

Attila Kovács – Katarína Šomodiová (eds.)

MINORITY A MAJORITY
NA BLÍZKOM VÝCHODE A V ÁZII



MINORITIES AND MAJORITIES
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA



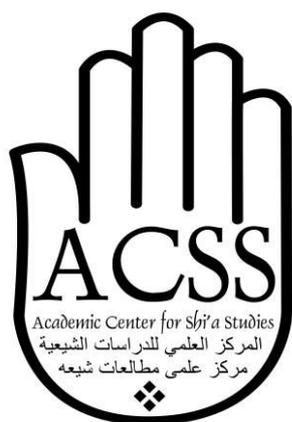
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Recenzovali:

Doc. PhDr. Ľuboš Bělka, CSc.

Doc. Mgr. Dušan Deák, PhD.

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Lukáš Větrovec

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Zborník je venovaný pamiatke **prof. Rudolfa Macúcha** (1919-1993), svetoznámeho orientalistu a lingvistu slovenského pôvodu.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of **prof. Rulof Macúch** (1919-1993), a well-known orientalist and linguist of Slovak origin.

Úvod / Introduction

Attila Kovács – Katarína Šomodiová



Vzt'ahy medzi minoritami a majoritami do veľkej miere vytvárali a vytvárajú podobu Blízkeho východu a iných oblastí Ázie. Tento konferenčný zborník, vznikol z vybraných príspevkov konferencie „Minority a majority na Blízkom východe a v Ázii / Minorities and Majorities in the Middle East and Asia“, organizovanej v spolupráci Katedry porovnávacej Religionistiky Univerzity Komenského a Slovenskej spoločnosti pre štúdium náboženstiev pri SAV a prebehla v dňoch 14.-16. septembra 2016 v priestoroch Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave. Autori príspevkov kladú za cieľ pozrieť sa na tento problém podrobnejšie a pokúsiť sa o reflektovanie súčasných trendov v tejto oblasti a pokusy o ich konceptualizáciu v teoretickej i praktickej rovine. Robia tak z multidisciplinárnej perspektívy na rozhraní religionistiky, antropológie, histórie, orientalistiky ako aj iných humanitných a spoločenskovedných odborov zaoberajúce sa s náboženskými, etnickými a inými minoritami a majoritami v danom kontexte.

The relations among majorities and minorities have to a great extent shaped the face of the Middle East and other parts of Asia for millennia. This volume contains some selected papers presented on the conference entitled “Minority a majority na Blízkom východe a v Ázii / Minorities and Majorities in the Middle East and Asia” organized by the Department of Comparative Religion of the Comenius University in Bratislava and the Slovak Association for the Study of Religions. The conference took place at the Comenius University in Bratislava on September 14.-16. 2016. The main aim of the authors of this book is to take a closer look at this issue, reflect its current trends and attempt to conceptualize them in both theoretical and practical contexts. They are doing it from a multidisciplinary approach on the crossroads of the field of Religious Studies, Anthropology, History, Oriental Studies and other human and social sciences presenting religious, ethnic or other minorities and majorities in the given context.

Bratislava, December 2016

Assyrian Literary Culture and Prof. Rudolf Macuch

Eden Naby¹



Abstract

What the modern Assyrians consider a monumental volume on their literary history may only be appreciated for its grand scheme by smaller nations in the process of identifying and documenting their culture in a late twentieth century world dominated in the Middle East by Arabic, Persian and Turkish. That a Semitist of Prof. Macuch's diligence and erudition chose to focus on Aramaic Christian literature produced by those writing in Syriac and vernacular modern Assyrian Aramaic of the was a stroke of luck for Assyrians. Without the documentation he provided in *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur* (1976), much of modern Assyrian cultural history would be lost - lost not just to Assyrians whose strong educational start in the nineteenth century was destroyed by the genocide perpetrated by Ottoman Turkey and their Kurdish allies from 1915-1918, but also because of successive nationalist violence by emerging Middle Eastern states against Assyrian schools in Syria, Iraq and even Iran after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. In this presentation I want to offer my humble tribute to a man of meticulous scholarship who saved men like my father, and far more accomplished men and women, from being completely lost to the history of culture.²

Keywords: Aramaic, Assyrian literature, Rudolf Macuch, Middle East

Neo-Aramaic and Populations of Speakers

Prof. Rudolf Macuch, a Lutheran theologian, had a unique appreciation of the Aramaic and Hebrew based minority religious communities among whom he found himself during the latter half of the 20th century. During that period, already several of these ethno-religious minorities had

¹ **Eden Naby** is a leading scholar of Assyrian history who has published extensively in the fields of Middle East and Central Asian studies. After graduating Temple University in 1964 for her undergraduate degree, she served in the Peace Corps in Afghanistan, and after receiving her PhD at the Columbia University (1975) she taught in Iran. Naby has devoted her time since 1979 to establishing endowments at United States universities to promote the preservation of Assyrian archives, publishing, and lectures. While limited in principal, these endowments, especially at Harvard University, lay the basis for the preservation of research materials, especially in diaspora. Among her writings are many articles in the *Assyrian Star* (2001–2007) aimed at eliciting knowledge about Assyrian culture from knowledgeable members of the community. She has also mounted three exhibits (Harvard, 1998, 1999, Boston Public Library 2005) using Assyrian family photographs and the Harvard archives to illustrate 19th-20th century Assyrian history. As contributing editor on modern Assyrians for the *Encyclopædia Iranica*, she is responsible for hundreds of entries on the Assyrians. She is co-author, with Ralph H Magnus, of *Afghanistan: Mullah, Marx and Mujahid*. (2002); and with Michael E. Hopper, of *The Assyrian Experience: Sources for the Study of the 19th and 20th Centuries: From the Holdings of the Harvard University Libraries (with a selected bibliography)*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard College Library (1999). (Footnote added by the editors).

² Macuch, Rudolf. 1976. *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur*, Berlin - New York: de Gruyter, (1. Aufl.; reprint: 2012? Gorgias Press).

suffered decline due to persecution of non-Muslim groups. The factors contributing to their rapid disappearance after centuries of desperate survival included the following:

- the genocide of 1914-1918 against the Assyrian Christians in Ottoman Turkey and northwest Iran (anti-Christian actions that have been erroneously labelled exclusively “Armenian genocide”) perpetrated by Kurds and Turks,
- the violence against all Jewish communities in Arab countries following the successful formation of the state of Israel in 1948,
- the destruction of the Mandaean of southern Mesopotamia during protracted Sunni struggle for domination of Iraq under both Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaida during the late 20th century.

Therefore, the Mandaean, upon whom Rudolf Macuch devoted so much scholarship (Aramaic based), the Samaritans (both Hebrew and Aramaic speakers), the Assyrians and Jewish communities of Iran and Iraq (speaking forms of neo-Aramaic) have been salvaged for posterity by this scholar of Slovak origins. Of the ethno-religious groups that he studied, only the Assyrians continue to exist in sufficient numbers to offer some hope for the survival of any form of spoken or vernacularly written neo-Aramaic. Below is a rough count of those communities related to Aramaic who continues to exist, largely in diaspora:

WORLD POPULATIONS OF ARAMAIC-BASED GROUPS³

	<u>Middle East</u>	<u>Diaspora</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mandaens	SW Iran - 3,000	US/Europe 1,000	4,000
Samaritans	Israel - 700	??	1,000
Assyrians ⁴	Iran - 15,000 Iraq - 300,000 Syria - 40,000 Lebanon - 20,000 Turkey - 30,000	US/Canada - 450,000 Australia/NZ - 150,000 Germany - 100,000 Sweden - 100,000 Belgium - 40,000 Netherlands - 60,000 France - 30,000 Russia & FSU - 60,000 Other - 50,000	2 to 3 million

³ The Western Aramaic speakers of Syria (around Ma'lula), and the Nash Dedan (Jewish neo-Aramaic speakers of northern Mesopotamia and western Iran) were not a focus of Prof. Macuch's studies. But in Israel in particular, their language is disappearing rapidly as they integrate into Hebrew school systems with other Middle Eastern Jews whose language had long ago become Persian or Arabic.

⁴ Assyrians, a generic ethno-national term that emerged among the general populace during the late 19th century, though used earlier, consists of six patriarchal church institutions plus Protestant off-shoots. Two of these patriarchates are aligned with Roman Catholicism (Chaldean Catholic and Syrian Catholic), while one is aligned with Eastern Orthodoxy. The rest trace themselves back to the 4th century Christian schisms.

Absolute numbers (ah, the tyranny of demography!) for these populations can only be estimated as census data rarely, and inconsistently, identify them, except in broad religious terms, in any of the countries that they inhabit. (For example, Assyrians in Iraq's constitution and that of the Kurds in northern Iraq, are identified as "Christian" but denied their very special status as the world's largest ethnic community that preserves Aramaic.) However, even if the number of members of these communities were to be doubled and tripled, as some community members insist, the proportions remain similar: Assyrians, defined as members of Christian churches rooted in classical Syriac liturgies, and by many accounts, the earliest Christian monarchy, are by many magnitudes the largest surviving neo-Aramaic speakers in the world, and have been for at least two centuries.⁵

Perhaps looking at his multiple works on Mandeans and Samaritans, it is tempting to think of Prof. Macuch as a hero of preservation of disappearing cultures. And he was. But his contribution to the preservation of the cultural history of the Assyrians has been both monumental and a means of rebuilding the history of that community following its near extinction during WWI. His bibliography and cultural history of Assyrians, especially through use of a selection of neo-Aramaic periodicals and classical Syriac sources in print already, has served to introduce Assyrian literary figures into Middle Eastern history that might otherwise have been lost. This preservation is helping to reconstruct lives and achievements that lend credibility and substance to the rich heritage of contemporary Assyrians.

Yet, the significance of Macuch's work on Assyrian neo-Aramaic is regularly underrated or not recognized. For example, as recently as 2015 in a book that devotes several pages to the role of Rudolf Macuch to cultural studies, no mention is made at all of his pivotal contribution to modern Assyrian cultural history and language preservation.⁶ My fellow Assyrian, and colleague in his tribute to Prof. Macuch, Prof. Estephan Panousse, co-author of *Neusyrische Chrestomathie* with him, and fellow teacher at Tehran University during the 1960s and 1970s, will address issues of language.⁷ Here I want to focus on cultural history.

⁵ As with so much of Assyrian history that is disputed by Armenians, backed by an Armenian official state, they claim title as the first Christian nation. Nonetheless, the Aramaic speaking Abgarids of Urhoy (Gr. Edessa, Turkish Sanliurfa), are attested as the first kingdom to adopt Christianity in the first century. The kingdom was briefly ruled by Armenians. The Syriac language was developed as a major literary, scientific, and liturgical language in Edessa.

⁶ Bubík, Tomáš and Hoffmann, Henryk (eds.). 2015. *Studying Religions with the Iron Curtain Closed and Opened: The Academic Study of Religion in Eastern Europe*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, pp. 67-68. Partially available online at <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=973919>. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=973919>. (accessed on 22 August 2016).

⁷ Macuch, Rudolf und Panoussi, Estiphan. 1974. *Neusyrische Chrestomathie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Who are the Contemporary Assyrians?

Before I proceed however, let me insert a few lines regarding modern Assyrians, and Macuch's use of terminology for the language spoken by them. Modern Assyrians are the easternmost indigenous Christians of the Middle East. Assyrian churches were the first to take Christianity to China and India back in the seventh century. Their mother language is the oldest continuously written and spoken language of the Middle East. Aramaic is the oldest preserved alphabetical system for human written communication and serves as the basis for Hebrew, Sanskrit and many dead languages of the Middle East.

A minority people today, with distinctive cultural, linguistic and Christian traditions, the threat to Assyrian survival has increased for the past one hundred years and more with the formation of chauvinistic nationalist regimes in Turkey (1914), Iraq (1932) and Syria (1945). The rise of Islamist fanaticism threatens this lesser known, but historic, Christian community as never before, even on the Nineveh Plains in Mesopotamia, the site of monumental Assyrian archaeological finds and, the historic Assyrian core, now threatened by Kurdish expansion as well.⁸

Assyrians are familiar in the West by their church names: Assyrian Church of the East, Ancient Church of the East, Syriac Orthodox Church, and two Roman Catholic off-shoots, the Chaldean Catholic Church and the Syrian Catholic Church. Under Islamic rule, the state recognized Assyrians only through their churches, not as an ethnicity. Even today this pattern of denial of indigenous ethnicity is systematic in Turkey, Iraq, and Syria and in the emerging Kurdish state. Protestant and Russian Orthodox Assyrians have rarely received recognition by Middle Eastern states.

Yet, they all share geographic proximity in and around the Zagros range in what was upper Mesopotamia, share broadly one language, and share a historical narrative from the ancient period through the medieval Syriac-anchored scholarly period, to the modern period when they flourished under American, British and French, and Russian protection. Their Christian affiliation allowed them to welcome western Christians with minimal conflict and so benefit from educational advancement, medical training, and travel to Europe, Russia and the Americas. Like the Armenians and Greeks

⁸ One indication of the high Kurdish birthrate, and hence their expansion, is the fear expressed in Turkey that its poorer Kurdish dominated southeast, still highly religious and practicing female inequities as expressed by the widespread practice of female genital mutilation condoned by Shafi'i Islam, will outnumber Turks in their own country. See Jenkins, Philip "Fertility and the Fate of Nations," *The American Conservative*, October 29, 2015. <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/fertility-and-the-fate-of-nations> (accessed on 3 September 2016).

their advancing socio-economic status, and their aspirations for autonomy made them targets of envy by the Muslim masses among whom they strove to survive.

During the 20th century much of this European protection stopped. Assyrians have been left to the unkind embrace of their antagonistic neighbours who regard them, erroneously, as western inserts in their midst rather than indigenous people. Genocidal attacks on Assyrians did not begin with the genocide of 1914-1918 but that genocide spurred flight among the one-third of the community who did not die or face forced conversion. Immigration has meant reduction of populations in the Middle East, especially in Iraq (Mesopotamia) their main strength, as well as in Iran, Turkey and Syria.

Assyrian dislocation from their ancestral indigenous homeland due to violent discrimination against them as Christians, led to their distribution in the Middle East after World War I, and then, with the rise of Islamist antagonism during the second half of the 20th century and early 21st centuries, their scattering across friendly and stable parts of the globe. Thus, in the population distribution above, can be observed the fact that more Assyrians live in diaspora outside the Middle East than in it.

The use of “Syriac” and “New Syriac” in the works by Prof. Macuch

At the time that Prof. Macuch was compiling and writing his monumental work on Assyrian cultural history, a dispute was still raging among scholars in the West with regard to whether this large Aramaic speaking people ought to be called Assyrian or Syrian. This shift toward applying the name Assyrian rather than Syrian may be seen in how Macuch treats biographical entries from the latter part of the 20th century. He calls Dr. Wilson Bet Mansoor, the representative to the Iranian legislature when Macuch lived in Tehran, the “assyrischen Abgeordneten” while still calling the language of publication of his periodical “neusyrischer (assyrischer).”⁹

The early American missionaries from 1834 onward, in all their publications, use the term “Syrian” while British missionaries, when establishing the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Mission to the Assyrian Christians in 1886, opted for the term “Assyrian” possibly due to the advancing knowledge about Assyrians emerging from the archeological excavations (begun in the 1840s) at Nineveh, Khorsabad and other parts of Iraq that revealed the grandeur of the empire so maligned in the Old

⁹ Macuch (1976) p. 340.

Testament.¹⁰

Interestingly, in 1918, as the murder of Christians by Kurds and Turks proceeded and was being reported in the Western press, Prof. Phillip Hittie (1888-1978), a newly minted Columbia University PhD (1915) and later eminent Arab historian at Princeton University, wrote the following letter to the *New York Times* to correct their confusion of Syrian and Assyrian:

“ASSYRIANS NOT SYRIANS

To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

In a Chicago dispatch that appeared in your columns this morning the statement was made that the Persian Consul, according to certain charges, helped Persian and "Syrians" to evade the draft. No Persian Consul in the United States could have anything whatever to do with the Syrians, whose interests since the severance of diplomatic relations with Turkey have been in the hands of the Spanish Embassy and Consulates. Evidently the reference is not to Syrians, but to Assyrians, who come from the north-western part of Persia, and would naturally come within the scope of the Persian Consul's activity. Failure to keep clear the distinction between Assyrians and Syrians has often led to great confusion.

PHILIP K. HITTIE.

Columbia University, Aug. 15, 1918.”

This dispute over ethnic designation has been settled, but after Macuch's book was published. In a ground-breaking scholarly article by Robert Rollinger, the Austrian ancient historian, in which he discusses a Lydian inscription of the 5th century BCE, and shows the proof for Herodotus' assertion that what the Greeks called “Syria” was known as “Assyria” in the East. Thus, not only were the two terms analogous, but the use of the term Assyrian was correct for the people themselves.¹¹ Years earlier, the great scholar and lexicographer (Bishop) Mar Toma Odo (1853-1918) had made a similar assertion in his *Qaryānē gōbyē* (Selected Readings). But Macuch calls him the “father of Neo-Syriac literature.”¹²

Nonetheless, the second part of the dispute, whether the name of the vernacular written language of the Assyrians ought to be called Syriac or Assyrian neo-Aramaic, detracts from this discussion of Macuch's work. Macuch consistently uses the term “Syriac” or “neo-Syriac.” The question is, should he have used neo-Aramaic for neo-Syriac?

¹⁰ See especially *Assyrian Mission Quarterly Paper*, published from 1890-1915 by the British missionaries available in part through a printed compilation by David George Malick through: www.lulu.com/atourpub (accessed on 3 September 2016).

¹¹ “The Terms ‘Assyria’ and ‘Syria’ Again.” *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 2006, pp. 283-287.

¹² Macuch (1976) p. 212.

Briefly, this dispute hinges on three historical shifts in the language(s) of the Assyrians:

1. The migration of Aramaeans from western Mesopotamia toward the east during the 8th century and their influence through the introduction of their alphabetically written language in the Assyrian Empire. Aramaic thus became the lingua franca of the Assyrian Empire and spread throughout the Near East as the language of commerce and governance despite the continued presence of Akkadian cuneiform used for formal reliefs through to the introduction of Old Persian.
2. The evolution of classical Syriac in Edessa as one of the three major languages of early Christianity (with Greek and Latin) resulted in its becoming not just the liturgical language of all the Assyrian related churches (except the Protestant ones), but also the language of widespread male literacy and transmission of knowledge. Though a spoken language only as Latin is today, in very circumscribed occasions, it continues in prestige and is properly called Syriac. The study of Syriac gave rise to understanding, through thousands of manuscripts, early Christian history, medicine, geography and classical education. Syriac is an eastern Aramaic language.
3. Neo-Aramaic Christian dialects used by Assyrians during the 19th and 20th centuries are of an eastern variety, like Syriac, but they are definitively *not* derived from Syriac.¹³ Macuch writes about scholars and writers who used classical Syriac both through the 18th century and others in the Syriac Orthodox Church especially, who composed their works in Syriac during the 20th century.¹⁴ But the bulk of his study concerns those who wrote in the neo-Aramaic dialects being committed to writing chiefly in the 19th and 20th centuries. Therefore his use of “*spat*” cannot be questioned, but the use of “*neusyrischen*” does not accord with proper linguistic terminology since the neo-Aramaic used by the authors he describes in the main part of the book does not derive from “*spat*” *syrischen* but from eastern varieties that do not have a written past.

Compounding the problem in the terminology used for languages in the written contemporary vernacular Aramaic is the fact that Macuch followed usage condoned at learned institutions, libraries, universities and seminaries, in which classical Syriac carries sway. It is still impossible, for example,

¹³ Fox, Samuel Ethan. "The Relationships of the Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 114, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1994), p. 154.

