale, 'Wanneer komt een nieuw woord in het woordenboek?', <https://www.vandale.nl/klantenservice/meestgestelde-vragen-van-dale-redactie#ow_1> [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁴⁵ For more elaborate information on this definition, see *Pidgins and Creoles: an introduction*, ed. by Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken, & Norval Smith (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994).

Drarrie in de nacht at all. There is no need, as the context makes the meaning of the word sufficiently clear. Without a translation, the word ‘salaam’ blends more easily with Dutch and is thus much less presented as foreign.

Words from street slang are not the only Arabic words from *Drarrie in de nacht* that can be found in Van Dale. Most Arabic words related to the Muslim religion appear in the dictionary as well: ‘*allahu akbar*’, ‘*halal*’ and ‘*haram*’, ‘*mujahedin*’, ‘*shahada*’, ‘*sharia*’, ‘*soennah*’. These words have been part of the dictionary since longer, in contrast to the Arabic words from street slang mentioned above, that were only recently added. However, they can still be seen as evidence of the increased interculturality in Dutch speaking countries. This is nicely illustrated by the following fragments, in which we find different renderings of the *adhan*, the Islamic call to prayer:

j) Wie niet horen wil, zal deze keer wel moeten luisteren,’ zegt Karim terwijl plots door de megafoon de oproep tot het gebed klinkt: ‘*allahu akbar, allahu akbar/allahu akbar, allahu akbar/ash’hadu an la ilaha ila-llah/ash’hadu an la ilaha ila-llah/ash’hadu anna muhammadan rasulu-llah/ash’hadu anna muhammadan rasulu-llah/hayya ala-s-salaat/hayya ala-s-salaat/hayya ala-l-falah/hayya ala-l-falah/allahu akbar, allahu akbar/la-ilaha illa-llah*’. (p. 95)

[j] Those who don't want to hear, will have to listen this time,' says Karim as the call to prayer suddenly blasts through the megaphone.]

When Ayoub and Maurice, two of the four *drarrie*, are trying drugs at a junkie’s place, another *drarrie*, Karim, storms in with a megaphone that calls to prayer like a full-fledged muezzin. Karim, alias Kevin, is a neglected Flemish teenager who desperately tries to belong somewhere and finds meaning in the fundamentalist form of the Islamic religion. For the now fiercely fanatic Karim, drugs are shockingly *haram*. Later on, Karim, who doesn’t know Arabic very well, makes a personal interpretation from the *adhan* and calls it a ‘poem’:

k) ‘O moslimman|Zet jezelf in de martelaar zijn plaats|Waarom heb je geen haast?|O moslimman |Hoeveel raketten zijn er op jou gericht|Moslimman, waarom blijf je uit het zicht?|*Allahu Akbar/Allahu Akbar*|O moslimman|strijdend gaan we ten onder|Wie toekijkt, begaat een zware zonde|O moslimman|Hou op met in alle richtingen te kruipen|en zeker niet voor degene die graag pinten zuipen|*Allahu Akbar/Allahu Akbar*. (p. 120)

[k] O Muslim man|put yourself in the martyr's place|why are you not in a hurry?|O Muslim man |How many missiles are aimed at you|Muslim man, why do you stay out of sight?|*Allahu Akbar/Allahu Akbar*|O Muslim man|we will go down fighting|those who stand around watching commit a grave sin|O Muslim man|Stop crawling in all directions|and certainly not for those who like to drink pints|*Allahu Akbar*.

In his ‘poem’ Karim complains about the suppression of the Islam in western countries and he summons his Muslim Brothers not to bow to western heathens. This ‘poem’ is, just like the character Karim, a demonstration of the fluidity of cultural identity. The Flemish Kevin, who zealously tries to become the Muslim Karim, mixes Dutch and Arabic in this personal interpretation from the call to prayer, resulting in a hilariously hybrid ‘poem’.