¹⁴ The Syriac Orthodox Church refused to allow the writing of the vernacular in Estrangelo thus giving rise to forms of garshoni for the vernacular Turoyo, and the continued use of classical Syriac for such historical topics as documentation of the genocide in Tur Abdin by learned men like Bishop Filoksinos Yuhanon Dolabani. Macuch 1976, pp. 446-449.

to induce the United States Library of Congress to classify its Christian Aramaic books in a language designation that is not “Syriac.” This pattern is followed at Harvard University which has one of the richest collections of modern Assyrian materials in all languages, including the vernacular of Assyrians. Although it lists the holdings as being in the “Assyrian collection” the language designation is “modern Syriac!” This deliberate misuse of language designation is accompanied by a poor knowledge of any Aramaic but the Aramaic used for Jewish religious texts. Thus much of the early 20th century publications of the Assyrians, often achieved through much sacrifice in volunteer time and money unsupported by state institutions, lie uncatalogued and unpreserved at places like the Library of Congress and Harvard College Library.

Worse still is the fact that transliteration of these non-Syriac titles is made according to classical Syriac transliteration tables supported by those who insist on using the term Syriac for all Christian Aramaic publications!¹⁵ Interestingly, in his English language article on Assyrian literature, Prof. Macuch altered between using the term “neoSyriac,” and “modern Syriac,” neither of which is accurate linguistically.¹⁶

But indigenous Aramaic speakers have had to be satisfied with crumbs from the scholarly table: Mandeans, Samaritans and Assyrians in academia would have fallen very low indeed, as the smallest minorities in the Middle East who did not accept Islam, without the diligence of the handful of scholars like Rudolf Macuch. Today they remain the guardians of Aramaic, despite the many handicaps they endure as refugees before the onslaught of the Islamic State, and that Islamists shadowy supporters.

Sources for Prof. Macuch study of Assyrian literary history

During his years in Tehran, and Iran in general, Prof. Macuch is remembered kindly and respectfully by those Assyrians who were young enthusiasts in the cultural field. As Iranian security improved for Assyrians (and other Iranians) from the post-WWII period onward, their prior training at various missionary schools in Urmia allowed them entry into middle class employment. No longer dependent on agriculture alone, they advanced in their nearly one century of training in medicine, used their knowledge of foreign languages to enter the administration of the National Iranian Oil

¹⁵ Particularly active on this front is the otherwise laudable historian and scholar of Syriac, J. F. Coakley as may be seen in his *The Church of the East and the Church of England: A History of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission*, Oxford : Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press, 1992.

¹⁶ “Assyrians in Iran ii. Literature of the Assyrians in Iran,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II/8, pp. 822-824; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/assyrians-in-iran-ii-literature> (accessed on 3 September 2016).

Company, and become prosperous as managers in road construction projects during World War II. As their fortunes revived, publication in the Assyrian neo-Aramaic also restarted, though not in Urmia where many had been born, but in Tehran, Abadan and Kermanshah. Periodicals began tentatively using the indigenous neo-Aramaic. Gradually Assyrians established a periodical press, mostly written in Assyrian neo-Aramaic, but also dually in Persian.

Pressure from censorship meant that all works had to be translated into Persian for the censors' inspection, before receiving permission to be published in neo-Aramaic. These pressures on minorities in Iran, even the religious minorities with their own languages who were recognized as minorities and represented in the national legislature, contributed to literary language breakdown. That, and the pressure on the educational system that allowed minimal time for language instruction, especially after the consolidation of the Islamic Republic in Iran, meant that Persian as a language of publication began to pervade the periodical press.¹⁷

Assyrians formed a successful cultural group called *Seta sapreta d-'alaymi Athureta d-Tehran* (The Assyrian Youth Cultural Society of Tehran).¹⁸ The organization sponsored lectures, poetry readings, and published books. Several members recall the young professor's attendance at the meetings and events, even at the election sessions. Several, including the author William Piroyan (b. 1935) and (later) Assyrian parliamentary representative Homor Ashurian (1936-2016) remember him fondly.¹⁹

Through these contacts with Assyrian intellectuals in Tehran, Prof. Macuch collected and studied materials from their private libraries and those found at the National Library of the Majlis. The extensive library of Nemrod Simono (1908-2004) served as the basic library he consulted as well as the several newly published volumes on Assyrian literature and history that were available for sale at the time in Tehran. And he wrote about the contents of select periodicals meticulously.

The outcome of his scholarly output on Assyrian literary history is that he rescued from oblivion biographies of men and women who would otherwise become unknown. From the obscurity of a language in which literacy was declining, he transferred vital information into a Western language – German.

The following is a list of the printed sources he used for this somewhat oddly organized literary history:

¹⁷ Naby, Eden. "Ishtar: Documenting the Crisis in the Assyrian Iranian Community," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 10, no. 4, (December 2006), pp. 92-102. <http://www.aina.org/articles/dtcitaic.pdf> (accessed 5 September 2016).

¹⁸ Sometimes the term "Alime" does not appear in the title to indicate that it was a youth organization.

¹⁹ See on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6XJG1pCMTQ> (retrieved 5 Sept. 2016).

1. The periodical press:

Summaries of issues of the periodical press in neo-Aramaic serve to acquaint readers with materials otherwise not available in the original form at the time he published the book.²⁰ He summarizes parts of five of the over thirty-five Assyrian periodicals appearing between 1849 and 1975, in Iran, Turkey, Lebanon and in diaspora. Of the five he was able to examine, one appeared from France.²¹ It was published by, William Sarmas, the younger brother of one of his most informative Assyrian sources, Pera Sarmas, physician and author.

Zahrire d-bahra, *Rays of Light* began in 1849 in Urmia. It preceded any other periodical in Iran by one year. The monthly periodical lasted until 1918 when the genocide of all Christians in Urmia and Salamas ended its sixty-nine years of publication. Macuch summarizes the following years: 1897-1918. No full run of this periodical appears to exist at any research library in the world although scattered volumes from 1892 have been found at the Presbyterian Historical Society.

Kokhva, *The Star* began in Urmia in 1906 and ended in 1918 with the genocide as above. Macuch summarizes two years (1906-1908) though nearly all issues have been found and reproduced since his work appeared, but mostly among Assyrians who had subscribed to it in the diaspora.

Qala d-shrara (Voice of Truth) began as a monthly in Urmia in 1896 and ended in 1915. Macuch summarizes the two years from 1898 to 1900.

Mathibana (Promotor) appearing in Cannes, France as the publication of the “Bulletin d’information de l’Association des Assyriens (et des amis des Assyriens) en France” begun in 1970. Items appeared in French, neo Aramaic and English. Macuch summarizes 1970-73, but in French, not German.

Ator (Assyria) appeared in Tehran on a monthly basis beginning in 1968. Some of its articles appeared in Persian as did the title (*Ashur*). Macuch summarizes its contents from

²⁰ Since 2002, Lulu Press, Inc., a print on demand company based in the US, has made some of these periodicals available, in part through the efforts of David G. Malick. Online: <http://www.lulu.com> (accessed 5 September 2016).

²¹ Macuch’s graduate student, Dr. Gabrielle Yonan, published a book specifically on the periodical press. *Journalismus bei den Assyriern : ein Überblick von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Augsburg : Zentralverband der Assyrischen Vereinigungen in Deutschland und Mitteleuropa, 1985. 1. Aufl. (Reihe Gilgamesch ; Bd. 1)

1969 through 1973.²²

These five titles are but a fraction of the Assyrian periodical press, as he acknowledges. Much of the output from before World War I is lost unless it had subscribers in Diaspora. Assyrian homes were looted and what was not destroyed, broken or stolen, became used as wrapping for nuts in the bazaars. The latter is how some poems were rescued. Periodicals that appeared in Diaspora have better longevity but Macuch's goal in preparing this book was not to be comprehensive, but rather to compile biographies, together with titles of writings or printed works of literary Assyrian men and women. That he summarized a periodical press in such detail, even though he had access to but a fraction of it, is quite amazing.

2. Other sources:

Pera Sarmas, *Taš'ita d-seprayuta 'Atorayta: seprayuta 'Akadnayta w-Surayta* Tehran, Iran : Si'ta Seprayta da-'Lime 'Atoraye, 1962. Volume III. This is the most important source for the neo-Aramaic especially. Volumes I and II treat the ancient and medieval periods respectively. Macuch was less concerned with the ancient period since, as a product of European classical scholarship, questions of identity and nationalism that are so prevalent now, were not the significant issues we have come to understand through the work of social scientists. Therefore, he is generally disparaging of the national identity as it arises in the Ottoman post-colonial period. His concern is with languages – classical Syriac and Assyrian neo-Aramaic.

By the same token, Volume II of the Sarmas volume on Assyrian literary history is largely derivative and Macuch had access to sources that provided scholarly studies of manuscripts and original Syriac writing. But he uses this Sarmas volume on the Syriac writers as well.

- Alber Abouna, is an important source for knowledge of classical Syriac writers. He was trained and worked mainly in Mosul, Iraq. This priest had a prodigious publication record in Arabic, Syriac and a good deal of translation work. Macuch relied on his *Adab al-lughab al-Ārāmīyah = Seprayuta d-lešana 'Aramaya*, first printed in Beirut in 1970 and again in 1996.
- Ighnātyūs Afrām I, Patriarch of Antioch (1887-1957) *Berule bdire : d-'al mardut yulpane Suryaye hadire*, translated from the original Arabic into Syriac by Bishop of Mardin, Filloksenos Yohannan Dolabani (18??-1972) and published in Qamishli, Syria in

²² This title ought not to be confused with the periodical of the same name that was published from 1929-1942 in New Britain, Connecticut, US. See Yonan (1985), p. 43-44.

1967. The English translation of this volume appeared in 2000 and was done by Matti Moosa.

- Alphonse Mingana (1878-1937), *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*. Mingana spent much of his adult life in Britain and his work is easily available and the authenticity of his manuscripts well studied.

The other Assyrian/Syriac intellectual from whose acquaintance he benefited was Abraham Nouro whose extensive library in Aleppo, in part, went to the United States prior to the Syrian civil war of 2011-2016? J.S. Assemani, the 17th century Maronite cleric, and the earliest bibliographer of Syriac materials also figures into Macuch's Middle Eastern sources.

Other than these authors and authorities, Macuch's book, as reviewed shortly after its publication, states that his work builds new chapters on the work of prior specialists writing on the literature in Syriac such as A. Baumstock, and improves upon them.

Content of the published work

Marshalling the sources at hand, Macuch utilizes an array of methodological approaches to create this volume: he provides author information, a summary of some relatively inaccessible periodicals but rarely any of the kinds of materials associated with anthologies of literature. Indeed, other than the French texts of one of the periodicals referred to above, *Mathibana*, the sole text of any Syriac or neo-Aramaic material is the translation into German of a poem that has been used as a nationalistic song with an emphasis on the leadership position of the Patriarch of Church of the East, and the house of Mar Eshai Shimun (18??-1918).²³ Otherwise the author provides no examples of the literature itself. But the fact that he provides names of authors, dates of birth, place of origin, and as many titles as he can find (from the native authors and from the periodicals) makes this more of an encyclopedia of Assyrian literature and not an anthology.

What Macuch's method of organization also teaches is the value of even the summaries of the pages of periodicals. A good deal of information is derived from necrologies. Granted these obituaries in the Assyrian periodicals cover only culturally or professionally important people, but they tell us a great deal about who was educated, who were the teachers, even in the village schools, and very importantly the window to the outside world that the letters from abroad, or the summaries of world news offered to readers in an age when telegrams were the fastest means of

²³ Macuch (1976) pp. 231-233.

communication. The widespread distribution of the periodicals, especially among those in diaspora, illustrates two important factors in the life of Assyrians in Iran:

1) that literacy was widespread enough to support at least one publication, *Kokbva*, without church or foreign subsidies,

2) that these periodicals reached a near and distant readership, a readership that received the physical monthly newspapers that travelled by coach, train, and ship to arrive in the mailbox of readers in New York or Chicago.

The provision of so many names of local people, especially through the 1960s means that Macuch offers Assyrians an opportunity to know something about a lot of men and women. Through both the necrologies and the references to authors, the range of women who both received an education and used that education as teachers, activists and authors is quite remarkable. Noticeably, the names of these women occur only when Macuch is covering those writing in the vernacular neo-Aramaic, and not in the classical Syriac either in Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Iran or the Malabar Coast of India where the patriarchal churches are mirrored. It was only at the initiative of Western missionaries, through the schools that they established, that a wide range of women were educated. Two of the women mentioned in this work is revealing about the circumstances of families as they tried to survive the upheavals of WWI:

Regina A. Ishaq (1902-1966) a poet from Digala (near Urmia) who, surviving the genocide and refugee camps in Iraq, eventually returned to Urmia. Her book of poetry is called *Penqita d-mushbate* (A notebook of poems). The biography is based on Pera Sarmas anthology.

Marusa Isakhan (1903-195?) a lyricist born in Tiflis who came to Salmas but fled again to Tiflis when the war began, then returned to Iran in 1926 to work in the educational field. She contributed songs to the literary magazine, *Gilgamesh* in Tehran.

Many of the women educated at the missionary schools in Urmia became teachers in the hastily organized schools for children in refugee camps. But outside the relatively free atmosphere of Urmia, women thrown among strangers in Arab settings, appear to have taken less public role. None-the-less, in Tehran.

Macuch's choice of indexing marks this book as truly a work of a Semitist. There are two indices of names: one is for indigenous names and the other for westerners or indigenous people known better by their western names. No subject index is provided. The first index of names is done in the Aramaic order of the alphabet – that is, unless you know Aramaic, you will not be able to find any names. The difficulties become acute when names begin with vowels: Aba, Abigam,

Abraham, Ignatiu, Adday, Ewgen, Oshana, Ilya, Ishaq, Ishay, Elyas, Elisha, Ishaya, Aprem, Eramya, and Ator all appear under the letter “alef.” And since many Assyrians from the 19th and early 20th centuries had not registered with last names as they had to after 1934 in Iran, the search must be conducted by first name in this wonderful book!

Building on the Work of Rudolf Macuch

As Assyrians work to recover knowledge of their recent past, the names and particulars of their past literary personages can only be preserved through a work such as that of Macuch, and the other bio-bibliography of Assyrians, in Russian.²⁴ Stephan Sado’s work, Materials for a bibliographical dictionary of Assyrians in Russia covering about the same period as the Macuch book, is a good supplement for this German work. Biographical entries from both need to be translated into English, combined and updated for twenty-first century use.

²⁴ Материалы к биографическому словарю ассирийцев в России : XIX-середи́на XX века Materialy k biograficheskomu slovariŭ assiriitŭsev v Rossii : XIX-seredina XX veka Санкт-Петербург : Изд-во О. Абышко, 2006. Sankt-Peterburg : Izd-vo O. Abyshko, 2006. Изд. 2., испр. и доп.. Izd. 2., ispr. i dop.

Classifications Difficulties of Some Verbal Roots and Homonyms in Senaya

Estiphan Panoussi¹



Abstract

It is just a great honor for me to have for many years been at Freie Universität Berlin as the humble assistant of friend and colleague, the late Prof. Dr. Rudolf Macuch, with whom *The Neusyrische Chrestomathie* was compiled and published in 1974 by Otto Harrassowitz - Wiesbaden. It is also a great honor for me to have for the first time introduced the Senaya dialect, the Christian New-Aramaic dialect of Sanandaj, in Iran, with a sample page in this very chrestomathy. Rudolf Macuch, by his own example of dedication to Mandaic Studies, steadily inspired and always encouraged me to do more work on the Senaya dialect, my mother tongue. The rare characteristics of this dialect elucidated in the publication have inspired many highly ranked scholars and experts in related fields to express their sparkling admiration for it (Rudolf Macuch himself, Wolfhart Heinrichs, Simon Hopkins, and, recently, Geoffrey Khan). Thus, my work on Senaya, started in Berlin, continued in Iran, Sweden, and the U.S., would not have been possible without the blessed initial collaboration in Berlin. All my still unpublished works on Senaya and all tape recordings related to this dialect will soon be put online within an ad hoc website, as my Senaya archive, for posteriority. Therefore, I gratefully will contribute this paper to honor Rudolf Macuch at this Conference in his homeland.

Keywords: Aramaic, Senya, Rudolf Macuch, Linguistics

Some preliminary remarks

Diachronic and synchronic distribution as related to Senaya verbal system and as seen in the here below upcoming verbal paradigmatic tables.

¹ **Estiphan Panoussi** is a leading scholar in oriental (Persian and Indian) philosophy and Aramaic philology. He is a Professor Emeritus from the University of Göteborg, Sweden and currently a philosophy professor at Antelope Valley College located in Lancaster, California and. After the study of philosophy at the Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana de Propaganda Fide in Rome (1958) he studied oriental philology and history Université Catholique de Louvain in Belgium, where he completed his first and Ph.D. in Philosophy. In the years 1961-1964 he studied Iranian Philology and Semitic Languages at the University of Tübingen, after that between the years 1964-1966 did his dissertation research in Philosophy, while also teaching in the Universities of Giessen and Marburg. 1967 dr. Panoussi completed his second Ph.D. in Philosophy in Louvain. In the years 1967-1973 he was an assistant Professor at the Orient-Institut, Freie Universität Berlin, 1973-1978 and 1981-1989 he worked as an associated Professor at the University of Teheran, from 1992 he started to lecture at the Göteborgs universitet, Sweden, from 1994 as a Docent and from 2000 as a professor Professor. 2000-2002 he was a visiting scholar at Harvard University with Neo-Aramaic fieldwork research. He possesses an impressive and extensive knowledge of languages, 5 dead languages (Ancient Greek, Latin, Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and Middle Aramaic (Syriac)), 5 Middle Eastern living languages (2 New-Aramaic dialects Caldean (Senaya) and Assyrian, Kurdish, Farsi, and Arabic), and 5 European living languages (Italian, French, German, Swedish, English). Dr. Panoussi is an author of many studies and other works in several languages mostly in the field of Persian and Indian philosophy and Aramaic philology. With Wolfgang Heinrichs (Harvard University) he published the *Latin-Persian Dictionary* and with Rudolf Macuch they published the *Neusyrische Chrestomathie* (1974). Dr. Panoussi is also the author of *The Influence of Persian Culture and World-View upon Plato* ([1978] 2002). (Footnote added by the editors).

Diachronic distribution of three radical roots in the GS (Basic stem).

By applying here only the diachronic distribution principle, we, by considering the first radical, should not in the following verbal paradigmatic tables classify, e.g., /kāzel/, he goes, under <k>², rather than under <'>. To classify, e.g., /gāwer/, he marries, we should give both the three radicals as being g-b-r, in the diachronic consideration, and g-w-r, in the synchronic consideration. the same is to be said of /gānu/, he steals, the root of which can be differently considered to be both g-n-b and g-n-w. As to /nāyes/, he stings, we should, in the below following tables, look for the root under both n-'-s and n-y-s.