Posture: Fikry the drarrie

Although it was feared that the use of street slang might turn off adult readers and that it wasn't the best marketing, El Azzouzi insisted on introducing this idiom in *Drarrie in de nacht*.⁴⁶

Toen ik begon te schrijven, wilde ik per se dicht bij de taal schrijven die ik gewoon was. Het moest verstaanbaar zijn, maar ik wilde me niet te veel aantrekken van de codes waarin een zogenaamd fatsoenlijk boek geschreven moest zijn. En het bleek nog te marcheren ook.⁴⁷

[When I started writing, I definitely wanted to write close to the language I was used to. It had to be understandable, but I didn't want to worry too much about the codes in which a supposedly decent book had to be written. And it turned out to be working.]

In this quotation, El Azzouzi states that he wanted to write in the idiom he was used to. Indeed, in several interviews, the writer mentions that he has been a 'drarrie' himself. 'Ik was zelf ook een clichéjongere [...] Ik hing maar wat rond en had geen flauw idee wat ik met mijn leven zou aanvangen. Net zoals mijn hoofdpersonages dus.'⁴⁸ In his teenage years, El Azzouzi dropped out of school, loitering on the streets and having no idea whatsoever what to do with his life. In this respect, the author presents his social background as a guarantee of authenticity for the story and characters in *Drarrie in de nacht*.

Moreover, El Azzouzi states that the real-life versions of his characters are also his intended readers. According to the writer, there is no literature for and about people like the *drarrie*. He is of the opinion that the contemporary Flemish literature does not represent the *Zeitgeist* nor the diversity of today's Flanders: 'Alleen Vlaamse witte familieromans, dat toont niet het Vlaanderen van vandaag. Ook de verhalen van homoseksuele gezinnen en migranten moeten beschreven worden.'⁴⁹ Hence, El Azzouzi aspires to tell stories for and about so far underrepresented social groups, especially 'jonge gasten van vreemde origine' and argues that there is only one book that will make readers understand this world: 'Drarrie in de nacht: het toont een wereld van jongeren die nooit wordt getoond, nooit wordt gehoord.'⁵⁰ Except for showing an unknown world to the 'established' readership, El Azzouzi aims to write novels about

⁴⁶ Margot De Boeck, 'Interview met Fikry El Azzouzi', *Veto*, 7 December 2015, <<https://www.veto.be/artikel/interview-met-fikry-el-azzouzi>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁴⁷ Ivan Put, 'Fikry El Azzouzi: "De straat heeft me gemaakt tot wie ik ben"', *Bruzz*, 25 January 2018 <<https://www.bruzz.be/podium/fikry-el-azzouzi-de-sstraat-heeft-me-gemaakt-tot-wie-ik-ben-2018-01-25>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁴⁸ 'I was a cliché-youngster myself [...] I was just hanging around and I had no idea whatsoever about what to do with my life. Exactly like my main characters.' 'Ik was zelf ook een hangjongere', *De Morgen*, 5 November 2014 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/ik-was-zelf-ook-een-hangjongere~b41051f6/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

⁴⁹ 'Family sagas about white Flemish only don't show today's Flanders. There need to be stories about homosexual families and migrants as well.'

⁵⁰ 'Young people of foreign origin', Fikry El Azzouzi, 'Het einde van Fikry El Azouzi', *De Standaard*, 19 September 2019 <https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20190418_04339510> [accessed 23 December 2020]. 'Drarrie in de nacht shows a world of youngsters that is never shown, that is never heard.', Ewald Pironet, 'Het verdriet van België en 14 andere essentiële fictieboeken over Vlaanderen', *Knack*, 11 July 2018, p. 62.

characters with whom young people with a migration background, and more specifically *drarrie*, can identify:

Ik heb dit boek voor hén geschreven, niet voor 'de Vlaming'. Ik wou niets uitleggen, niemand vergoelijken. Ik had maar één doel: ik wou dat drarrie dit een cool boek vinden. Dat ze zich erin zouden herkennen. Dat ze het grappig zouden vinden, ermee lachen. Dat er een boek te lezen zou zijn, in het Nederlands, hier in Vlaanderen, over hén. Hun leefwereld.⁵¹

[I wrote this book for them, not for 'the Flemish'. I did not want to explain anything, or condone anyone. I had only one goal: I wanted the drarrie to think this was a cool book. That they would recognize themselves in it. That they would find it funny, laugh about it. That there would be a novel, in Dutch, here in Flanders, about them, about their world.]

One way to strike a chord with this implied *drarrie* readership, was to go off the beaten track by staging for them recognizable characters and to make use of their idiom in the dialogues. Despite the doubts about the intelligibility of this idiom, El Azzouzi choose not to fall back on ready-made successful writing recipes, like some authors with migration background allegedly do in order to become successful: 'Soms hebben schrijvers met migrantenroots de neiging om de gevestigde, oudere literatuur te copy-pasten. Als je ook op die manier schrijft, dan hoor je erbij. Maar dat is niks voor mij.'⁵²

Conclusion

The heterolingual strategies in *Salam Europa!* and *Drarrie in de nacht* are quite divergent. In *Salam Europa!*, the many foreign languages appearing in the novel are presented as different through discursive mechanisms underlining their alterity: they are typographically marked by italics, appear in non-Latin alphabet or transliterations and are often accompanied with extensive translations or explanations clarifying their semantic meaning. These discursive mechanisms indicate that the foreign languages in the Dutch text are supposed to be 'foreign' or 'unknown' to the readers. The foreign languages and the cultures they represent are staged as clearly demarcated, distinct monolithic entities that cannot easily be understood. The heterolingual strategies in *Salam Europa!* thus rather seem to widen than to bridge the gap between cultures. This is somehow contradictory to Kader Abdolah's public positioning in opinion pieces, columns and interviews as a writer in-between, a mediator striving to bring people closer together by making foreign cultures more intelligible to his readers.

Although Fikry El Azzouzi assumes an engaged posture in opinion pieces, columns and interviews as well, he is more realistic in his aspirations. El Azzouzi doesn't claim to represent whole cultures, but mainly strives to write novels for and about youngsters with a migration

⁵¹ Claeys.

⁵² ['Sometimes writers with a migration background are inclined to copy-paste the established, older literature. If you write in this way, you belong. But that's not my thing'] Laura van Gelder, 'Fikry El Azzouzi: "Ik schrijf om jongens als Ayoub een stem te geven"', *Univers. The independent news source of Tilburg University*, 26 September 2018, <<https://universonline.nl/nieuws/2018/09/26/fikry-el-azzouzi-ik-schrijf-om-jongens-als-ayoub-een-stem-te-geven/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

background. According to El Azzouzi, these youngsters constitute an overlooked social group in the Flemish literary scene. In *Drarrie in de nacht*, the writer therefore strives to include this group by the use of Arabic street slang, an idiom for insiders only spoken among the *drarrie*. In contrast to the often much explained and yet sometimes inaccessible and unidiomatic heterolingual fragments in *Salam Europa!*, the Arabic words in *Drarrie in de nacht* are never translated. Arabic is presented in the novel as an integral part of Dutch, showing that there is a more profound linguistic fusion going on than what emerges from the use of heterolingualism in *Salam Europa!* In *Drarrie in de nacht*, the Arabic words are staged as an inherent variation of Dutch and as proof of the natural change language undergoes as a consequence of increased multiculturalism in the Flemish society. With this particular use of heterolingualism, El Azzouzi thus demonstrates that times change and that it is about time that Flemish literature changes along.

Fikry El Azzouzi as well as Kader Abdolah claim to write differently from Dutch and Flemish authors of their generation. Where El Azzouzi attributes this originality to his social background by making use of an idiom he knows from his teenage years as a *drarrie*, Kader Abdolah attributes his personal writing style to his Persian origins, which allegedly enrich his Dutch with the flavour of the ancient Persian literary tradition. The many intertextual fragments in *Salam Europa!* not only refer to this oriental literary tradition, but also to the western one by quoting famous European authors in the original languages. This avid use of intertextuality might be a strategy to validate a place for the author himself among the big names of literature, but also risks to suggest that multiculturalism is mainly highbrow and a question of erudition and education. El Azzouzi on the other hand, does not seek approval by quoting famous authors. On the contrary, he consciously opposes the established 'writing recipes' that are supposedly a guarantee for success in the Flemish literary field.

Going back to Blanchet's question about where a language begins and where it ends, the answer might be very different, depending on the use of heterolingualism in *Salam Europa!* or in *Drarrie in de nacht*. Whereas the discursive mechanisms in *Salam Europa!* present languages as exclusive monolithic entities by setting clear boundaries between them, the heterolingual dynamics at work in *Drarrie in de nacht* present languages as inclusive tools for intercultural fusion.