By only applying, on the other hand, the synchronic distribution principle, we should not classify /kāwed/, he does, under 'b-d. But, because we are looking after the roots both synchronically and diachronically, we will classify /kāwed/ under both k-b-d and 'b-d, in the related tables that follow. In other words, by applying this kind of distribution, we have a larger option to classify the verbal data of roots in the GS (basic stem, pə'al), IS (intensive stem, pa'el) and KS (causative stem, af'el). We can and should, in considering all its three radicals, classify /kāzel/ he goes, not only, diachronically seen, under '-z-l, but, synchronically seen, also under k-z-l. A verbal form, like /yāšeṛ/, he binds, is to be classified not only synchronically under y-ṣ-r (and y-ṣ-ṛ) but also, diachronically seen, under either '-s-r, if its etymology guides us to the Syriac root '-s-r (Arabic also '-s-r), or y-s-r, if its etymology leads us to the Aramaic y-s-r (Arabic w-t-r, to string. In this case, yāšeṛ should, according to its synchronic aspect, be classified under <y>, <ṣ>, <ṛ> and, diachronically, if being as so far assumed, under '-s-r (see Thesaurus Syriacus, ed. Payne Smith, s.v. and Rabb. Dr. J. Levy, Chaldäisches wörterbuch über Targumim und einen Grossen Theil des Rabbinischen Schrifthums, Leipzig 1866, s.v.) and, additionally, it has also to be classified under <y>, <t> and <r>, if we consider that the root in question could go back rather to the same origin as the Arabic w-t-r, 'to string'. A form like /*yāter/ leads very easily in Senaya to /*yāser/ which can become /yāšeṛ/, in the same way as /*batrā/, 'back', Ar. bi-atar, has become /baṣṛa/ and /besrā/, has become /peṣṛa/, 'flesh'. The emphatic quality of <s> is realized because of the regressive assimilations impact from the final [r] on it changing it in [ṣ]. The last consideration allows us to classify yāšeṛ also under <ṛ>, as the third radical, which

² <k> as transcriptional grapheme for phonetic [k] in the an-, in- or "Auslaut" positions bounded to the verbal inflexion. The same is to understand with the other graphemes <'>, , <g> etc.; The grapheme <x> is for the phoneme [x] < as being derived from [k], /bāxe/ < b-k-y, whereas the grapheme <ḥ> is for the phoneme [x] < as being derived from [ḥ], [h] or Arabic [ḥ], /ḥāšek/ < ḥ-š-k, /rāḥeṭ/ < r-h-ṭ and maḥreḡ < ar. ḥ-r-ḡ. In some etymologically dubious cases, it is not clear which grapheme <ḥ> or <x> should be used, f. ex. ḡāweḥ/x (see [ḥ] or [x] as C3).

indicates an impact of the Kurdish environment on the Senaya. Fortunately, the need of such a diachronic consideration, like in the case of /yāṣer/, is very rare in Senaya. The problematic cases are fortunately very rare and as such, they could, fortunately, lead us to some fossilized rests of the earlier stages of this dialect. Roots, difficult to be diachronically identified, will only be synchronically classified, unless there is an, even assumedly reasonable, diachronic root for it, as, e.g., ḡāweḥ/x, he screams, he rebukes, will be classified under ḡ-w-x or ḡ-w-ḥ, and, additionally, under g-w-ḥ, if it be cognate to the Ar. /ḡāḥa/, as by Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, s.v. similarly, /ḡāweḡ/, he moves, will be classified under ḡ-w-ḡ and, additionally, under z-w-z and z-w-ḥ, if these roots can present a semantic relationship to the root in question.

A verbal form like /mopša/ should according to the diachronic origin classified under both GS and KS, and in both cases it should according to the synchronic classification be classified under three and four radicals. Thus, /mopša/ should be classified in the following way:

- a) <y> as C1, C2, <š> as C3 'to be dry';
- b) <m> as C1, <w> C2, as C3 and <š> as C4 'to make dry';
- c) <l> as C1, C2, <š> as C3 'to put on clothes';
- d) <m> as C1, <l> C2, as C3 and <š> as C4 'to dress';

In the same way, /mōde/ 'he confesses', from m-w-d-y, will be classified under <m> as C1, <w> C2, <d> as C3 and <y> as C4, in the tables of four radicals, as well as under <y> as C1, <d> as C2 and <y> as C3 in the tables of three radicals.

The classification of /kebe/, he wants, should, in the tables of three radicals, be classified according to the diachronic origin under as C1, <ʿ> as C2 and <y> as C3, as well as, according to the synchronic approach, under <k> as C1, as C2, <y> as C3. Other examples like /kēwel/, he gives, will distributed according to the diachronic y-h-b and synchronic k-y-w-l; /mēsē/, he brings, will be found according to 't-y and m-y-t-y a.s.o.

In doing so, we will meet verbs which are listed repeatedly in different classes, because of the fact that their diachronic origin is either obscure or differently presumed, or has been so changed, that it is apparently difficult to identify them. In the following tables we will mark such verbal forms and roots with fat letters.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution ³			
	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃ Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	<p>/yāṣer/ (not *kāser?), /yaṣra/, /iṣor!/ /kāzel/, /kāza/, /āzel/, /āza/, /say!/, /sagī!/, /sagē!/. /kāxel/, /kaxla/, /āxel/, /axla/, [] /ixoll!/. /kāmer/, /kama/, /āmer/, /ama/, /mar!/ or /īmor!/. /kāse/, /kasya/, /āse/, /asya/, /hālox!/, /hālux! / < h-l-k). /mēse/, /masya/⁴, she brings, /mēsī!/⁵, bring! (m.), /mēsē!/, bring! (f.) /marzen/⁶, it becomes cheap.</p>	<p>/nāyes/, /nēsa/, /nos!/. /kebe/, /keba/, /bāye/, /baya/, /bī!/, /bē!/ </p>	<p>/yāṣer/ 'he strings' < '-s-r, or y-s-r, or y-t-r. /kāzel/ 'he goes' < '-z-l; /kāxel/ 'he eats' < '-k-l; /kāmer/ 'he says' < '-m-r; /kāse/ 'he comes' < '-t-y; /mēse/ 'he brings' < KS f. e-t-y. /marzen/ 'it becomes cheaper' < '-r-z-n ir. /arzān/ cheap';</p>

Resulting rules

→ The [] as C₁ disappears in GS or is replaced by the proclitical k-, which indicates the Present Indicative: /āzel/, /kāzel/; but **/yāṣer/** [yāṣer].

→ **/yāṣer/** seems not belonging here. It seems being derived not as in As. from the root **'-s-r**, but, as in Aram., from y-s-r, which could have been derived from (<* **y-t-r**; cf. ar. w-t-r 'to string').

→ /mōdē/, from As. y-d-y, is a borrowed religious term.

→ The Imperative of the verb /āse/ 'he should come' is **/hālox/** < **h-l-k** the last syllable of which <-lox> is analogically treated as a pronominal suffix: m. **/hālox/ 'come!' f. /hālux/ 'come!'**

→ The [] as C₂ becomes -y- between vowels, as nāyes. The [] as C₂ after becoming -y- will be treated as verbs mediae-y and as such can disappear in Imperative: nāyes/nēsa/*nyos > nos, like: māyes/mēsa/mos.

³ All paradigmatically presented verbs are conjugated 1o in the Indicative Present, masculine and feminine, 2o in Subjunctive Present, masculine and feminine, if different from the previous form, and 3o in Imperative, masculine and feminine, if the difference is, as a matter of fact, given! All the verbal entries, though following after a period, [], are written in lower case, minuscule. After the imperative form, there should be an exclamatory mark, [], even if it is not always done in writing!

⁴ Homonymous to /masya/, she washes clothes.

⁵ Homonymous to /mēsī/, they die, root m-w-t.

⁶ The other forms are not attested or documented.

/yāweš/,
 /yōša/,
 /īwoš!/ or
 /wōš!/.
 /mōbeš/,
/mopša/,
 /mōbeš!/.
 /mōpeš/,
/mopša/
 /mōpeš!/.
 /kāweš/,
 /kōša/,
 /kwoš!/ or
 /kōš!/.
 /lāweš/,
 /lōša/
 /lwoš!/ or
 /loš!/.
 /nāweḥ/,
 /nōḥa/,
 /nwoḥ!/ or
 /nōḥ!/
 /sāyeb/,
 /sēba/,
 /sāyeb!/.
/sāwe/,
 /sōya/,
 /swī/
 /swē!/.
 /qāwer/,
 /qōra/,
 /qwor!/ or
 /qor!/.
 /marwe/,
 /marwa/
 /marwī/
 /marwē!/.
 /šāweq/,
 /šōqa/,
 /šwoq!/ or
 /šoq!/.
 /tāwer/,
 /tōra/
 /twor!/ or
 /tor!/.
 /zāben/,
 /zabna/,
 /zbon!/.
 /ḡāweḥ/,
 /ḡōḥa/,
 /ḡwoḥ!/ or
 /ḡoḥ!/
 (< g-b/w-
 ḥ?)

Resulting rules

→1 The [b] as C₁ < [b] in all the cases attested above, except perhaps in /**bāreg**/ 'he perforate' the etymology of which is debatable; one could think among others of the root **p-r-ʿ**, ***pro**ʿ > ***bro**ʿ > /**brog**/ > **b-r-g** 'make a hole, perforate', see however Targum Aramaic **b-r-z** 'durchlöchern' (J. Levi, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.)

→ The [b] as C₁ remains [b] in /**kebe**/ < ***k-e**[t]b[ʿ]ē?

→ The [b] as C₁ is regressively assimilated becoming [p] before a voiceless consonant: /psom!/, /pšol!/, /pqor!/ a.s.o.

→ The [b] as C₂ after becoming [w] in between two vowels, remains further [w] in all inflexional positions of the root, including the Imperative: /wod!/, /gwor!/, /**ḥwoṭ**!/, /lwoš!/, /swī!/, /maḥwī!/, /šwoq!/, /twor!/, /**ḡwoḥ**!/, unless it goes in contraction with the preceding vowel [ā] to become [ō], as: /yōša/ < /*yawša/.

→ The [b] as C₂ if not becoming [w] in between two vowels is either belonging to original IS, KS or resulted from secondary double [b], as: /zāben/, < /*mzabben/; /mōbeš/ < /*mawbeš/ and /**ibbe**/ < /*iṭbeh/. By regr. assimil. /*mobša/ > /**mopša**/.

→ For the case of /mōpeš/ cf. [l] as C₁ : /*malbeš/ > /*mabbeš/ > /*mobbeš/ > /**mōpeš**/.

→ In /sāyeb/, < as. š-b-b, the [b] as C₂ is as in mediae geminatae by regr. dissimilation replaced by a glide [y]. thus, /*sābeb/ > /sāyeb/ 'he releases'.

→ /**ḡaweḥ**/ < ? (see [w] as C₂) perhaps < *g-b-ḥ den. of gəbāḥūṭā 'calvities sincipitis'; *g-b-ḥ in IS: 'to show baldness' → 'to bawl at s.o?', comp. as. /gabbah/ meaning; tahaddada, in Arabic (= 'to browbeat'), (see J. Eugène Manna, *Vocabulaire Chaldéen-Arabe*, Mossoul 1900, s.v.;

→ /ḡaweḡ/ < ḡ-b-ḡ?, or g-w-z 'durchgehen, incedere' (J. Levi, *op. cit.*, s.v.), or < *et-+š-b-q, cf. [ḡ] as C₁.

→ The [b] as C₃ in becoming [w] after a vowel undergoes in contraction, also: -ew/-ow/-iw > -ū/-u: /gānu/ < /*gāneḥ/; /gnū!/ < /*gnoḥ/), /yātu/ < /*yattīḥ/; /kāsu/ < /*kāteḥ/.

→ The [b] as C₃ in /**kēwel**/ < ***k-[yāh]eḥ el-** and in /**hēwel**/ < /***[yā]heḥ el-**, 'that he give' has become analogical to [b] as C₂.

→ The [b] as C₃ in the Imperative of y-h-b is syncopized in: ***ha**[b] l- > /**hal**/, 'give!'

→ After having [b] as C₃ become in root [w], it remains as such even after a consonant: /ganwa/, /rakwa/ /kasva/, etc.

→ borrowed roots like ḡ-w-b and ḡ-l-b belonging to a later stage of the language do not undergo changes.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	/gādel/ /gadla/ /gdol!/. /gāwer/ /gōra/ /gwor!/ /gōr!/. /gāḥek/ /gaḥka/ /kḥok!/. /gānu/ /ganwa/ /gnū!/. /gāred/ /garda/ /grod!/. /gāre/ ⁸ , /garya/ /gri!/, /grē!/, (< g-r-ʿ). [g] /gārep/ /garpa/ /grop!/. /gāreš/ /garša/ /groš!/. /ḡāweḥ/ /ḡōḥa/ /ḡwoḥ!/ /ḡōḥ!/ (<g-w-ḥ/g-b-ḥ?). /ḡāger/ /ḡagra/ /ḡgor!/, (<g- ʿ-r or z-ʿ-r?). /gāre/ /garya/ /āre/ /arya/ /'ri!/, /'rē!/ (ʿ-r-y).	/dāgel/, /dagla/ /dgol!/. /rāyeš/, /rēša/ /r'oš!/ /roš!/. /sagī!/, /sagē!/ /say!/, go! (both m. and f.).	/pālel/ /palla/ /pālel!/.	/gādel/ 'he interweaves' < g-d-l; /gāwer/ 'he marries' < g-b-r; /gāḥek/ 'he laughs' < g-ḥ-k; /gānu/ 'he steals' < g-n-b; /gāred/ 'he rubs off' < g-r-d; /gāre/ 'he shaves' < g-r-ʿ; /gārep/ 'he clears away the snow' < g-r-p; /gāreš/ 'he draws, he pulls' < g-r-š; /ḡāweḥ/ 'he screams at' < g-w-ḥ/g-ʿ-y; /ḡāger/ 'he is pouting' < g-ʿ-r or z-ʿ-r ?; /gāre/ < *k-ʿāre 'he holds', /āre/, arya/, /'ri!/, /'rē!/ (< ʿ-r-y). ----- /dāgel/ 'he lies' < d-g-l; /rāyeš/ 'he wakes up' < r-g-š; /sagī/ (/say/) 'go!' < s-ʿ-y; /pālel/ 'he distributes', < */palleḡ el/.

Resulting rules

→ The [g] as C₁ < [g] in all the cases attested above, except in /gāre/ 'he holds' in which the proclitical [k] has been regressively assimilated by the following [ʿ] which in its turn is syncopized and replaced by the same [k] after becoming [g]: /*k^ʿāre/ > /*g^ʿāre/ > /gāre/ > g-r-y.

⁸ Homonymous to /gāre/, he holds, and /gāre/, roof of a house.

→ Inversely the [g] as diachronically C₁ seems becoming synchronically [ǰ] in some problematic verbs like /ǰāweh/ 'he browbeats' (< g-b-ḥ ?, cf. [ǰ] as C₁) and /ǰāger/ 'he is annoyed, he is pouting/sulky/sullen', see however z-^ʿ-r, ar. z-^ʿ-l under [z] as C₁.

→ The [g] as C₂ disappears between vowels (/sagī/ < /say/ 'go!', for both m. and f.) and replaced by gliding y. *rāgeš > /rāyeš/ 'he wakes up'. The new root follows then the paradigms of [ʔ] and/or [y] as C₂.

→ In /sagī/ 'go!', the Imper. of '-z-l, the [g] stands probably for [ʔ], cf. mand. /esga/, as. /taš^ʿtā/ 'curriculum' < š-^ʿ-y, ar. s-^ʿ-y.

→ An originally [g] as C₃ could have been standing for a [ʔ] in /ǰāweǰ/ 'he moves', if < *(me)t-zawwe^ʿ > *d-žāwe^ʿ > *ǰāweg > /ǰāweǰ/ (see however [ǰ], [z] and [š] as C¹).

→ The [g] as C₃ seems to be syncopized between two vowels *palleǰ el > /*pallel/ > /pālel/. A derivation by progressive assimilation from *palleǰ to /pallel/ is theoretically possible, but the Senaya shows more a tendency to regressive assimilation, which is also the case f. ex. in Latin /lex/ < *leg-s, rather a tendency to progr. assimilation, which is the case f. ex. in English /legs/ [legz] < *leg-s.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution				
	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	/ǧāger/, /ǧagra/, /ǧgor!/. /ǧāweb/, /ǧōba/, /ǧāweb!/. /ǧāweǧ/, /ǧōǧa/, /ǧwoǧ!/ or /ǧōǧ!/. [ǧ] /ǧāweḥ/, /ǧōḥa/, /ǧwoḥ!/ or /ǧōḥ!/. /ǧāyel/, /ǧēla/, /ǧōl!/. /ǧāyeq/, /ǧēqa/, /ǧōq!/. /ǧāme ^ʿ /, /ǧam ^ʿ a/, /ǧmo ^ʿ !/.		/ǧāweǧ/, /ǧōǧa/, /ǧwoǧ/ or /ǧoǧ!/.	as C ₁ /ǧāger/ 'he got angry' < g- ^ʿ -r ⁹ ; /ǧāweb/ 'he answers' < ar. ǧ-w-b; /ǧāweḥ/ 'he bowls at, he browbeats' < g-b/w-ḥ? /ǧāyel/ 'he goes around' < ar. ǧāla, ǧ-w-l; /ǧāyeq/ 'he tears' < ar. š-q-q ? /ǧāme^ʿ/ 'he gathers, he collects' < ar. ǧ-m- ^ʿ . ----- as C ₃ /ǧāweǧ/ 'he/it moves' < ? < g-w-g, or g-b-g, or z-w- ^ʿ , or z-w-ḥ, or z-w-z?

Resulting rules

Here we have seemingly various kinds of ǧ as C₁:

→ [ǧ] < [g]/[z] in **/ǧāger/** 'he is pouting', 'he is angry' < g-^ʿ-r or ***et+z-^ʿ-r** in GS or IS, cf. ar. z-^ʿ-l, see [z] as C₁;

→ [ǧ] < [š]: **/ǧāyeq/** 'he tears' < ar. š-q-q: ***(e)t+šəqeḳ leh > *čəqeḳle > /*čeḳle/ > *č-y-q: *čāyeq, *čēqā, *čyoq > *ǧyoq > /ǧōq/ > ǧ-y-q;**

→ [ǧ] < [ǧ]: **/ǧāme^ʿ/** < ar. ǧ-m-^ʿ;

→ [ǧ] < ? : **/ǧāweǧ/** 'he moves'; this root presented as g-w-g by Nöldecke (*/gāweg/* "sich bewegen (Ursprung ?)", *Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache*, S. 230) is etymologically not yet identified. The second radical of the unknown root should be a [w] in a root in IS; otherwise a [b] will be required, also ***ǧ-b-ǧ**, see however [g] and [z] as C₁ and [w] as C₂). Here the following alternatives could have been contaminating each other to produce the expected **/ǧāweǧ/** 'he moves':

***(me)t+ š-b-q** in GS > ***t-šəweq: *t-šəweq + leh > *čweḳle** (through regr. assim.) > ***ǧweḳle > *ǧ-w-q > ǧ-w-ǧ ?;**

***(me)t+ z-w-z** in IS > ***t-zawwez > *d-žawwez > *ǧāwez** 'moving'?

***(me)t+ z-w-ḥ** in IS > ***t-zawweḥ > *d-žawweḥ > *ǧāweḥ** 'moving'?

***(me)t+ z-w-^ʿ** in IS > ***t-zawwe^ʿ > *d-žawwe^ʿ > *ǧāwe^ʿ** 'moving'? (for [ʿ] > [g], cf. sen. /sagī/ 'go!' < s-^ʿ-y, mand. /asgia ʿzil/ 'go, depart!', as. taš ʿīṭā 'curriculum' < š-^ʿ-y, ar. s-^ʿ-y; see [z] as C¹)

→ The [ǧ] as C₃ is attested only in the problematic root above: **/ǧāweǧ/**

⁹ By Maclean, Arab. ǧ-k-r.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution				
	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
[ġ]	/ġāde/, /ġada/ /ġdī/, /ġdē!/ /ġāder/ /ġadra/, /ġdor/ /ġāze/ /ġazya/ /ġzī/, /ġzē!/ /ġāleb/, /ġalba/ /ġlob!/ /maġleb/ /maġelba/ /maġleb!/.	rāyeš/ /rēsa/ /rōš!/ (< /*rāgeš/).	/pālel/ /palla/ /pālel! (< /*palleġ el-/).	[ġ] as C ₁ : /ġāde/ 'he winds something around something.' (< ħ-d-y in the intensive stem). /ġāder/ 'he wanders around' (< ħ-d-r). /ġāze/ 'he sees' (< ħ-z-y). /ġāleb/ 'he wins' (< ġ-l-b, in the basic stem). /maġleb/ 'he loses' (< ġ-l-b in the causative stem). ----- [ġ] as C ₂ : /rāyeš/ 'he wakes up' < r-g-š; ----- [ġ] as C ₃ : /pālel/ 'he distributes' (< p-l-g in IS + el- (see [g] as C ₃)

Resulting rules

Here we have two kinds of [ġ] as C₁:

→ [ġ] < [ħ] when regressively assimilated by a voiced consonant being as C₂: /*ħdī/ > /ġdī/, /*ħdor/ > /ġdor/ and /*ħzī/ > /ġzī/ **Indicative Present /Subjunctive Present /ġāze/**¹⁰, **comp. *ġħok < /kħok/ but not /*kāħek/.**

→ [ġ] < [ġ] in borrowed roots: /ġāleb/ < ar. ġ-l-b.

→ [ġ] as C₂ is syncopized and replaced by the gliding [y] in /rāyeš/ 'he wakes up' < *rāgeš < r-g-š.

→ [ġ] as C₃ is attested in /pālel/ 'he distributes' (< *māpalleġ el-). The [ġ] as C₃ seems to be syncopized between *palleġ el > /*pallel/ > /pālel/ (see [g] as C₃).

¹⁰ Indicative present with pronominal suffix: /ġāzēle/, he sees him. Subjunctive present with pronominal suffix: /ġā:zele/, that he see him. See Panoussi, Estiphan "A Comparison of the Verbal Systems of Senaya and Urmežnāya" in *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 18, 2, 2015, p. 26.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	/dāyer/, /dēra/, /dōr!/> /ḏāyer/ etc.). /dāyeš/, /dēsa/, /dōš!/. /dāyex/, /dēxa/, /dōx!/. /dāyes/, /dēsa/, /dōs!/. /dāyeš/, /dēša/, /dōš!/> [d] /ḏāyeš/ etc.) < d- ^c -š). /dāyeq/, /dēqa/, /dōq!/. /dāme/, /damya/, /dmī!/, /dmē!/. /dāre/, /darya/, /drī!/, /drē!/. /dāmex/, /damxa/, /dmox!/. /dāres/, /darsa/, /dros!/.	/šōtel/, /šotla/, /šōtel/. /kīde/, /kīda/, /yāde/, /yada/, /īdī!/, /īdē!/. /mandē/, /mandya/, /mandī!/, /mandē!/. /bāder/, /badra/, /bdor!/. /ḡāder/, /ḡadra/, /ḡdor!/. /šāder/, /šadra/, /šdor! ¹¹ and /šāder!/. /ḡāde/, /ḡada/, /ḡdī!/, /ḡdē!/.	/kāwed/, /kōda/, /hāwed/, /hōda/, /wod!/. /hāred/, /harda/, /hrod!/. /yāqed/, /yaqda/, /īqod!/. /rāqed/, /raqda/, /rqod!/. /mōde/, /modya/, /mōdī!/, /mōdē!/. /mande/, /mandya/, /mandī!/, /mandē!/.	[d] as C ₁ : /dāyer/ 'he turns back' < d- ^c -r, or ar. d-w-r? /dāyeš/ 'he mashes/crashes' < d-w-š; /dāyex/ 'he extinguishes' < d- ^c -k; /dāyes/ 'he sweats' < d- ^c -t; /dāyeš/ 'he squeezes' < d- ^c -š; /dāyeq/ 'he grinds' < d-q-q; /dāme/ 'he resembles' < d-m-y; /dāmex/ 'he sleeps' < d-m-k; /dāre/ 'he puts' < d-r-y; /dāres/ 'he vomits' < t-r-s. ----- [d] as C ₂ : /šōtel/ 'he throws' < *š-t-l < š-d-y in IS + el-, š-b-ṭ + el-, or š-w-ṭ + el-; /kīde/ 'he knows' < *k- + y-d- ^c ; /yāde/ 'that he know!' < y-d- ^c ; /bāder/ 'he scatters' < b-d-r; /ḡāder/ 'he wanders around' < ḡ-d-r; /šāder/ 'he sends' < š-d-r in IS; /ḡāde/ /ḡāde/ 'he winds s.th around s.th.' < ḡ-d-y in IS; /mōde/ 'he confesses' < y-d-y in KS; /mandē/ 'he throws/lets fall' < n-d-y in KS. ----- [d] as C ₃ : /kāwed/ 'he does' < *k- + ^c -b-d; /hāwed/ 'that he do!' < ^c -b-d; /hāred/ 'he trembles/quivers' < h-r-d; /yāqed/ 'he burns' < y-q-d; /rāqed/ 'he dances' < r-q-d.

Resulting ruels

→ The [d] as C₁ < [d] in all the cases attested until now, except perhaps in /dāres/;

→ [d] in /dāres/ 'he vomits', < if not from *tāres < as. /tarsī/ 'to nourish', then from

As. d-r-d-s 'faece, merda poluit' (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.) > */dardes/ > */darres/ > /dāres/.

→ [d] as C₂ has remained [d] in the most of cases: /kīde/, /mande/, /bāder/, /ḡāder/, /šāder/, etc.

→ it has become by reciprocal dissimilation a voiceless dental /t/ in *šaddī l- > š-t-l, cf. however [š] as C₁; a root like *š-t-l, put in šaf^cel-form, would give out */šaštel/, which through dissimilation can become */šawtel/, and through contraction it has changed into /šōtel (cf. as. š-t-p, through */šaštef/ > /šawtef/).

¹¹ However, with pronominal object: /šādīre!/, send, (m.), it! /šādēre/, send, (f.), it! /meždēre/, he has sent.

If so, that is the only trace of a very ancient šaf'el-form in Senaya. As a fossilized trace, it would indicate how far does the Senaya go back in its diachronic origin. Another possible origin would be from the root **š-b-ṭ + el**; ***/šāweṭ el-/ 'he lets fly loose' → 'he casts'?** A third etymological possibility and perhaps the right one would be ***/šāweṭ el-/ , 'he neglects it' → 'he casts it away' < š-w-ṭ.**

→ The /d/ as C₃ is originally derived from [d].

→ In **/kōda/ and /hōda/** the second consonant being a [w] is contracted with the preceding /ā/ to become /ō/.

→ For /mande/ and /mōde/ see appropriate tables for synchronically four radical roots, also m-n-d-y and m-w-d-y.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution			
	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃ Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	/kāwe/, /kōya/, /hāwe/, /hōya/, /wī!/, /wē!/. /yēle/, /yēla/ ¹² , /gēle/, /gēla/. [h] /hēwel/, /hēwa/, /hal!/. /hāwed/, /hōda/, /wod!/. /hāred/, /harda/, /hrod!/.	/kēwel/, /kēwa/, /hēwel/, /hēwa/, /hal!/. /rāḥeṭ/, /raḥṭa/, /rḥoṭ!/.	[h] as C ₁ : /kāwe/ 'he will be' < *k- + h-w-y; /hāwe/ 'that he be!' < h-w-y; /kēwel/ 'he gives' < *kə[yā]heḅ el- < *k- + y-h-b; /hēwel/ 'that he give!' < */[yā]heḅ el-/ < y-h-b el-; /rāḥeṭ/ 'he runs' < r-h-ṭ; /kāwed/ 'he does' < *k- + ʿ-b-d /hāwed/ 'that he do!' < ʿ-b-d; /hāred/ 'he trembles' < ḥ-r-d; ----- [h] as C ₂ : /kēwel/ 'he gives' < *k- + y-h-b /hēwel/ 'that he give!' < y-h-b + el-.

Resulting rules

We have here two kinds of /h/ as C₁:

→ [h] as C₁ < [h]: in most of cases: /hāwe/, /hēwel/ 'that he give!' < *hēw-wel < */[yā]heḅ el- < y-h-b, 'to give' + el-; /hal/, 'give!' < *ha[b] l-; but /hāred/ 'he is freezing' < ḥ-r-d, cf. as. /eṭḥæred/;

→ /h/ < [ʿ]: /hāwed/, 'that he do!' < *ʿābed;

→ The [h] is replaced by the proclitical /k-/ in the indicative mood: /kāwe/ < *k-hāwe

/kēwel/ < *k-hēwel < *k-[yā]hēw-wel < *k-yāheḅ el-; /kāwed/ < *k-hāwed < *k-ʿābed;

→ The [h] of the verb h-w-y is disappeared in Perfect, also *hwēle > *wēle, which in its turn appears /gēle/; in Imperative the verb conjugation shows /wī!/ (see [w] as C₂).

→ The [h] of the verb h-w-d (< ʿ-b-d) disappears in Imperative: hāwed/hōda/*hwod > wod;

→ In /hāred/ the root is ḥ-r-d, as. /eṭḥæred/: *ḥāred/*ḥarda/*ḥrod > /hrod/ > h-r-d;

→ The [h] as C₂ in root y-h-b has become C₁ in Subjunctive /hēwel/ < *hēw-wel < */[yā]heḅ el-, and in Imperative: /hal/ < */[yə]ha[b] l-, with the apheresis of the first syllable.

→ The [ḥ] in /rāḥeṭ/ is through regress. assimil. ultimately originated from *rāheṭ > *rāḥeṭ > /rāḥeṭ/.

¹² Sen. /yāle yēlālu/, 'they got, or have gotten, children'; /yāle gēlālu/, 'they had once children, [but now they don't.].
Alq. /yāle hēlālu/.

Resulting rules

→ The original Semitic [w] as C₁ has either in GS, as expected, become [y], or contracted with the preceding vowel in KS to become [ō] or [o]: /mōtū/ 'he places', /motwa/mōtu < *mawteḥ (see [y] as C₁ and appropriate tables for synchronically four radicals, also m-w-t-b > /mōtu/; m-w-b-š > /mōbeš/ 'he dries');

→ The [w] as originally C₂ in GS becomes [y] (see [y] as C₂), except in h-w-y¹⁵ and in inflexions based on IS, as perhaps in /ḡāweḡ/ and /ḡāweḥ/ (see however [ḡ] as C₁): /dāyer/ 'he returns' < d-w-r; the contractions here are as usual either: -āw-/-aw-/-au- > -ō-/-o-, kāwe/kōya, or -āy- > -ay-/-ai- > -ē-/-e-, dāyer/dēra etc.; in cases like /mader/ < *madyer, /madīra/ < *madyāra, 'he/she gives back' and maqem/maqīma 'he/she lifts up' the [y] is either syncopized or with the following vowel changed into the monophthong [ī], comp. as. *yāṭay > /īṭ/; /māneḥ/ (< *manneḥ < *manyeh) however remains problematic.

→ The originally primary [w] remains however [w] in IS and KS: /maḥwer/ 'he whitens' < ḥ-w-r in KS, as. in IS; /maḥwe/ 'he shows/displays' < ḥ-w-y in KS, as. in IS; /**(m)sāwe**/ 'he makes' < ar. s-w-y in IS, and perhaps /ḡāweḡ/ < *(me)t-zāwez (< z-w-z) in IS (see however [ḡ] and [z] as C₁), and /ḡāweḥ/ /ḡāweḡ/ 'he browbeats' < g-w-ḥ in IS (g-w-ḥ as den. < as. /gawḥā/ 'horror?').

→ The secondary [w] deriving mostly from an original [b] is as C₂ remaining [w] /swī/ 'be satiate!' < s-b-ʿ, /kēwel/ 'he gives' < *k-[yā]heḥ el- (see [b] as C₂) and /qāweṭ/ 'he jumps' < den. as. /qafāṭā/ 'jumping'.

→ In the Imperative, the [w] which derives originally from [b] is facultatively retained or syncopized: ḡwoḥ/ḡōḥ, ḥwoṭ/ḥōṭ etc.

→ In the Imperative, the [y] which derives originally from [w] is only syncopized: dāyer/dēra/dōr, dāyeš/dēša/dōš etc.

→ In the Imperative, the [w] which derives from [w] is retained in /wī/ 'be!'.

→ h-w-y in Perfect: /gēle/¹⁶ 'he was/he has been' or /yēle/ 'he became' or 'he has become', unless there is another explanation for /yēle/ (perhaps from /*yāḥīḥ-leh/, with some semantic changes, as there are semantic changes in Spanish /salir/, to go out, versus Ital. /salire/, to go out. In English, /eventually/ has not the same meaning as /eventuell/ in German.

→ The [w] in /ḡāweḥ/ ?, if < g-w-ḥ, (g-w-ḥ as den. < a. /gawḥā/ 'horror?'), the semantic changes must be justified (see g-y-ḥ 'hervorbrechen' in J. Levi, *op. cit.*, s.v.) or perhaps < *g-b-ḥ den. of gəbāḥūṭā 'calvities sincipitis'; *g-b-ḥ in IS: 'to show baldness' → 'to bawl at s.o?', cf. as. /gabbah/ 'tahaddada', (=

¹⁵ Besides h-w-', we are confronted with some problematic verbal roots like /ḡāweḡ/ and /ḡāweḥ/ in which it is not clear what is the origin of [-w-]?

¹⁶ The verb (h)wā shows interestingly fossilized traces of an earlier stage of the language, namely in the same stage of transition period of an initial /v/ or /w/ over /gu/ to /g/ in the Iranian languages. See the following cases: /*warm/ becoming ultimately /garm/, warm; /*ward/, becoming ultimately /gol/, rose; /*vīnas/, becoming /gonāh/ (compare Lat. noceo, innocent, etc.). For Senaya, we can think of the perfect of h-w-y, as being /*(h)wēle/ and this becoming > /*wēle/ to produce /*guēle/ and ultimately /gēle/.

'to browbeat'), (see J. Eugène Manna, *Vocabulaire Chaldéen-Arabe*, Mossoul 1900, s.v.; **ḡāweḡ** < ḡ-b-ḡ ?, or g-w-z 'durchgehen, incedere' (J. Levi, *op. cit.*, s.v.).

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution				
	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	/zāben/, /zabna/, /zābeb!/. /zāde/, /zada/, /zdi!/, /zdē!/. /zāmer/, /zamra/, /zmor!/. /zāre/, /zara/, [z] /zrī!/, /zrē!/. /ǰāweǰ/, /ǰōǰa/, /ǰwoǰ!/, /ǰōǰ!/. /ǰāger/, /ǰagra/, /ǰgor!/. /ǰāweḥ/, /ǰōḥa/, /ǰwoḥ!/, or /ǰōḥ!/.	/ǰāze/, /ǰazyā/, /ǰzī!/, /ǰzē!/. /āzel/, /āza/, /say!/, /sagī!/, /sagē!/.	/ǰāweǰ/, /ǰōǰa/, /ǰwoǰ!/, /ǰōǰ!/. /marzen ¹⁷ , /makrez/, /makerza/, /markez!/.	/zāben/ 'he sells' < z-b-n in IS; /zade/ 'he fears' < *z-d-ʿ < *etzaʿzaʿ > ezdaʿzaʿ < as. z-ʿ-z-ʿ 'to shake'; /zāmer/ 'he sings' < z-m-r; /zāre/ 'he sows' < z-r-ʿ; /ǰāweǰ/ 'he moves' < *ǰ-w-ǰ < ? /ǰāger/ 'he is pouting/sulky' < z-ʿ-r, cf. ar. z-ʿ-l ? /ǰāweḥ/ 'he browbeats' < g-b-ḥ? ----- /ǰāze/ 'he sees' < ḥ-z-y; /kāzel/ 'he goes' < *k- + '-z-l; /āzel/ 'that he go!' < '-z-l. ----- /ǰāweǰ/ < *k- + z-w-z ? /marzen/ 'it becomes cheaper' < '-r-z-n ir. /arzān/ cheap'; /makrez/ 'he preaches' < k-r-z in KS.

Resulting rules

→ [z] as C₁ is seemingly according to the examples above originated only from [z].

→ Inversely it could be said that the original [z] as C₁ remains seemingly [z], except in the cases of /ǰāweǰ/, /ǰāger/ and /ǰāweḥ/ the diachronic origin of which is however not yet identified. The second radical of the root in question in /ǰāweǰ/, should either be [b], to become [w], also ǰ-b-ǰ (?), or be a [w] of a root mediae-w in IS. Here the following three alternatives could have contaminated each other to produce the expected /ǰāweǰ/ 'he moves':

*(me)t+ š-b-q in GS > *t-šəweq: *t-šəweq + leh > *čweqle (through regr. assim.) > *ǰweqle > *ǰ-w-q > ǰ-w-ǰ ?;

*(me)t+ z-w-z in IS > *t-zawwez > *d-žawwez > *ǰāwez 'moving'?

*(me)t+ z-w-ḥ in IS > *t-zawweḥ > *d-žawweḥ > *ǰāweḥ 'moving'?

*(me)t+ z-w-ʿ in IS > *t-zawweʿ > *d-žawweʿ > *ǰāweʿ 'moving'? (for [ʿ] > [g], cf.

→ Sen. /sagī/ 'go!' < s-ʿ-y, mand. /asgia ʿzil/ 'go, depart!', as. tašʿitā 'curriculum' < š-ʿ-y, ar. s-ʿ-y; see [z] as C¹.

→ /ǰāger/ can, however, probably be deriving from *(e)t-zaʿer > *d-žāger, 'to be hemmed in, closed and despond in feeling, to feel becoming humiliated' → 'to be pouting/sulky' < z-ʿ-r, (cf.

¹⁷ The other forms not documented.

ar. z-^ʿ-l, ir. /qahr (< q-h-r) kardan/): /za^ʿala/¹⁸ 'he is annoyed', cf. also Targum Ar. *it-zə^ʿer > /izdə^ʿar/ 'verringert werden'.

→ /ǰāweḥ/ < a. /gawḥā/ 'horror?', see [w] as C₁.

→ The [z] as C₂ is originated only from [z] and exercises a regressive assimilation on [ḥ]:

*ḥzī > /ǰzī/ > ǰ-z-y.

→ The [z] as C₃ is attested in /makrez/, /marzen/ and perhaps ultimately in /ǰāweǰ/ if deriving from z-w-z with contamination of ar. /ǰāwaza/ 'to pass, overstep'.

¹⁸ Ar. z-^ʿ-l, as. z-^ʿ-r; ar. š-ǰ-l, as. s-^ʿ-r.

/gdēl/.			
/gāder/.			
/gadra/.			
/gdor!/.			
/gāze/.			
/gazya/.			
/gzīl/.			
/gzēl/.			
/hāred/.			
/harda/.			
/hrod!/.			

Resulting rules

→ Here the original initial [h] in GS has usually become [h̥]. This is the most spread change of an original [h], also by nouns: /ḥamrā/ > /ḥamra/, /laḥmā/ > /laḥma/ /ḥəwārā/ > /ḥwāra/ etc.

→ this [h̥] has, then, in cases of regressive assimilation from a voiced consonant, become [g̊]: *g̊zī > /gzī/, but /maḥwī/, 'show!' not *magwī.

→ The overtaking, rather than keeping, of an initial [h̥] without changing it into [h] should, thus, belong to a period of borrowing words from the other dialects, or from the liturgical language, even if, among these words, there figures a crucial root like /ḥ-k-y/¹⁹ 'to speak'.

→ The change of [h̥] to [g̊] is conditioned by the assimilation environment, originally in Perfect or Imperative positions: *ḥzēle > /gzēle/, *ḥzī > /gzī/, (> g-z-y), *ḥdēle > /gdēle/ (> *g-d-y, but not ḥ-d-y); *ḥdor! > /gdor!/ (> g-d-r).

→ The [h̥] as C₂ is seemingly always [h̥] and exercises a regressive assimilation on the C₁ as in: */gḥok/ > /kḥok!/, laugh!, (but not > *k-ḥ-k).