Bibliography

- Abdolah, K., 'Het einde van Kader Abdolah', *De Standaard*, 27 April 2018 <https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20180426_03484775> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- 'Het Nederlands als mijn tweede vaderland', *Ons Erfdeel* 39.5 (1996), 685-691.
- 'Trump moet gek zijn om Iran te bombarderen', *De Morgen*, 22 June 2019, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/trump-moet-gek-zijn-om-iran-te-bombarderen~b6be25c9/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Avv Gent, *Fikry El Azzouzi*, online video recording. YouTube, 20 April 2016; <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUdedWFVSGw>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Bellon, M., 'Fikry El Azzouzi: "De straat heeft me gemaakt tot wie ik ben"', *Bruzz*, 25 January 2018, <<https://www.bruzz.be/podium/fikry-el-azzouzi-de-straat-heeft-me-gemaakt-tot-wie-ik-ben-2018-01-25>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Beernaert, R., *Fremd und doch bekannt: Kader Abdollah, Abdelkader Benali: Schreiben in der Migration*, (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009).
- Blanchet, P., 'Seuils, limites et frontières de langues', in *D'un seuil à l'autre: Approches plurielles, rencontres, témoignages*, ed. by Jacqueline Bergeron and Marc Cheymol (Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 2017), pp. 65-79.
- Bongers, W., 'Wie is Kader Abdolah?', *Vooys* 28.2 (2010), 47-57.
- Claeys, G., 'Fikry El Azzouzi protesteert niet, hij schrijft', *De Standaard* (18 April 2015) <https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20150416_01633515> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- De Boeck, M., 'Interview met Fikry El Azzouzi', *Veto*, 7 January 2015 <<https://www.veto.be/artikel/interview-met-fikry-el-azzouzi>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- De Cock, M. 'Als ik vandaag zestien was, zou ik waarschijnlijk ook naar Syrië vertrekken', *Knack*, 15 October 2014, p. 90.
- Dehandschutter, W., 'Jonge Marokkaanse Vlaming Fikry El Azzouzi brengt debuutroman uit', *De Standaard* (10 April 2010) <<https://www.standaard.be/cnt/us2omq2t>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Dembeck, T., 'Mehrsprachigkeit als Migration. Wie Sprachen in Texte einwandern', in *Migration und Gegenwartsliteratur*, ed. by Matthias Aumüller & Weertje Willms (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 47-69.
- Draden in het donker: intertekstualiteit in theorie en praktijk*, ed. by Yra Van Dijk, Maarten De Pourq and Carl De Strycker (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2013).
- Dynarowicz, E., 'Het ethische aspect van het identiteitsvormingsproces in Portretten en een oude droom van Kader Abdolah', *Werkwinkel* 1.1 (2006), 85-100.
- 'Intertekstualiteit als positioneringsstrategie. Perzische soefidichters in het werk van Kader Abdolah', *Internationale Neerlandistiek* 53.1 (2015), 29-46.
- 'A Migrant Writer's Manifesto: Kader Abdolah as a Public Intellectual', *Dutch Crossing* 42.1 (2017), 77-95.

- ‘Tussen autobiografie en fictie. Genealogie als performatieve strategie in Kader Abdolahs proza’, *Vooys* 34.3 (2016), pp. 8-18.
- El Azzouzi, F., *Drarrie in de nacht* (Antwerpen: Vrijdag, 2014), e-book.
- ‘Elke zichzelf respecterende zuurpruim zou straattaal moeten kennen’, *De Morgen*, 17 December 2012, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/elke-zichzelf-respecterende-zuurpruim-zou-straattaal-moeten-kennen~b5a83715/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- ‘Het einde van Fikry El Azouzi’, *De Standaard*, 19 September 2019, <https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20190418_04339510> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- ‘Noem hangjongeren drarries, en negen andere tips voor de politie. *De Morgen*, 26 May 2015, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/noem-hangjongeren-drarries-en-negen-andere-tips-voor-de-politie~bfba53bf/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- ‘Boef, speciaal voor mijn achtjarige neefjes wil ik je crisismanager zijn’, *De Morgen*, 6 January 2018 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/boef-speciaal-voor-mijn-achtjarige-neefjes-wil-ik-je-crisismanager-zijn~b5add001/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Gauvin, L., *Les langues du roman: Du plurilinguisme comme stratégie textuelle* (Montréal: Presses de l’ Université de Montréal, 1999).
- Gollin, R., ‘Voor een blik achter vreemde gordijnen’, *De Volkskrant*, 28 October 2008, <<https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/voor-een-blik-achter-vreemde-gordijnen~bd3c544d/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Grutman, R., *Des langues qui résonnent. Hétérolinguisme et lettres québécoises*, revised edn. (Paris: Classiques Garnier: 2019).
- Hendrickx, R., ‘Ewa Drerrie’ en ‘Simp’: Kinder-en tienerwoord van het jaar. *VRT.be*, 14 December 2020, <<https://www.vrt.be/nl/over-de-vrt/nieuws/2020/12/14/ewa-drerrie-en-simp/>> [accessed 23.12.2020].
- Heynders, O. & B. Paasman, ‘De ziel van dit volk komt goed in gedichten naar voren, maar in proza niet. Een interview met Kader Abdolah op 18 oktober 1999’, *Literatuur* 16 (1999), 365-369.
- Horn, A., ‘Ästhetische Funktionen der Sprachmischung in der Literatur’, *Arcadia* 16 (1980), 225-241.
- ‘Ik was zelf ook een hangjongere’, *De Morgen*, 05 November 2014 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/ik-was-zelf-ook-een-hangjongere~b41051f6>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Jooris, A. & Van Damme, F., ‘De vragen van Proust: Fikry El Azzouzi’ *De Morgen*, 8 November 2020 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/ik-voel-een-soort-verval-ms-is-een-heel-sluwe-ziekte-die-je-langzaam-achteruit-doet-gaan~b9541foe/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- ‘De vragen van Proust: Kader Abdolah’, *De Morgen*, 27 January 2019 <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/ik-heb-de-code-van-het-leven-begrepen~b89c3ba2/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Kanmaz, M., ‘Kader Abdolah over zijn vertaling van de Koran’, *De Standaard*, 26 April 2008 <<https://www.standaard.be/cnt/7s1r96tj>> [accessed 23 December 2020].

- 'Kader Abdolah: Het huis van de moskee', *De Tijd*, 23 February 2006, <<https://www.tijd.be/cultuur/algemeen-recensie-boek/kader-abdolah-het-huis-van-de-moskee/2135052.html>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- 'Kader Abdolah wil het liefst terug naar Iran', *Trouw*, 12 March 2011 <<https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/kader-abdolah-wil-het-liefst-terug-naar-iran~bf76ac21/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Kooke, S., 'Kader Abdolah/Mohamed lijkt heel erg op mij', *Trouw*, 26 April 2008 <<https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/kader-abdolah-mohammed-lijkt-heel-erg-op-mij~bdce915da/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Korthals, A. L., *Ethos and Narrative Interpretation: The Negotiation of Values in Fiction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press; 2014).
- Leune, C., *Grenzen des Hybriden? Konzeptualisierungen von Kulturkontakt und Kulturvermischung in der niederländischen Literaturkritik* (Münster: Waxman, 2013).
- Louwerse, H., 'De taal is gansch het volk?' Over de taal van migrantenschrijvers', *Literatuur*, 16 (1999), 370-372.
- Lücke, N.M.H., 'Mind the gap: Van inter- naar transculturaliteit in de Nederlandse literatuur?', *Werkwinkel* 11.2 (2016), 7-26.
- Mahmody, S., 'Kader Abdolah – een transcultureel schrijver', *Vlaanderen* 58.328 (2009), 276-279.
- Meizoz, J., *La fabrique des singularités* (Genève: Slatkine érudition, 2011).
- 'Modern Posterities of Posture', *Authorship Revisited: Conceptions of Authorship Around 1900 and 2000* ed. by Gillis J. Dorleijn, Ralf Grüttemeier and Liesbeth Korthals Altes (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 81-93.
- *Posture littéraire. Mises en scène modernes de l'auteur* (Genève: Slatkine Érudition, 2007).
- Minnaard, L., 'Every carpet a flying vehicle? Multiculturalism in the Dutch literary field', in *Literature, language and multiculturalism in Scandinavia and the Low Countries*, ed. by Behschnitt, W., S. De Mul and L. Minnaard (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 97-122.
- 'Oscillating between Margin and Centre: Dutch Literature of Migration', in *Immigrant and Ethnic-Minority Writers since 1945*, ed. by Sievers, W. & S. Vlasta (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 355-387.
- Moenandar, S.J., *Depraved Borderlands: Encounters with Muslims in Dutch Literature and the Public Debate* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013).
- 'Transmitting Authenticity: Kader Abdolah and Hafid Bouazza as Cultural Mediators', *Journal of Dutch Literature* 5.1 (2014), 55-73.
- Pidgins and Creoles: An introduction*, ed. by Arends J., P. Muysken and N. Smith, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008).
- Said, E.W., *Orientalism*, 5th edn. (London: Penguin: 2003).
- Schyns, D., 'Entre origine et destination: Kader Abdollah (sic) traverse la langue néerlandaise', *Septentrion* 29 (2000), 17-21.
- Sieburg, H., 'Ebenen der Sprachstandardisierung', in *Literatur und Mehrsprachigkeit: ein Handbuch*, ed. by Till Dembeck and Rolf Parr (Tübingen: Narr, 2020), pp. 69-76.