→ The [h̥] in /rāḥeṭ/, he runs, is, through regressive assimilation, ultimately originated from *rāheṭ > *rāḥeṭ > /rāḥeṭ.

→ /g̊āweḥ/ < g-b-ḥ ? (see [g̊] as C₁).

→ [h] < [h̥] in /hāred/ is caused by regr. assimil. in Imperative: *ḥrod > hrod > h-r-d.

¹⁹ Here we are confronted with a sociolinguistic problem. Why does the Senaya apply a borrowed root, seemingly, from the Arabic ḥ-k-y, to speak, for indicating the most common activity of every days life? Did Senaya not have a term for speaking before borrowing it from the Arabic? The same question could be done for Urmežnāya's /hamzanta/, to talk, and /hamzem/, speak!, as seemingly being derived from an Iranian origin, /hamzabān/, speaking the same language, to indicate 'colloquial speaking'. In addition to that, we have also an Arabic root like š-ḡ-l, to be busy, to indicate the speaking activity in Tūrōyo. The same phenomenon is also the case in Kurdish, where one say "kurdī qəṣa akay?", 'do you speak Kurdish', from the Arabic root q-ṣ-ṣ, to relate, to tel.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
	<p>/maḥreǵ/, /maḥərǵa/, /maḥreǵ!/. /ḥāyet/, /ḥēta/, /ḥōt!/. /ḥāyem/, /ḥēma/, /ḥōm!/. /maḥwe/, /maḥwa/, /maḥw!/, /maḥwē!/. /ḥāwer/, /ḥōra/, /ʔ²⁰/. /ḥāyer/, /ḥēra/, /ḥōr!/. /maḥwe/, /maḥwa/, /maḥwī!/, /maḥwē!/. [ḥ] /ḥāwet/, /ḥōta/, /ḥwoṭ!/. /ḥālet/, /ḥalta/, /ḥloṭ!/. /ḥallel/, /ḥalla/, /ḥallel!/. /maḥlep/, /maḥəlpə/, /maḥlep!/. /ḥāret/, /ḥarta/, /ḥrot!/. /ḥāres/, /ḥarsa/, /ḥros!/. /ḥāšek/, /ḥaška/, /ḥšok!/. </p>	<p>/gāḥek/, /gaḥka/, /kḥok!/. /māḥe/, /maḥya/, /mḥī!/, /mḥē!/. /sāḥe/, /saḥya/, /shī!/, /shē!/. /rāḥet/, /raḥta/, /rḥot!/. /šāḥen/, /šaḥna/, /šḥon!/. </p>	<p>/māneh/, /manīḥa/, /ʔ/. /pāseh/, /paṣḥa/, /pṣoh!/. /rāseh/, /raṣḥa/, /rṣoh!/. /šāpeh/, /šapḥa/, /špoh!/. /ḡāweh/, /ḡōḥa/, /ḡwoḥ!/ or /ḡoh!/. </p>	<p>/maḥreǵ/ 'he consumes' < ar. ḥ-r-ǵ; /ḥāyet/ 'he sews' < ḥ-w-ṭ; /ḥāyem/ 'he falls sick/ill' < ḥ-m-m in GS; /ḥallel/ 'he washes' < ḥ-l-l in IS; /ḥāwer/ 'he whitens' < ḥ- w-r; /ḥāyer/ 'he looks' < ḥ-w-r; /maḥwe/ 'he shows' < ḥ- w-y in KS; /ḥāwet/ 'he mixes' < ḥ-w- ṭ; /ḥālet/ 'he mixes' < ḥ-l-ṭ; /ḥāret/ 'he scrapes' < ḥ-r- ṭ; /ḥāres/ 'he cuts up' < ḥ-r- s; /ḥāšek/ 'it darkens' < ḥ-š- k; /gāḥek/ 'he lauphs' < g-ḥ- k; /māḥe/ 'he beats' < m-ḥ- y; /sāḥe/ 'he sweems' < s-ḥ- y; /rāḥet/ 'he runs' < r-h-ṭ; /šāḥen/ 'it warms up' < š- ḥ-n; /māneh/ 'he lets rest' < n- w-ḥ in KS; /pāseh/ 'he opens' < p-t- ḥ; /pāseh/ 'he rejoices' < p- ṣ-ḥ; rāseh/ 'it boils' < r-t-ḥ; /šāpeh/ 'he pours' < š-p- ḥ; ḡāweh/x? 'he browbeats' < ʔ</p>

²⁰ To be expected /ḥor/ which could mean also 'look!'. Periphrastically, senaya would then say: /wodle ḥwāra/, make it white!

Resulting rules

→ The [ħ] as C₁ < [ħ] in all the cases given above, except in /maħreǧ̃/.

→ The [ħ] in /maħreǧ̃/ < [ħ] in the root ħ-r-ǧ̃, borrowed from the Arabic origin.

→ The [ħ] as C₂ < [ħ] in all the cases given above, except in /rāħeṭ/.

→ The [ħ] in /rāħeṭ/ is derived ultimately from [h] by regressive assimilation:

***rhoṭ > *rħoṭ > rħoṭ.**

→ The [ħ] as C₃ < [ħ] in all the cases including probably /ǧāweħ̣/, 'he browbeats', the etymology of which is not yet identified.

→ For the probable etymologies of /ǧāweħ̣/ see [ǧ̃] as C₁ as well as [b] and [w] as C₂.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution				
	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs, their significations and roots
[t]	/tāwe/, /tōya/, /twīl/, /twēl/, (< t-b- ^s) /tāwe/, /tōya/, /ʔ/ (< t-w-y < t ā bā, being worth). /tāyem/, /tēma/, /tom!/, (t-m-m). /tāme/, /tama/, /tom!/, (t-m- ^c < t- ^c -m). /tāpe/, /tāpya/, /tpīl/, /tpēl/. /tāše/, /tāšya/, /tšīl/, /tšēl/.	/hāte/, /hāṭya/, /hṭī!/, /hṭēl/. /māte/, /maṭya/, /mṭī!/, /mṭēl/. /manṭe/, /manṭya/, /manṭī!/, /manṭēl/. /qāte/, /qaṭa/, /qṭī!/, /qṭēl/. /qātel/, /qaṭla/, /qṭoll/. /šōtel/, (if < š-b-t + el), /šotla/, //šōtel/	/hāwet/, /hōṭa/, /hoṭ!/. /hāyet/, /hēṭa/, /hoṭ!/. /hālet/, /hālṭa/, /hlot!/. / ^c āret/, / ^c arṭa/, / ^c roṭ!/. /pālet/, /palṭa/, /plot!/. /pālet/, /palṭa/, /pālet!/, take [it] out! /rāhet/, /rahṭa/, /rhot!/.	/tāwe/ 'he falls asleep' < t-b- ^s ; /tāwe/ 'it is worth' den. < t ā bā; /tāyem/ 'he closes the eyes' < t-m-m; /tāme/ 'he taste' < t-m- ^c < t- ^c -m; /tāpe/ 'it is sticky, it glues' < t-p-y; /tāše/ 'he hides' < t-š-y; /hāte/ 'he sins' < h-t-y; /māte/ 'he reaches' < m-t-y; /manṭe/ 'he takes it there' < *mamṭē < m-t-y in KS; /qāte/ 'he cuts' < q-t- ^c ; /qātel/ 'he kills' < q-t-l /hāwet/ 'he mixes' < h-b-t; /hāyet/ 'he sews' < h-w-t; /hālet/ 'he mixes' < h-l-t; / ^c āret/ 'he breaks wind/farts' < ^c -r-t; /pālet/ 'he goes out' < p-l-t; /pālet/ 'he takes out' < p-l-t in IS; /rāhet/ 'he runs' < r-h-t;

Resulting rules

→ The [t] as C₁ < [t] in all the cases attested and partly shown as above;

→ The [t] as C₂ < [t] in all the cases attested as above; whereas an original [t] as C₂ seems to have become [t], in the case of /šōtel/ 'he casts', if it is to be derived from /*šā**be**t el-/ 'he lets fly loose' → 'he casts'? < š-b-t + el. A third etymological possibility, and perhaps the right one, would be *šā**w**eṭ el- 'he neglects it' → 'he casts it away' < š-w-t.

→ In /manṭe/, < /*mamṭē/, the [t] has a regressive assimilation influence upon the original [m] in dentalizing it;

→ The [t] in /rāhet/, < /*rāhet/, has, through the regressive assimilation, emphaticized the [h] of the root. thus, /*rāhet/ 'he runs' > /*rā**h**eṭ/ > /rā**h**eṭ/.

/mōlpa/, /mōlep!/, /mōde/, /mōdya/, /mōdī!/, /mōdē!/, /yāqed/, /yaqda/, /īqod!/, /mōqed/, /mōqda/, /mōqed!/, /yāreq/, /yarqa/, /īroq!/, /yātu/, /yatwa/, /ītu!/, /mōtu/, /motwa/, /mōtu!/,	/bāya/, /b'ī!/, /b'ē!/, /lagbe/, /lagba/, /labāye/, /labāya/, /labāyet/, /labāyat!/, /dāyex/, /dēxa/, /dōx!/, /madex/, /madīxa/, /madex!/, /dāyes/, /dēsa/, /dōs!/, /dāyeṣ/, /dēṣa/, /dōṣ!/, /dāyeq/, /dēqa/, /dōq!/, /ḥāyem/, /ḥēma/, /ḥōm!/, /ḥāyek/, /ḥēka/, /ḥāyek!/, /ṭāyem/,	/nāčē/, /načča/, (/načya), /nčoš!/, /nčil!/, /nčē!/, /pāse/, /pasya/, /psī!/, /psē!/, /gāre/ ²¹ , /garya/ , /āre/ , /arya/ , /'rī!/, /'rē!/, /gāre/, /garya/, /grī!/, /grē!/, /sāwe/ ²² , he is sated, /sōya/, /swī!/, /swē!/, /sāwē/, he makes, /sōya/, /sāwī!/, /sāwē!/, /sāpe/,	
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/labāye/ 'may he not want' < *lā bā'ē;
 /bāne/ 'he constructs' < b-n-y;
 /mōde/ 'he confesses' < y-d-y;
 /kāse/ 'he comes' < 't-y;
 /kāse/ 'he covers' < k-s-y;
 /bāxē/ 'he cries' < b-k-y;
 /yāme/ 'he swears' < y-m-y;
 /māḥe/ 'he beats' < m-ḥ-y;
 /mēse/ 'he brings' < 't-y in KS;
 /māse/ 'he launders' < m-s-y;
 /māše/ 'he wipes off' < m-š-y;
 /tāre/ 'he wets all over' < t-r-y (Hebr. š-r-y);
 /nāčē/ 'he snatches' < n-č-y < n-t-š;
 /pāse/ 'he takes steps' < p-s-y < p-s-č;
 /gāre/ 'he holds' < *k-āre < 'r-y;
 /gāre/ 'he shaves' < g-r-y < g-r-č;
 /sāwe/ 'he becomes sated' < s-b-č;
 /sāpe/ 'he resigns' < s-p-y < s-w-p;
 /say/ or /sagi/ 'go!' < s-č-y;
 /rāwe/ 'he grows' < r-b-y < r-b-b;
 /pāle/ 'he distributes' < p-l-g;
 /sagī/ 'go!' < s-č-y;

²¹ Homonymous to /gāre/, roof, and /gāre/, he shaves.

²² Homonymous to /sāwē/, he makes.

	/tēma/, /tōm!/. /kāyem/, /kēma/, /kōm!/. /makem/, /makīma/, /makem!/. 	/sapyā/, /sāpī!/. /sāpē!/. (āzel/āza) /say/, /sagī!/, /sagē!/. /rāwe/, /rōya/, /rwī!/, /rwē!/. 	
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Resulting rules

→ The [y] as C₁ < [y] in all the cases found except perhaps in /yāšer/ 'he binds' and /yāwer/ 'he enters'.

→ Apparently /yāšer/ does not belong to verbs mit [ʔ] as C₁, unless it is to be taken from a new root originated from Imperative form: *'āser/*'asra/*'isor > išoṛ > y-š-r. To relate /yāšer/ 'he strings' with the ar. (Arabic) /watara/ 'to string', there requires the presence of the root y-t-r in the related meaning in ancient Syriac, which is not the case, as once stated quite right by Wolfhart Heinrichs.

→ The verb /yāwer/ 'he enters, apparently presupposes a [y] as C₁, but, because there is no root with radicals as y-b-r or y-w-r in as., we must deduce this form from 'b-r 'to pass' becoming analog to 'b-r, also *'āwer/*'ōra/īwor > y-w-r. Otherwise, cf. ar. w-b-r 'living in low grounds, dwelling in houses (cf. Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s-v.);

→ The verbal form /mōbeš/, he makes [it] dry, is derived from y-b-š put in KS, (/mawbeš/ > */maubeš/ > /mōbeš/). similarly, /mōlep/, /mōde/, /mōqed/ and /mōtu/, are from KS of the related roots.

→ /isen/ < *yētay + -n, (cf. Urm. /ḥašken/ 'darken' < ḥ-š-k + -n).

→ /īle/ 'it is', subj.: /hāwe/(/hāy/), /hōya/, Imper.: /wī!/, /wē!/, seems to be deriving from a verb with, assumedly, [y] as C₁, < */[et]i[heḅ] leh/?

→ /lay/ 'it is not' < */lā ī[le]/ or */lā īt/.

→ /lāy/ 'it be not' < */lā hāy/ < */lā hā[w]e/.

→ /kīde/, he knows, seems to be deriving from *k- [et]īde[ʔ], < y-d-ʔ.

→ /kēwel/ he gives, seems to be deriving from *kēw-wel < *ke- [yāh]eḅ el- < y-h-b.

→ The [y] as C₂ stands for one of the following consonants: [w] in: /dāyer/, /dāyeš/, /ḥāyet/, /lāyeš/, /māyes/, /pāyeš/, /fāyet/, /qāyem/ a.s.o.; [ʔ] in: /nāyes/, ir. /nīš-;/[ʕ] in: /lāyes/, /bāye/, /dāyes/, /dāyex/, /dāyeṣ/ a.s.o.;

→ The [y] as C₂ stands as glide by regr. dissimilation of mediae geminatae: /dāyeq/, /ḥāyem/, /ḥāyek/, /ṭāyem/, /kāyep/, /sāyeb/ (if from s-b-b for š-b-b), /ḡāyeq/ (if < š-q-q, cf. [ḡ] as C₁), a.s.o.

→ The [y] as C₃ < [y] in: /bāxe/, /bāne/, /gāre/ (< *k-ʕārey), /sāwe/ (< *msawwey), /ṭāwe/ (< ṭ-b-y < ṭābā), /rāwe/ (< r-b-y < r-b-b) a.s.o.

→ The [y] as C₃ < [ʃ] in: /bāle/, /pāse/, /gāre/ (< *gāre^ʃ), /sāwe/ (< *sābe^ʃ), /ṭāwe/ (ṭ-b-^ʃ), /kīde/, /yāde/ a.s.o.

→ The [y] as C₃ < [g] in: /pāle/ (< p-l-y < p-l-g) and /sagī/ 'go!' (< s-^ʃ-y).

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs with [y] as C ₂ , their significations and roots
[k]	<p>/kebe/, see <i>supra</i> [b] as C₁. /kāweš/, /kōša/, /woš!/, or /kōš!/. /kāyem/, /kēma/, /kōm!/. /kāyep/, /kēpa/, /kōp/. /makep/, /makīpa/, /makep!/. /kāper/, /kapra/, /kpor!/. /kārez/, /karza/, /*kroz!/. /makrez/, /makerza/, /makrez!/. /kāšef/, /kašfa/, /kšof!/. /kāse/²⁴, he covers, /kasya/, /kāsī!/, /kāsē!/. /kāse/, /kasya/, see [] as C₁. /kāzel/, /kāza/ see [] as C₁. /kāxel/, /kaxla/, see [] as C₁. /kāmer/, /kama/ see [] as C₁. /kāwed/, /kōda/, /wod!/. </p>	<p>/kāxel/, /kaxlā/, /ixol!/ /bāxe/, /baxya/, /pxī!/, /pxē!/. /sāker/, /sakea/, /skoe!/. /ḥāke/, /ḥalya/, /ḥkī!/, /ḥkē!/. /šāke/, /šakya/, /škī!/, /škē!/. /rāku/, /rakwa/, /erku!/ </p>	<p>/bārex/, /barxa/, /brox!/. /bārek/, /barka/, /brok!/. /gāḥek/, /gaxka/, /kxok!/ (<*/gxok/). /dāyex/, /dēxa/, /dōx!/. /fārek/, /farka/, /frok!/. /ḥāyek/, /ḥēka/, /ḥōk!/. /sāyek/, /sēka/, /sōk!/ /sāmex/, /samxa/, /esmox!/ </p>	<p>/kebe/ 'he wants' < *k+e[t]b[ʔ]ē; /lagbe/ 'he does not want' < *lā k+ [e]b[ʔ]ē; /kāweš/ 'he descends' < k-b-š; /kāyem/ 'it darkens' < denom. /kōma/ 'black' > k-w-m, cf. as. /ukkāma/ < as. 'k-m; /kāyep/ 'he bends down' < k-p-p / k-w-p; /makep/ 'he causes it to bend down' < k-p-p / k-w-p in KS; /kāper/ 'he denies' < k-p-r; /kārez/ 'he preaches' < k-r-z; /kāšef/ 'it collapses' < k-š-p; /kāse/ 'he covers' < k-s-y; /kāse/ 'he comes' < k+ e-t-y; /kāzel/ 'he goes' < k+ '-z-l; /kāxel/ 'he eats' < k+ '-k-l; /kāmer/ 'he says' < k+ '-m-r; /kāwed/ 'he does' < k+ 'b-d; /bāxe/ 'he cries' < b-k-y; /sāker/ 'he gets drunken' < ar. s-k-r; /ḥāke/ 'he speaks' < ar. ḥ-k-y; /šāke/ 'he makes a complaint' < ar. š-k-y; /ḥāyek/ 'he scratches' < ḥ-k-k; /rāku/ 'he rides' < den. as. /rakkābā/ 'horseman'; /bārex/ 'he blesses' < b-r-k in IS; /bārek/ 'he kneels' < b-r-k as den. of /berka/, as. /burkā/ 'knee'; /gāḥek/ 'he laughs' < g-ḥ-k as den. of /geḥka/, as. /guḥkā/ 'laugh'; /dāyex/ 'it extinguishes' < d-^c-k; /dāmex/ 'he sleeps' < d-m-k; /fārek/ 'he rubs' < ar. f-r-k; /sāyek/ 'he closes' < s-k-k / s-w-k; /sāmex/ 'he stands' < s.m-k.</p>

Resulting rules

→ The [k] as C₁ can stand for an original radical as [k], and that is the most of cases, and it can stand for a secondary [k] which has replaced an original [] or [ʔ] as C₁, as in following cases: /kebe/ 'he wants' < *k+e[t]b[ʔ]ē; this [k] can become [g] by regr. assim. as in /lagbe/ 'he does not wish' < */lākəbē/ < */lā

²⁴ Homonymous to /kāse/, he comes.

k+e[t]b[ʿ]ē/; /kāzel/ 'he goes' < *k+'āzel; /kāxel/ 'he eats' < *k+'āxel; /kāmer/ 'he says' < *k+'āmer;
/kāse/ 'he comes' < *k+'ātey; /kāwed/ 'he does' < *k+'ābed;

→ The original [k] as C₂ has become [x] in /kāxel/ and /baxe/ in an early stage, but /rāku/ 'he rides', which seems to be denominative of As. /rakkābā/ 'horseman'.