- Stevens, J., 'Een asielzoeker moét wel liegen', *De Morgen*, 4 October 2014, <<https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/een-asielzoeker-moet-wel-liegen~b6ff7b60/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Pironet, E., 'Het verdriet van België en 14 andere essentiële fictieboeken over Vlaanderen', *Knack*, 11 July 2018, p. 62.
- Suchet, M., *L'imaginaire hétérologue: Ce que nous apprennent les textes à la croisée des langues* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014).
- Van der Velden, J. 'Interview met Kader Abdolah: Over de wendingen van het leven en zijn geschenk aan de Nederlandse taal', *Neerlandica/Nederlands van Nu* 114.1 (2010), 22-23.
- Van Gelder, L., 'Fikry El Azzouzi: 'Ik schrijf om jongens als Ayoub een stem te geven'', *Univers: The independent news source of Tilburg University*, 26 September 2018, <<https://universonline.nl/nieuws/2018/09/26/fikry-el-azzouzi-ik-schrijf-om-jongens-als-ayoub-een-stem-te-geven/>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Van Kempen, M., '23 december 1978: Edgar Cairo's eerste column voor de Volkskrant. 23 januari 1996. Kader Abdolah's eerste column voor de Volkskrant, in *Cultuur en migratie in Nederland: Kunsten in beweging 1980-2000* 1 (2004), 19-35.
- Van Kempen, M., 'Dutch Tulips in Unexpected Colours: Humour in Dutch Migrant Writing: Kader Abdolah, Sevtap Baycılı, Khalid Boudou, Edgar Cairo. In *Hybrid Humour*, ed. by Dunphy, G. & R. Emig (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 85-112.
- Van Laeken, F., 'Een vluchteling is nooit thuis' *De Tijd*, 19 April 1997 <<https://www.tijd.be/algemeen/algemeen/Een-vluchteling-is-nooit-thuis/5207453>> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Verplancke, M., 'Hoofdredacteur Ruud Hendrickx over de Dikke Van Dale 2.0: "Ik weet niet of er nog een papieren editie komt"', *Knack Extra*, 17 October 2018 <https://www.knack.be/nieuws/boeken/hoofdredacteur-ruud-hendrickx-over-de-dikke-van-dale-2-0-ik-weet-niet-of-er-nog-een-papieren-editie-komt/article-longread-1381095.html?cookie_check=1623000042> [accessed 23 December 2020].
- Vervaeck, B., 'Tussen leven, literatuur en tijdsgeest: de schrijversbiografie', *Internationale neerlandistiek* 52.3 (2014), 237-245.
- Wright, C., 'Exophony and literary translation: What it means for the translator when a writer adopts a new language', *Target* 22.1 (2010), 22-39.
- Zabus, C., *The African Palimpsest: indigenization of language in the West African europhone novel*, 2nd enl. edn. (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2007).