→ The original [k] as C₂ remains [k] in borrowed roots like in /ḥāke/, /šāke/, /sāker/ and it is dissimilated in mediae geminatae, as in /ḥāyek/, /sāyek/;

→ The original [k] as C₃ has become [x] in /bārex/ 'he blesses' < b-r-k, /dāmex/ < d-m-k, /dāyex/ < d-ʿ-k, /sāmex/ < s-m-k, but not in roots:

a) of denominative origin, like /bārek/ < /berka/ 'knee', as. /burkā/; /gāḥek/ < /geḥka/ 'laugh', as. /guḥkā/; /ḥāšek/ < /ḥeška/ 'darkness';

b) as loan word, like /fārek/ < ar. f-r-k;

c) as mediae geminatae, like /ḥāyek/ and /sāyek/;

Problematic cases:

→ Not /*kāser/ 'he strings' < *k+'āser, but /yāṣeṛ/ < y-ṣ-ṛ, as a new root originated on the base of Imperative: *'āser/*'asra/īsor > īṣor > y-ṣ-ṛ;

→ Not /*kāwer/ 'he enters' < *k+'āber, but /yāwer/ < y-w-r, as a new root originated on the base of Imperative: *'āwer (< ʿ-b-r)/*'ōra/īwor > y-w-r;

→ Not /*kāre/ 'he holds' < *k+'ārey, but /gāre/, giving origin for a new root as g-r-y;

Homonyms here originated:

/kāse/ 'he comes' < k+ 't-y;

/kāse/ 'he covers' < k-s-y;

/kāse/ 'his belly' < *karseh;

/kāṣī/ 'my belly' < *karsī;

/kāṣī/ 'they come' < *k+'āṣī[n];

/gāre/ 'the roof of the house'

/gāre/ 'he holds' < *k-ʿārey;

/gāre/ 'he shaves' < g-r-ʿ;

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs with [y] as C ₂ , their significations and roots
[l]	<p>/lāweš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₂.</p> <p>/mōpeš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₁.</p> <p>/lāyes/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂.</p> <p>/lāyeš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂.</p>	<p>/maḥlep/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₁.</p> <p>/māle/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃.</p> <p>/sāleq/, /salqa/, /sloq!/. /māleq/, /malqa/, /mloq!/. /‘āleq/, /‘alqa/, /‘loq!/. /ḥallel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₁.</p> <p>/pālel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [g] as C₃.</p> <p>/pāleṭ/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₃.</p> <p>/šāle/, /šalya/, /šlī!/, /šlē!/. /pālem/, /palma/, /plom!/. </p>	<p>/kāzel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/kāxel/, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/bāšel/, /bašla/, /pšoll/. /ḡāyel/, /ḡēla/, /ḡoll/. /kēwel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [k] or [y] as C₁.</p> <p>/nāpel/, /napla/, /enpoll/. /qāṭel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₂.</p> <p>/qātel/, /qatla/, /qātel!/. /šōtel/, /šōtla/, /šōtell/. /šāqel/, /šaqla/, /šqoll/. /tā‘el/, /ta‘la/, /t‘oll/. /nāpel/, /napla/, /enpoll/. /ḥallel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₁.</p>	<p>/lāweš/ 'he puts on clothes' < l-b-š; /mōpeš/ 'he dresses' < m-w-p-š < l-b-š in KS; /lāyes/ 'he chews' < l-‘-s; /lāyeš/ 'he licks' < l-‘-s with contamination from ir. /lis-/ /bāle/ 'he swallows' < b-l-‘; /ḡāleb/ 'he wins' < ar. ḡ-l-b; /ḥāleṭ/ 'he mixes' < ḥ-l-ṭ; /yālep/ 'he learns' < y-l-p; /maḥlep/ 'he changes' < ḥ-l-p in KS; /māle/ 'it becomes full' < m-l-y; /māle/ 'he fills up' < m-l-y in IS; /sāleq/ 'he cooks in boiling water' < ar. s-l-q; /māleq/ 'he hangs [the light]' → 'he lights the lamp' < ar. ‘-l-q in KS; /‘āleq/ 'it kindles, it takes fire' < ‘-l-q, as a new root originating from ‘-l-q in KS; /pālel/ 'he divides' < *palleḡ el-; /pāleṭ/ 'he goes out' < p-l-ṭ; /pāleṭ/ 'he takes out' < p-l-ṭ in IS; /šāle/ 'he prays' < š-l-y; /pālem/ 'it becomes crooked' < p-l-m; /kāzel/ 'he goes' < k-+ ‘-z-l; /kāxel/ 'he eats' < k-+ ‘-k-l; /bāšel/ 'he cooks' < b-š-l; /ḡāyel/ 'he goes around' < ar. ḡ-w-l; /kēwel/ 'he gives' < k-+ [yā]heḡ el-; /nāpel/ 'he falls down' < n-p-l; /qāṭel/ 'he kills' < q-ṭ-l; /qātel/ 'he struggles' < ar. qātala; /šōtel/ 'he casts' < *šaṣtel < *šaddī el- > *š-t-l, or < *šābeṭ el- < š-b-ṭ 'to fly loose, to float', or < *šāweṭ el- 'he neglects it' → 'he casts it away'; /šāqel/ 'he takes, buys' < š-q-l; /tā‘el/ 'he plays' < *ṭā‘e l- < ṭ-‘-y 'to err, wander' (compare Latin /ludere/ and /illusio/); /nāpel/ 'he falls down' < n-p-l; /ḥallel/ 'he washes' < ḥ-l-l in IS; /šāqel/ 'he takes, he buys' < š-q-l</p>

Resulting rules:

→ The [l] as C₁ is only < [ʔ]; this [ʔ] is however in KS regressively assimilated: /*malbeš/ > /*mabbeš/ > (through labialisation of the vowel) /*mobbeš/, /*mobbša/ > /mopša/ leading to a new root m-w-p-š, cf. m-w-b-š, s. [b] as C₂;

→ The [ʔ] as C₃ is originated from [ʔ], except in /pālel/ which is originated from *palleḡ el- with syncope of [g].

Homonyms here originated:

/mopša/ 'she dresses' < m-w-p-š < l-b-š in KS;

/mopša/ 'she dries' < m-w-b-š < y-b-š in KS;

/lāyes/ 'he chews' < l-w-s < l-^c-s;

/lāyes/ 'he licks' < l-w-s < l-^c-s with contamination from ir. /līs-/;

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs with [y] as C ₂ , their significations and roots
[m]	<p>/māḥe/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₂. /māyes/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂. /more/, /Mara/, ? /māte/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /māle/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /mane/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /manṭe/, /mantya/, /manṭil/, /manṭel/, /mande/, /mandya/, /mandil/, /mandil/. /māneh/ see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃. /māleq/, /melba/, /moll/.</p>	<p>/dāme/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₁. /dāmex/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₁. /ṭāme/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /yāme/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /šāme/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /kāmer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁. /ḡāme^ʕ/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ḡ] as C₁. /zāmer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [z] as C₁. /sāmex/, see <i>supra</i>, under [k] as C₃. /ḥāyem/, /ḥēma/, /ḥom!/.</p>	<p>/ṭāyem/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ṭ] as C₁. /qāyem/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂. /bāsem/ see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₁.</p>	<p>/māḥe/ 'he beats' < m-ḥ-y; /māyes/ 'he dies' < m-w-t; /māre/ 'it hurts' < m-r-ʕ; /māte/ 'it reaches' < m-ṭ-y; /māle/ 'it becomes full' < m-l-ʕ; /māle/ 'it fills up' < m-l-y; /māne/ 'he counts' < m-n-y; /manṭe/ 'he brings there' < m-ṭ- y in KS; /mande/ 'he throws' < n-d-y in KS; /māse/ 'he launders' < m-s-y; /māše/ 'he wipes off' < m-š-y; /māneh/ / (nāyeh?) 'he rests in peace' < n-w-ḥ; /māleq/ 'he lightens the lamp' < ʕ-l-q in KS; /dāme/ 'it is similar' < d-m-y; /dāmex/ 'he sleeps' < d-m-k; /ṭāme/ 'he tastes' < ṭ-m-y < ṭ-ʕ- m; /yāme/ 'he swears' < y-m-y; /šāme/ 'he hears' < š-m-ʕ; /kāmer/ 'he says' < k-+ 'm-r; /ḡāme^ʕ/ 'he gathers' < Ar- ḡ-m-ṭ; /zāmer/ 'he sings' < z-m-r; /sāmex/ 'he stands' < s-m-k /ḥāyem/ 'he gets sick' < ḥ-m-m; /ṭāyem/ 'he closes the eyes' < ṭ- m-m /qāyem/ 'he stands up' < q-w-m /bāsem/ 'he gets healthy' < b-s- m; /bāsem/ 'he cures' < b-s-m in IS;</p>

Resulting rules:

→ The [m] as C₁ is originated only from [m], it is however in /māneh/ and /māleq/ a secondary [m] of participial forms; synchronically seen, there is, therefore, no formal difference between /māyes/, /māneh/ or /māleq/.

→ The [m] as C₂ is originated only from [m]; The [m] in mediae geminatae, as in /ḥāyem/ is replaced by gliding [y];

→ The [m] as C₃ is originated only from [m];

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Resulting verbs with [y] as C ₂ , their significations and roots
[n]	<p>/nāweḥ/, /nōḥa/, ? /mande/, /mandya/, /mandīl/, /mandēl/. /nāteš/, /nača/, /entoš!/. /nāčeš/, /načča/, /enčoš!/. /nāče/, /nača/, /nčī!/, /nčē!/, /nāpel/, /napla/, /enpoll!/. /nāpeš/, /napša/, /enpoš!/. /nāser/, /nasra/, /nsor!/. /nāšeḡ/, /našqa/, /nšoḡ!/. /nāḥel/, /naḥla/, /nḥol!/. /nāṭer/, /naṭra/, /nṭor!/. /nāpeḥ/, /napḥa/, /npoh!/. /nāqeš/, /naqša/, /nqoš!/.</p>	<p>/bāne/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /māne/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /mande/, /mandya/, /mandīl/, /mandēl/. /manṭe/, /manṭya/, /manṭīl/, /manṭēl!/.</p>	<p>/šāḥen/, /šāḥna/, /šḥon!/. /tāyen/, /tēna/, /ton!/. /zāben/, /zabna/, /zbon!/. /īsen/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₁.</p>	<p>/nāweḥ/, 'it barks' < n-b-ḥ; /mande/, 'he throws/lets fall' < n- d-y in KS. /nāteš/, 'he snatches' < n-č-y < n- t-š: /nāčeš/, 'he snatches'; /nāče/, 'he snatches'; /nāpel/, 'he falls' < n-p-l; /nāpeš/, 'he shakes off dust' < n-p- Ṣ; /nāser/, 'he saws' < n-s-r; /nāšeḡ/, 'he kisses' < n-š-q; /nāḥel/, 'he sifts' < n-ḥ-l; /nāṭer/, 'he keeps' < n-ṭ-r; /nāpeḥ/, 'he he sniffs at' < n-p-ḥ; /nāqeš/, 'he lacks' < n-q-Ṣ; /bāne/, 'he builds', < b-n-y; /māne/, 'he counts', < m-n-y; /mande/, 'he throws/lets fall' < n- d-y in KS; /manṭe/, 'he takes it there' < *mamṭē < m-ṭ-y in KS; /šāḥen/, 'he gets warm' < š-ḥ-n; /tāyen/, 'he urinates' < t-y-n; /īsen/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₁.</p>

Resulting rules:

No special issues were found here!²⁵

²⁵ Henceforward, no remarks, if not found.

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[p]	<p>/pāšeh/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃. /pāyeh/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂. /pāyēš/, /pāyeh/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂. /pālet/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₃. /pāse/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /pāreš/, /parša/, /proš!/. /pāšer/, /pašra/, /pšor!/. /pāšeq/, /pašqa/, /pšoq!/. /parpes/, /parpəsa/, /parpes!/.</p>	<p>/tāpe/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₁. /nāpel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁. /nāpeš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁. /sāpe/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃. /qāwet/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₃. /šāpeh/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃. /kāper/, see <i>supra</i>, under [k] as C₁.</p>	<p>/gārep/, see <i>supra</i>, under [g] as C₁. /maḥlep/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₂. /yālep/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₁. /kāyep/, see <i>supra</i>, under [k] as C₁.</p>	<p>/pāreš/, he separates, < p-r-š. /pāšer/, he melts, < p-š-r. /pāšeq/, he explains, < p-š-q. /parpes/, he scatters, < p-s-s.</p>

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[f]	<p>/fāyer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂. /fārek/, see <i>supra</i>, under [k] as C₃.</p>	None	None	None

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[š]	<p>/šā'er/, see <i>supra</i>, under [š] as C₁. /šale/, see <i>supra</i>, under [š] as C₁.</p>	<p>/yāšer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₁. /pāšeh/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃.</p>	<p>/nāpeš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁.</p>	None

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[q]	<p>/qāyem/, /qēma/, /qū!/ see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂. /maqem/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂. /qāwet/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂. /qātel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₂.</p>	<p>/dāyeq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₁. /šāqel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [l] as C₃. /rāqed/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₃. /tāqer/, /taqra/, /tqor!/. /šāweq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂.</p>	<p>/dāyeq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₁. /sāleq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [s] as C₁. /'āleq/, see <i>supra</i>, under ['] as C₁. /'āreq/, see <i>supra</i>, under ['] as C₁. /šāweq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂.</p>	<p>/qāyem/, he stands up; /qū!/ < */qum!/. /tāqer/, he be quiet, < */[e]tqar[rar]/ < q-r-r?</p>

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[r]	<p>/rāḥeṭ/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₃.</p> <p>/rāṣeḥ/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃.</p>	<p>/gāre/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃.</p> <p>/dāre/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃.</p> <p>/māre/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃.</p> <p>/āreṭ/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₃.</p> <p>/āreq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/pāreš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [p] as C₁.</p> <p>/fārek/, see <i>supra</i>, under [f] as C₁.</p> <p>/qāru/, see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₃.</p> <p>/šāre/, /šarya/, /šrīl/, /šrē!/,</p>	<p>/kāmer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/nāser/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁.</p> <p>/pāser/, see <i>supra</i>, under [p] as C₁.</p> <p>/šāder/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₂'.</p> <p>/tāwer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂'.</p> <p>/tāqer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [q] as C₂'.</p>	<p>/šāre/, he dissolves, < š-r-y.</p>

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[š]	<p>/sāyeb/, (š-b-b), see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₂.</p> <p>/šāder/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₂.</p> <p>/šāḥen/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₂.</p> <p>/šāweq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂.</p> <p>/šāre/, see <i>supra</i>, under [r] as C₂.</p>	<p>/māše/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₃.</p> <p>/pāšer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [p] as C₁.</p> <p>/nāšeq/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁.</p>	<p>/nāteš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁.</p> <p>/pāyeš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂.</p> <p>/pāreš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [p] as C₁.</p> <p>/rāyeš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [g] as C₂.</p> <p>/marcš/, /marīša/, /mares!/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂.</p>	<p>None!</p>

Diachronic and synchronic verbal distribution

	as C ₁	as C ₂	as C ₃	Remarks
[t]	<p>/dāres/, see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₁.</p> <p>/tā'el/, see <i>supra</i>, under [t] as C₁.</p> <p>/tāwer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [w] as C₂.</p> <p>/tāyen/, see <i>supra</i>, under [y] as C₂.</p> <p>/tāqer/, see <i>supra</i>, under [q] as C₂.</p> <p>/tāre/, /tarya/, /ʔ/</p> <p>/matre/, /matra/, /matrīl/, /matrēl/.</p>	<p>/kāse/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/isen/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/ette/, /etta/, /hāwelox!/, /hāwelax!/,</p> <p>/ibe/, see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₂.</p> <p>/mēse/, see <i>supra</i>, under [ʔ] as C₁.</p> <p>/pāšeḥ/, he opens, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃.</p> <p>/kāsu/, see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₃.</p> <p>/yātu/, see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₃.</p> <p>/motu/, see <i>supra</i>, under [b] as C₃.</p> <p>/nāteš/, see <i>supra</i>, under [n] as C₁.</p> <p>/qātel/, see <i>supra</i>, under [q] as C₁.</p> <p>/šāte/, see <i>supra</i>, under [š] as C₁.</p> <p>/rāšeḥ/, see <i>supra</i>, under [h] as C₃.</p>	<p>/dāyes/, (<du'ta), see <i>supra</i>, under [d] as C₁.</p> <p>/māyes/, see <i>supra</i>, under [m] as C₁.</p> <p>/fāyet/, see <i>supra</i>, under [f] as C₁.</p>	<p>/isen/, there is, < 't + en ?</p> <p>/ette/, he has, < 't + leh.</p> <p>/ibe/, he can, < 't * beh?</p> <p>/tāre/, to be wet, < t-r-y.</p> <p>/matre/, Af'el of t-r-y.</p>

From the above classifications, we can observe plenty of homonyms in the Senaya verbal system. /kaxlīlu/, e.g., can interpreted in three different ways: 1) /káxlīlu/, they are eating, (from */ke + āxelīn + īlu/), 2) /kaxlí:lu/, they eat them (from */ke + āxelīn + ləhon/), and 3) /ōni, kaxlí:lu/, they, are things to be eaten. Here below, we present some tables displaying some of homonyms as being originated in both the nominal and verbal system.

Distribution of homographemic homonyms after accent distinction			
Basic mono- and bi-syllabic homonyms ↓	three syllabic	homonyms with accent distinction	
	two syllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	monosyllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	Imperative	Indicative	Subjunctive
	accent on antepenultimate (if more than two syllables)	accent on penultimate	accent on penultimate (/antepenultimate, if more than two syllables)
mēsī,	-	/mēsī/, they die, they bring.	/mé:si/, that they die!
mēsī, ('-t-y in KS)	-	(ōnī) mēsí:le, they bring him	-
	-	-	/(ōnī) mé:sīle/, that they bring him!
	/(āyet) mē'sīle/ You, bring him!	-	-
māsī, my village	-	-	-
māsī, (m-s-y)	-	/(ōnī) mā'si/, they launder	/(ōnī] mā'si/ that they launder!
kāsī, my belly	-	-	-
kāsī, (k- + '-t-y), they come	-	/kāsī/, they come	-
kāsī, they cover	-	/(ōnī) kāsí:le/, they cover him	-
	-	-	/(ōnī) ká:sīle/, that they cover him!
	/(āyet) kā'sīle/ You, cover him!	-	-

Distribution of homographemic homonyms after accent distinction			
Basic mono- and bi-syllabic homonyms ↓	three syllabic	homonyms with accent distinction	
	two syllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	monosyllabics	homonyms without accent distinction	
	Imperative	Indicative	Subjunctive
	accent on antepenultimate	accent on penultimate	accent on antepenultimate
mádex, (d- ^ʿ -k in KS)	-	(āwa) madéxla, he extinguishes it	-
	-	-	(āwa) mádexla, that he extinguish it!
	(āyet) mádexla, extinguish it!	-	-
msē'le, (m-s-y)	-	/ǧelle msē'le/, he washed laundry	-
msē'le, (ʼ-t-y in KS)	-	/laḥma msē'le/, he brought bread	-
gā're, roof of the house	-	-	-
gā're, (k- + ^ʿ -r-y), he holds,	-	/gā're:le/, he holds him	-
gā're, (g-r- ^ʿ), he shaves	-	/gā'rele/, he shaves it	/gā'rēle/, that he shave it! (/'ā:rēle/, that he hold him)
ǧēlle, clothes	-	-	-
ǧēlle, (ar. ǧ-w-l)	-	/ǧēlle/, he went around	-
basmī, (b-s-m in IS)	-	/(ōni) basmī:lu/, they cure them	/(ōni) básmīlu/, that they cure them!
basmī, (b-s-m)	-	/-(ōni) basmī:lu/, they are recovering	-

Distribution of homographemic homonyms after accent distinction			
Basic mono- and bi-syllabic homonyms ↓	three syllabic	homonyms with accent distinction	
	two syllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	monosyllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	Imperative	Indicative	Subjunctive
	accent on antepenultimate	accent on penultimate	accent on penultimate (antepenultimate, if more than 3 syllables)
mā're, his patron	-	-	-
mā're, (m-r- [◌])	-	/mā're/, it does hurt	/mā're/, that it be hurting!
xoṭ, (ḥ-w-ṭ)	/xoṭ/, sew!	-	-
xoṭ, (ḥ-b-ṭ)	/xoṭ/, mix!	-	-
ṭom, (ṭ-m-m)	/ṭom/, close (the eyes)!	-	-
ṭom, (ṭ- [◌] -m)	/ṭom/, taste!	-	-
kā'āšef, (k-š-p)	/(āyet) kāšefle!/ collapse it! ruin it!	/(āwa) kāšefle/, he ruins it	-
kāšef, (k-š-p in KS)	-	-	/ká:šefle/, that he ruin it!
	-		lāyésle, that he chew it!
lāyes, (l- [◌] -s / ir. līs-)	/lá:yesle/, lick it!	/lāyésle/, he licks it	/lá:yesle/, that he lick it!
lāyes, (l- [◌] -s)	-	/lāyésle/, he chews it	/lá:yesle/, that he chews it!
los, (l- [◌] -s)	/lósle/, chew it!	-	-
los, (l- [◌] -s / ir. līs-)	/lósle/, lick it!	-	-
loš, (l-b-š)	/lóšle/, put it on!	-	-
loš, (l-w-š)	/lóšle/, knead it!	-	-

Distribution of homographemic homonyms after accent distinction			
Basic mono- and bi-syllabic homonyms ↓	three syllabic	homonyms with accent distinction	
	two syllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	monosyllabic	homonyms without accent distinction	
	Imperative	Indicative	Subjunctive
	accent on antepenultimate (if more than two syllables)	accent on penultimate	accent on antepenultimate
mṭēle, (m-ṭ-y)	-	/mṭēle/, he reached	-
mṭēle, (m-ṭ-y in KS)	-	/(laḥma) mṭēle/, he brought (bread)	-
pāleṭ, (p-l-ṭ)	-	/pāleṭ/, he comes out	/pāleṭ/, that he come out!
pāleṭ (p-l-ṭ in KS)	/pá:leṭle/, bring it out!	/pāleṭle/, he brings out	/páleṭle/, that he bring out!
pāšeḥ, (p-t-ḥ)	/pá:šeḥle/, open it!	/pāšeḥle/, he opens it	/pá:šeḥle/, that he open it!
pāšeḥ, (p-ṣ-ḥ)	-	/pāšeḥ/, he rejoices	/pāšeḥ/, that he rejoice!
mōpša, (y-b-š in KS)	-	/mōpšá:le/, she dries it	/mópšāle/, that she dry it!
mōpša, she dresses (l-b-š in KS)	-	/mopšá:le/, she dresses him/it	/mópšāle/, that she dress it/him!
māle (m-l-y)	-	/māle/, it becomes full	/māle/, that it become full!
māle (m-l-y in IS)	-	/mālē:le/, he fills it	/má:lele/, that he fill it!
ṭāwe <* ṭ-b-y den. f. ṭāba 'good';		/ṭāwe/, it is worth	
ṭāwe ' < ṭ-b- ^c		/ṭāwe/ he sinks in sleep	

Uyghur Separatism: A Fight for Cultural or Religious Identity?¹

Marko Jovanović²



Abstract:

In this paper we will focus on the Uyghur question in China and the demands for the secession of the autonomous region of Xinjiang. We will endeavor to clarify which factors incite separatism of the Uyghur national minority, which also differs from the majority by its religious affiliation. The main issue we intend to investigate is whether, in this case, it is a matter of cultural or religious identity preservation. To answer this question, it is necessary to determine how the concept of nation is understood in China and in what way the state policies and changes in the social and political system have influenced the accumulation of discontent within the Uyghur national minority and instigated the strengthening of nationalism and religious extremism.

Keywords: Uyghurs, Xinjiang, China, minorities, cultural identity, Islam, separatism, religious extremism

Introduction

More than 20 million Muslims live in China. Although that is a rather large number, they still constitute less than 2% of the entire population (The World Factbook 2016). Chinese Muslims are not ethnically homogeneous, with the two largest groups being Huis, who are not constrained to any specific territory, and Uyghurs, who inhabit the western part of the country, the Xinjiang autonomous region (Israeli 2012: 251).

Even before the 8th century, a host of nomadic steppe tribes known as Uyghurs lived in the Tarim Basin of the Central Asia. With the advent of Islam in these areas, the name was gradually disappearing, resulting in no mention of Uyghurs from the 15th to the 20th century. The Islamization of these tribes was not a brief process. It started in the 10th century and lasted until the

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² **Marko Jovanović** holds a BA and a Ma degree from the Department of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. He is currently pursuing a PhD in within the same Department, a MA degree within the Department of International Politics, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade, as well as a PhD in Iranian History and Culture within the Shahid Beheshti University, Iranology Foundation in Tehran. As one of the top two hundred doctorate students in all of Serbia as of 2014, he has been awarded a scholarship from the Serbian Ministry of Education and thus became an associate with the Institute of Social Sciences, where he works on a research project funded by the Ministry..

17th century, when even those Uyghurs who had been the most devout followers of Buddhism, up to that moment the most dominant religion in the region, converted to Islam (see Gledni 2002).

The identity of the people presently known as Uyghurs is of a relatively recent date and closely connected with the struggle between the Chinese and Soviets for supremacy in Central Asia (Gledni 2002: 489).

China conquered the Tarim Basin in 1760, when the Manchurian dynasty Qing seized the territory (Gladney 2003: 456). It was then that the region was named Xinjiang which in translation means “the new border.” The Qing dynasty was deposed in the Revolution of 1912, the monarchy was abolished and the republic established in its place, and the Kuomintang Nationalist Party came to power. Its rule lasted from 1912 to 1949, and in that period the Xinjiang region was governed by a succession of military commanders (Trailović 2012: 273).

The first Chinese president Sun Yat-sen, as it happens so often after any revolution, wanted to redefine the existing concept of the Chinese nation, proposing instead a concept of the “Five races under one union”. His was the idea of ‘all races in China being equal, and they should be a part of a free and united China.’ Not everyone was satisfied with this principle since the status of races was given only to the Han Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, and Hui Muslims, seen as one race which encompasses all Chinese people who practice Islam, disregarding vast ethnic differences among them (Gladney 1995: 2).

This region suffered from political interference from abroad, mainly from the Soviet Union, which, in order to further its own interests, incited the rise of nationalism in ethnic groups which populated these areas. It gave the best results with Uyghurs. The consequences of such politics manifested themselves at the Congress of Regional Delegates in Tashkent in 1921, when, with Soviet approval, it was decided to reintroduce the old ethnic name Uyghurs and use it for Turkic ethnic groups that permanently reside in the Tarim Basin (Gledni 2002: 491).

All of this led to numberless conflicts between Muslims (Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and others) and the central government, which resulted in the proclamation of two independent ‘Muslim’ republics, the First, short-lived, East Turkestan Republic, whose capital was Kashgar and which existed from 1933 to 1934, and the Second East Turkestan Republic, slightly longer one, in existence from 1944 to 1949, with the capital in Yining (Gulja) (Gladney 2003: 456).

The First East Turkestan Republic was indeed temporary, but, nevertheless, the Chinese authorities decided, upon the renewal of the control over the territory, to proclaim Uyghurs a new

official Chinese nationality so as to eliminate the causes of the dissent by the local population (Gledni 2002: 490-491).

After the victory over the Kuomintang in the civil war (1945-1949), the Communist party established the People's Republic of China and its sovereignty over all of China's mainland territory, including Xinjiang (Dillon 2004: 34).

Minority Policies after the Communists Seized Power

In the newly formed People's Republic which introduced a new social system, Communism, it was necessary to redefine the concept of the Chinese nation in such a way that every potential cause of dissent among the population was eliminated.

The ruling Communist party, true to its ideology, decided to use Marxist-Stalinist criteria for assigning a status of a national minority. This meant that only those ethnic groups that had their own language and inhabited a certain territory could be recognized as minorities (Gladney 1998: 109). Only 41 ethnic groups fulfilled these criteria, which is an extremely low number bearing in mind that over 400 of them had been taken into consideration. The number of recognized national minorities was being gradually increased until 1982 when it stopped at 56 officially recognized. Those groups that did not manage to attain the status were mostly identified with the majority Han people or, in a smaller number of cases, with some other nationality with characteristics similar to theirs (e.g. the same religion) (Gladney 1995: 4).

The Chinese authorities saw the recognition of the identity of the national minorities as a merely interim solution. They believed in the Marxist concept of social development according to which in a communist social system, first classes, and then nationalities would be eliminated. By accepting the communist ideology national minorities would shed "the burden" of national identities. The ultimate goal was the creation of a unified Chinese national identity, with the new Chinese nation (Zhonghua Minzu) representing a family of all 57 nationalities inhabiting China (Jenner 2004: 252).

On the path to development of a unified national identity, in order to secure the preservation of a territorial and political unity of the country and prevent potential internal unrests induced by nationalistic aspirations, parts of China with mainly minority population were given a status of autonomous regions by the 1954 Constitution. Those were mostly border territories crucial to national security and stability. That applies to Xinjiang too, mainly inhabited by Uyghur population (Trailović 2012: 271).

Xinjiang – Region of Social Cleavages

The autonomous region of Xinjiang, situated in the northwest of China, spanning 1,646,900 square kilometers, accounts for the sixth of the entire Chinese territory. This region abounds in natural resources. With 25% of the overall country reserves, it is leading in the production of natural gas, while in the exploitation of oil it takes the fourth position. There are, also, significant coal reserves in this area (Trailović 2012: 270-272).

Although it encompasses a huge area, Xinjiang is notably sparsely populated. According to the latest 2010 census results it has a population of 21, 8 million, i.e. merely 13.2 inhabitants per square kilometer (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2011). However, today in this area live six times more people than immediately after the end of the civil war in China when the population of this territory was only 3.6 million (Trailović 2012: 275). To realize how great an increase we are discussing, it should be mentioned that in the whole territory of China population rose for ‘mere’ 2.3 times (Orleans 1957: 565).

The population growth caused significant changes in the proportion ratio of the two biggest ethnic groups inhabiting this autonomous region, those being Uyghurs and the Han Chinese, the largest ethnic group in China. In 1949, Uyghurs constituted over 82% of total population of Xinjiang, while the Han contributed with less than 6%. Today that gap is drastically narrowed, with 46.1% of Uyghurs and almost 40% of Han people (Howell and Fan 2011: 122-123).

Such radical changes could not be attributed only to a high population growth, but also to migrations of the population to this region, in the first place the Han majority. Although this process started as early as the mid-20th century (Trailović 2012: 250), there are still scientific debates over whether it was a state-organized movement of people with the aim of altering the ethnic structure of the region or spontaneous immigration prompted by the industrial and economic development of this region replete with natural resources. Whatever the reason, the consequences are evident in a series of changes in the demographic picture of Xinjiang (Trailović 2012: 275).

The question then arises as to how these changes impacted the stability of the region. The section of Uyghur population that advocates the idea of a broader autonomy or even secession, cites increased presence of the Han people as the main reason for their discontent, and therefore destabilization of the region (Trailović 2012: 277).

That is to say that the two largest ethnic groups in Xinjiang do not mix and interact. The traditional Uyghurs primarily inhabit rural areas and southern parts of the region, while Hans live in

the north and urban communities. Thus, in the capital Urumqi which is located in the north, and its surroundings, Hans constitute 73% of the population. On the other hand, the city with the highest percentage of Uyghurs, around 90%, is Kashgar, in the south of the autonomous region. The same applies to the city surroundings (Dillon 2004: 25).

The data provided are clear indicators of the segregation in Xinjiang. The cause lies in various cultural, religious, ethnic, socioeconomic, and other social cleavages, present in this region, between the two largest ethnic groups, Uyghurs and the Han Chinese.

According to the theoretical model of social cleavages defined by Nenad Zakošek, which represents a specific integration of Lipset-Rokkan hypothesis and the model provided by Herbert Kitschelt, social cleavages in Xinjiang can be divided into three main models (see Trailović 2012: 269).

The first one is the territorial-cultural model based on the center-periphery cleavage which has pitted the dominant national cultures against minorities (ethnic, religious, and linguistic) in the peripheral regions. In China, this cleavage is manifested through two conflicts: a unitary state (the Han Chinese) – independents (Uyghurs); and center (Beijing, Ürümqi – the Han people) – periphery (Kashgar – Uyghurs). The latter can be classified as complex and evident through territorial and ethnic disparities. The territorial cleavage, yet, exists on two levels, the state one where the center is represented by the developed China, broadly speaking Beijing, while Xinjiang is periphery, and another one which is internal and transpires through a division in the autonomous region itself, with the capital Ürümqi, mostly inhabited by Hans, as the center, and Uyghur Kashgar as the periphery.

The next cleavage model is the socioeconomic one, based on the struggle over resources. The cleavage, then, happens when it is needed to decide how the resources will be distributed, according to the principle of market allocation, favored in this case by Uyghurs, or the principle of state redistribution, preferred by Hans.

The third and the last cleavage model is, perhaps, the most interesting for analysis. It is the ideological-cultural cleavage caused by diverse concepts of sociocultural identities. Here divisions along the lines: dominant culture (Han) – subculture (Uyghur); modernist (Han people) – traditionalist (Uyghurs); and secular (Han people) – religious (Islam - Uyghurs), becomes prominent (Trailović 2012).

Such opposed positions lead to the utterly different perception of certain ongoing processes in Xinjiang. Therefore, for instance, what from Uyghur point of view represents the fight for freedom, for central government is separatism manifested as extremism and terrorism. From Uyghur

standpoint, immigration of Hans to this region constitutes an example of colonization, while, on the other hand, the state sees it as a matter of freedom of movement and residence. Consequently, what for one side is exploitation of natural resources that Xinjiang possesses, for the other is an attempt to achieve economic growth and development at a state level.

The most sensitive issue on which there is no consensus is undoubtedly the state minority policy towards the region, which is perceived by Uyghurs as a religious, ethnic, and social discrimination with the purpose of weakening cultural identity, and finally accomplishing compulsory assimilation. The state deems these accusations unfounded and its treatment of the region sees as a policy of fostering cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity of a unified multi-ethnic Chinese nation, and sovereignty and territorial integrity preservation within its internationally recognized borders (Trailović 2012: 274).

Causes to these clashes of views and intolerance should not be sought in the distant past. A series of events on the international scene has led to the eruption of discontent among the Uyghur minority in China (Trailović 2012: 250). This is, thus, a part of a global process which has led to the strengthening of nationalism and bringing the religious identity to the forefront.

Nevertheless, none of that would have been possible if in China itself certain preconditions had not already been created. Namely, after communists seized the power, the new state policy brought a range of social changes that widened social cleavages between the Han people and Uyghurs.

Creation of Preconditions – Cultural Repression

The period from the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to the early seventies and political opening of China to the rest of the world is particularly interesting from a historical perspective and is characterized by an enormous impact of political events on the cultures of all ethnic groups in China (see Janssen 1979). Thus, Uyghur traditionalism came under fire, too.

Years before coming to power, in his renowned *Talks at the Yan'an* (1942), Mao Zedong discussed the purpose of art and literature. Namely, he advocated a stance that art forms should serve workers, peasants, and soldiers, with the purpose of advancing social reforms. In compliance with that, with the ascent of communists, the traditional, to a higher or lesser degree, was assigned a new function (Spence 1991: 473). These fundamental changes affected both the majority people and all of the minority groups, including Uyghurs.

Not only did the communist rule bring changes in art but also the way of life and lifestyle of Chinese people underwent certain reforms. In 1958, the Great Leap Forward, a five-year plan by which China was to get abreast with and overtake Great Britain in the production of iron, steel and other industrial goods per capita, was introduced. The yearly production of steel was forecast to double, and in order to achieve that, everywhere in the country, makeshift smelters, where metal scrap was melted into steel, were established (Janssen 1979: 211).

In order to implement this plan, five hundred million rural inhabitants all over China, inspired by the agitators' slogans, more or less "voluntarily" joined people's communes, leaving behind their previous occupations and applying themselves to the jobs the state had flagged as priorities. Ninety million people were "mobilized" solely for the steel production (Janssen 1979: 211). It soon became clear that their sacrifice was in vain. The steel production program was cancelled as the homemade metal proved not to be good enough even for the production of tools. It transpired that ordinary people, who bore the greatest burden of the Great Leap Forward and completely unnecessarily worked for ten, twelve, or even fourteen hours per day, quite often until they collapsed from exhaustion (Janssen 1979: 214).

It is needless to say what kind of changes this absurd reform program brought to Uyghurs who lived in rural areas and traditionally engaged in cattle breeding (Trailović 2012: 284).

Due to the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao Zedong was forced to resign as the president of the People's Republic of China in December 1958 (Janssen 1979: 215). Aided by the army, he started rising to power again in the mid-sixties. That is to say that, with the help of his old comrade-in-arms, the illustrious general Lin Biao, then the Minister of Defense, Mao transformed the People's Liberation Army into an armed force that was able to provide for itself, partly an army, partly a workforce, whose soldiers planted the crops, and bred pigs on their own, sewed their uniforms and made their shoes in the Army's workshops. It was a true communist utopia.

It was this success that Mao Zedong used as a firm basis for further reforms. In August 1966, Mao exploited his renewed influence to obtain from the Central Committee an official proclamation of the outbreak of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which should have brought a definitive distancing from the traditional (Janssen 1979: 223-232).

During the Cultural Revolution, the art in China was reduced to merely few genres that Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, deemed suitable (Janssen 1979: 230-231). She took upon herself to put into effect Mao's war-time directives on proletarian art. Jiang Qing, a former actress, believed that, for instance, dramatic art should be relieved of the burden of the past. All existing theatre plays were

substituted by eight highly politicized operas which had as the main theme the revolutionary struggle against both foreign enemies and domestic bourgeoisie. By the time the Cultural Revolution ended this number increased to eighteen. These works glorified the bravery of the People's Liberation Army and ordinary people, while Mao Zedong was depicted as the most deserving of the triumph of socialism in China. On the stage, instead of classical heroes, there had to be Red Army soldiers, workers, and peasants as positive characters, as opposed to landowners, anti-revolutionaries, and urban scoundrels. These operas, along with their motifs, quickly spread all over China, finding its way into gramophone records, comic books, posters, postcards, vases, cigarette packs, calendars, etc. In the following 5-6 years, these eight operas were the only art form that 800 million Chinese people could enjoy (see Mittler 2010).

In other words, people were practically deprived of freedom in their cultural and artistic expression. The most affected were the minority groups that even without such severe restrictions often had the impression that their culture was in an inferior position.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned, Uyghurs found themselves at a disadvantage to the majority of other ethnic groups in China. This is due to their religiosity, i.e. the fact that Islam represents a fairly important component of the Uyghur identity and plays a significant role in their way of life (Trailović 2012: 285). Since communism is incompatible with religion, Uyghurs found themselves in a highly unfavorable situation (Bukharin and Preobrazhensky 2001).

Calls for Secession

Preconditions for the outbreak of conflict had been therefore already provided in the Mao era. Those, along with the processes in the eighties on the global level, made it possible for a single spark to cause tensions to emerge.

A whole series of unrests was initiated in 1989 by the so-called "Chinese Rushdie scandal" (see Gladney 1994). Those were triggered by the texts of some Chinese writers that Muslims considered sacrilegious and blasphemous. The demonstrations organized by Han Muslims started first on the streets of Beijing, spreading then to Xinjiang. Until 1990, the discontent of Chinese Muslims faded everywhere but Xinjiang, where it transformed into calls for the liberation of the East Turkestan (Israeli 2012: 261).

When former Soviet Central Asian republics gained independence in 1991, the calls for the secession of Xinjiang became even louder. It was aided by the fact that Uyghurs share with the neighboring Central Asian nations not only religion but common ethnic and linguistic origin (Gledni

2002: 495-496). That origin is Turkish and therefore, in the light of the processes of transnationalization and ethnic homogenization, present-day Turkey sees as its moral obligation to protect their “endangered brethren” in China (Gledni 2002: 501-502). Thus, for example, the current Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, while he still was a prime minister, went to such lengths in his statements that he likened the Chinese treatment of Uyghurs to genocide (Tanasković 2010: 63).

It should be mentioned that around 300,000 members of Uyghur ethnic group live in Turkey. Having that in mind, it should not come as a surprise that in this country several Uyghur separatist movements exist. They enjoy tacit support from the Turkish government and act unhindered (Tanasković 2010: 63). As Pan-Turkism is a common occurrence in the Turkish society, it is not surprising for Turks themselves to organize protests in support of their Uyghur “brethren”, and as a form of protest burn Chinese flags in front of the Chinese embassy in Istanbul or even physically attack Chinese tourists in the city (BBC 2015).

Still, as the present-day Turkey is distancing itself evermore further from Kemalism, ethnically motivated support gradually gains religious dimension and morphs into Islamic solidarity (Jevtić 2011: 295-296).

Uyghur separatist movements in emigration do not act solely from Turkey. Besides those located in Ankara or Istanbul, there are the ones in Almaty, Munich, Amsterdam, Melbourne, and Washington (Gledni 2002: 492). Although all of them have the same goal, there is no consensus among them on the methods of its achievement. They are divided into those who propose militant approach and use of force and those who advocate secession through peaceful and political means. There is no consensus either over whether Xinjiang upon eventually gaining independence should be a secular state or attain a certain level of Islamic governance (Fuller and Starr 2004: 24).

It should be emphasized here that even on the matter of independence there is no consensus among Uyghurs, as there are those who want to remain a part of PRC, but with broader autonomy (Fuller and Starr 2004: 25).

Religiously motivated separatism adds a new dimension to the issue. It becomes transnational, including the other Muslims that live in the region. When we add Kazakhs, Huis, Kyrgyz, and the others, we reach the number of around 11 million Muslims in Xinjiang (Trailović 2012: 271). Even more importantly such movements are also supported by various extremist Islamist organizations from all over the world, including Al-Qaeda which, the Chinese authorities claim, has trained for combat over a thousand Uyghur separatists (Israeli 2012: 262). Chinese estimates may be

exaggerated, but it is an undeniable fact that only in Guantanamo prison there were 22 Uyghur terrorists captured in the fights in Afghanistan (Jevtić 2011: 297).

In order to cope with this problem, China introduced certain restrictive measures. People under 18 are prohibited from visiting mosques (Trailović 2012: 282), while in several cities in Xinjiang access to government institutions and use of public transport is denied to women wearing burqas and niqabs and men wearing long beards (Styles 2013).

In the report of the state news agency Xinhua the decision to ban wearing burqas is justified by the fact that a similar ban also exists in several European countries, such as France and Belgium. “Burqas are not traditional dress for Uyghur women... The regulation is seen as an effort to curb growing extremism that forced Uyghur women to abandon their colorful traditional dress and wear black burqas,” states the agency report (Mengjie 2015).

As the main cause of Uyghur discontent the Chinese state nowadays pinpoints the unfavorable economic situation, because the poorest parts of Xinjiang are at the same time the most ardent strongholds of political and religious extremism. The authorities perceive investments and economic development as a solution. Their aim is, through economic growth, to pacify and integrate better and stronger Xinjiang in the unified Chinese state (Trailović 2012: 282).

Although it is an internal matter, China has to be cautious about tackling these problems, as such measures are not perceived favorably by Muslim countries, therefore any potential worsening of the situation might not only reflect on the economic ties that China has with the Middle Eastern Muslim countries, but, for example, also erode good-neighborly relations with Afghanistan or Pakistan (Gledni 2002: 492-493).

Conclusion

Uyghur dissatisfaction stems from the internal policy conducted by the Communist Party after the end of the civil war and establishment of the People’s Republic of China. In an ideologically inspired transition process towards a completely different social system and adoption of new social values, both majority and minority population had to make some sacrifices that official state policy imposed on them.

Despite the fact that government moves were not directly aimed at the minority population, they still instigated accumulation of discontent among Uyghurs. Social cleavages between them and the majority Han population were created, the deepest of which sprang on the ideological-cultural level. Uyghurs are under the impression that their culture is in submission and that they are under

pressure to be assimilated into the majority population and renounce their traditional identity. Furthermore, the secular system of government hampers Islam which is highly influential on the Uyghur way of life.

However, is Islam really at the core of the problem? The first protests of Uyghur population started actually as a support to the demonstrations that Huis, the largest Muslim population in China, organized in Beijing. It was a religiously motivated revolt, as Huis sprang to the defense of their religion. However, their protests ended as soon as the threat to Islam ceased to exist. It was not the same with Uyghurs. Their dissatisfaction with the Chinese rule that came to prominence at that occasion developed into still present demands for secession and resulted in numerous riots and terror attacks.

Thereupon, we can reach a conclusion that Uyghur separatism is not religiously motivated, but at its foundation has the official state policy that has inhibited religious identities of each and every ethnic group present in PRC. Religious dimension, certainly, is noticeable, but not decisive. It appears that Islam is merely the means for the Uyghur separatism to be expressed through, in order to enable the preservation of the endangered Uyghur cultural identity.

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Present Reflections of Majorities and Minorities in Ibn Taymiyya's Thought

Lukáš Větrovec¹



Abstract:

This article describes Ibn Taymiyya's opinions about majority and minority relations in the context of its present day reflections by the militant takfiri, pietist salafi and reformist post-ikhwani sub-discourses of recent intra-muslim debates. The main body of the article consists of similarities between the situations of Southwest Asia in the 13-14th centuries and recent time, search for possible explanations of Ibn Taymiyya's unceasing popularity and questions he treated – the polemics, question of non-Muslim minority in Muslim majority, Muslim minority in non-Muslim majority and the issue of heretics. It concludes that each of the subdiscourses studied has its own version of Ibn Taymiyya serving them as a supportive evidence of their truths without further insight into historical facts and the picture of real scholars breaks in the recent debates into three separate and competing mythized depictions.

Key words: Islam, theology, Sharia; Sunna, Shia, Dhimma, Non-Muslims, Ibn Taymiyya, Salafi, Takfiri, religious radicalism

1. Introduction

The question of majorities and minorities tends to be one of the major issues of our times especially in relation towards the religion of Islam and current ongoing ethno-religious tensions in Southwest Asia and North Africa, regions predominately inhabited by Sunni Muslim majority. With the constant growth of the Muslim (again predominantly sunni) minorities in historically non-Muslim countries in Europe and America, these affairs and development pose a question towards social scientists, historians, anthropologists and, more specifically, comparative religion scientists – what kind of Muslim response to these new challenges we could expect?

Bearing in mind that there does not exist any authority entitled to claim the right to formulate official orthodox doctrine similar to the situations for instance in the Christian churches, more productive and suitable approach leads us to concentrate on those authorities of the islamic legacy who are generally viewed as relevant scholars with authentic knowledge by the Muslims themselves. Those are the key figures constructing the normative Islam, leading the

¹ Lukáš Větrovec is a PhD. student at the Department of Comparative Religion, Comenius University in Bratislava. His professional interest is focused on Ibn Taymiyya and other theoretics on Islamic religious-political thought as well as on the Islam and Muslims in the Balkan, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Footnote added by the editors).

Muslim public debate and shaping the discourse of their co-religionists on shared Islamic values. And this values do structure real policies in both the Muslims' and non-Muslims' everyday life. There is no doubt in the claim that one of these key figures in recent sunni thought is 13th century scholar of Mamluk Levant and Egypt called Taqīyuddīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya (lived between 661 - 728 Hijri or 1263-1328 of the Gregorian calendar) comonly revered by many of his supporters and students as *shaykhu l-islām*. His responses, opinions and conclusions are widely accepted by Islamic fundamentalists (both the extreme ones and the pietists) and by the modern reformists as well so he can be somehow considered to be the chief architect of contemporary Islam in both of the ends of its opinion scale, by the conservative Muslims as well as by the callers for holistic reform. Although this prolific writer and thinker is also very often criticized and seen controversial, he remains to be one of the most quoted, influential, recognized and well-studied classical Islamic scholars of the medieval Mamlūkī era. His works are not just well-preserved, studied, re-published and widely used in form of their Arabic original, but also commonly translated and globally spread in very different language versions - not just English or French, but varying from Bosnian to Urdu and Malay/Indonesian.

This article aims to demonstrate Ibn Taymiyya's view on majorities and minorities (probably one of the first complex responses to this question) in scope of his wider and more structured holistic new approach to Islam and its system as well as his pioneer position in discussing the new issues of his era what seems to us being suprisingly modern and suitable for re-implementing and further usage. The foundations for author's nearly permanent relevance and enormous success in modern times should lay somewhere here. All of these help us to surpass the outdated orientalist depictions and to see Ibn Taymiyya as far beyond being a close-minded intolerant zealot or the forefather of modern day fanatics.

2. Methodology

Author's views on minority-majority relations are just parts of his wider perceptions of Islam as a worldview and this should be respected in all our attempts to evaluate or analyse it. They are also inseparable part of broader intellectual debate taking place in later Mamlūkī period with all of its specificity. This debate needs its own hermeneutics and has to be comprehended within itself, with full understanding of key concepts, questions and secondary debates or sub-discourses. Ahistoricism and orientalism constitute one of the main obstacles to complete this task succesfully. Hence, postcolonial perspectives, certain level of self-criticism and objectivity evaluation in the forementioned sense are also vital.

That means every part of its textual analysis needs full concern about inner hermeneutics of the text in its deep connection to historical reality of the writer's era, its discourse, its issues, affairs and conflicts. All of this, again, has to be understood in the prism of the time and as results of historical processes diversing in extension of their reach (macro- or microhistory) and their duration (“braudelian“ long-termed, middle-termed and short-termed historical processes). That means we can not meet the requirements of our research questions without using the approaches of the New Historiography School.

The author was a living human with his personality and his age he was living in and that forms his language and work. The second is just a function of the former, not vice versa. Accurate evaluation of his writings and its relevance to the recent days needs more anthropological than filological or literary criticism approach, where the reality of life in the broadest sense, and not just the writing itself, is in the centre of our attention.

Hence Ibn Taymiyya authored so many different works on wide range of Islamic scholarly disciplines covering nearly all of the topics of interest, the methodology how to filter from them the statements and responses on the majorities and minorities and relationship between them should be necessarily adopted. In this paper, I used three-step methodology with criteria as below:

1. Every particular work included in this study should deal with the question of majorities, minorities and their relationship *vis-à-vis* each other.
2. Every particular work included in this study should be translated in some other language than Arabic in order to gain wider publicity and audience among non-Arabic speaking Muslims.
3. Every particular work included in this study should be often used in all of three studied sub-discourses:
 - (a) The *takfīrī* (or militant Islamist) discourse represented by for instance Abū Muḥammad al-Maqdisī, Abu l-Mundhir aš-Šanqīṭī, Hani aš-Šibāʿī, Turki al-Binʿalī or by the militants active in recent Syrian sectarian conflict etc. Those run the website www.tawhed.ws/FAQ where they respond and give their fatawa broadly covering issues of jihad and recent Syrian sectarian conflict.²

² Deeper analysis of this agenda see in Wagemakers, Joas. “What Should an Islamic State Look Like? Jihādī - Salafī Debates on the War in Syria.” *The Muslim World*, 106 (2016): pp. 501-522.

(b) The more “conservative“ and “traditionalist“ Madinan (or pietist Salafī) discourse represented by the International Islamic University of Madina and its scholars like Ibn Bāz, Ibn al-Uthaymīn or al-Albānī and their disciples.

(c) The more “liberal“ Azhari and diasporal (or modernist, resp. post-*ikhwānī*) discourse, represented by Egyptian authors and by American or European muslim thinkers, for instance the IIT, Jamal Badawy, Muhammad Hashim Kamali and their likes. The circle around International Islamic University in Malaysia also belongs there.

For Arabic trascription of rather rare personal names or toponymes, uncommon terminology and the titles o author's works I used standartized method based on the Brill's system as for instance in E. Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon which is widely used in English academic discourse of Arabic linguistics and filology. In case of personal names or toponymes commonly known in academic discourse I prefer the simplified versions used by the majority of scholarly writings. I use Lane's system of transcription exclusively for the names of books or writings by Ibn Taymiyya himself.

All Qur'anic quotations are based on Saheeh International translation.

3. Key concepts of the Synthesis

3.1 Life with the others: biographical epizodes and historical millieu

The seed what eventually grew in the Great Synthesis of Ibn Taymiyya's approach towards Islamic sciences in general and towards the majority-minority issues in particular was planted before mamluki age itself, even in the end of Abbasid caliphate. Ovaimir Anjum wrote:

„About the same time as the central caliphate was drawing near its end, a distinctly Islamic society and culture was reaching its prime. This society and its institutions proved remarkably adaptable and capable of weathering the ensuing centuries of frequent military invasions and political instability. The new military and bureaucratic elites drew from Turkish and Persian stock, and these traditions now furnished the political culture and institutions of the medieval Islamic world while Islam’s religious law and tradition grew under the watch of the ulama. Furthermore, in contrast with the early caliphs who had ruled over a non-Muslim majority, the lands of Islam were now inhabited by a clear majority of Muslims.“³

Significant biographies of Ibn Taymiyya were written by his sucesors. Ibn Taymiyya's direct disciple, famous Shafi'i exegete of Qur'an, Ibn Kathīr, included one such biography in his

3 Anjum, Ovaimir. *Politics, Law and Community in Islamic Thought – the Taymiyyan Moment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 93.

extensive chronicle *al-Bidāya wa an-nihāya*. Another more laudatory biography was written after three centuries by al-Marʿī under the name *al-Kawākib ad-durrīya*. One of the shorter biographies gained wider public among also non-Arab Muslims is al-Bazzār's *al-Aʿlām al-ʿaliya fī manāqibi Ibnī Taymiyya*, often quoted by modern Salafi pietist circles.

These biographies agree in description of the author being sworn enemy of every un-Islamic misguidance but also very pious, precise and unbiased scholar who possessed outstanding qualities of justice and unbiasedness. His opponents could listen to him to learn how their own people before them responded to remarks of *ahl al-hadith* to their statements. When he proceeded to refuse such statements, they simply left the lessons.

Another interesting moment is the description of Ibn Taymiyya's approach to the Christian *dhimmī* hostages of the Mongols during some of numerous battles with them. Ibn Taymiyya was sent as a negotiator between Mamlūkī army and the Mongols and insisted to release all of the hostages including the *Dhimmīs* according to the agreement of ransom. These anecdotal biographical moments are further evidences supporting the picture of Ibn Taymiyya as a multi-layered and complex intellectual figure of his time with very strong aura influencing also recent situation.

The illustration of author's Ibn Taymiyya's opinion towards for example Shiism, mainly viewed as just hostile, is more complicated since he seemingly did not oppose to teach even prominent and commonly followed shii scholars like Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭusī, *marjūʿ at-taqlīd* (e.g. respected and followed scholar) of twelver shiism and the author of the classical Shii theological compendium *Taḡrīd al-ʿitiqād*.⁴

3.2 Quarrels and arguments: The others in Ibn Taymiyya's polemics

The main body of Ibn Taymiyya's tracts on the others and the otherness is represented by his polemics where he tried to defend well-established positions of Sunni creed and the legacy of the pious predecessors and to show the inconsistency of those condemned by him to be heretic and fallible. This part of the author's works is the central object of attention mainly for the pietist Salafis who obsessantly struggle to preserve the clearness and cleanness of their Islamic creed (Arab. *ʿaqīda*). Nowadays, they are often translated, edited and commented mostly in Salafi pietist circles and represent the main part of their reflection of the author's works. Those circles profess clear tendency to find relapses of ancient misguidances in the opinions of their modern rivals and that's why they find these old polemics relevant also today.

⁴ See Khatab, Sayed. *Understanding Islamic Extremism*. Cairo: Cairo Press, 2011, p. 55.

We can illustrate this approach on several such polemics:

1. *Iqtidā ʿaṣ-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*

This work is very often quoted elaboration on the Islamic principle of prohibition of imitating of disbelievers and put in modern context as an argument to support the forbiddance of celebrating non-Islamic holidays like the Christmas or secular holidays like state ones. It is also necessary part of refutation of any innovated belief or act strongly condemned by the early Islamic scholars, Ibn Taymiyya and his modern successors.

2. *al-Ġawāb ʿaṣ-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-masīḥ*

This polemic is one of the classical refutations of Christianity and was written as a response to the learned monk called Paul of Cyprus. In modern times it is omnipresent part of religious disputations and efforts of proving the fallacy of Christian dogms and Biblical predictions of Muhammad's prophecy.

3. *Minbāḡ as-Sunna*

This is the main anti-Shiite piece written by the author. This book was written as a reaction to Meccan emir Ḥumayda who formed an agreement with Īlkhānī Shiite ruler Khudābanda who used this agreement to pursue Shiite doctrines in the holy city and it consists of attack on polemic writings of prominent Shii *imāmi* scholar of its time, al-Ḥillī, author of vicious anti-sunni polemic.

4. *ar-Radd ʿalā an-nuṣayrīya*

One of the earliest and most extensive medieval refutation of Alawite religion recently very often used in agitation against ruling dictatorship in Syria, since its ruling family historically belongs to the forementioned minority religious group.

5. *al-Ġawāb lil-ḵitābi*

This concise and rhymed polemic represents a very peculiar case since the identity of that “*ḵitābi*,” alleged Jew, the author polemize with is questionable with very high possibility he is not a Jew at all. The questioner posed eight questions mostly targeting the issues of predestination and theodicy to several famous Islamic scholars of 7th Hijri century Shām and Ibn Taymiyya promptly answered them directly on the very same meeting in the classical Arabic poetic form of *qasīda* of amazing 119 lines. There are two assumed alternative identities of this pseudo-Jew: either the Shiite scholar as-Sakākinī or the heretic accused of Qur'an defamation called al-Baqqī.

His polemic with an alleged “*kitābī*” is recently quoted by his admirers as an evidence of Ibn Taymiyya's genality and being a polymath. It is also interesting since the questioner conceals his identity behind the Jewish one, particularly to dare to ask such a huge and for the Muslim potentially tricky, questions and to feel himself more comfortable while speaking to predominantly Sunni scholarly audience to which he introduce himself as a Jew. But this point is not discussed in any of the three inquired Islamic sub-discourses.

But the debates with the Christians and non-Sunni Muslims are not the only author's polemics. Ibn Taymiyya's life was also marked by the ultimate confrontation of the Muslims with the Mongols and this historical epoche has certain impact on his writings profoundly condemning the Mongol ruling state ideology outwardly presented as Islam but inwardly maintaining their old believes, judgin according to pre-Islamic customary laws and also making agreement with the classical enemies of the Mamluks like the crusaders, the Byzantines, the Armenians or the Shiites of Iran. Those anti-Mongol polemics survived in collection of *Mağmū' al-fatāwā*. Ibn Taymiyya on proving the un-islamicity of the Mongol ideology says:

“It is that the Tatars believe grave things about Chinggis Khan believe that he is the son of God, similar to what the Christians believe about the Messiah (arab. *al-maṣīḥ*) The sun, they say, impregnated his mother..., he was a bastard (arab. *walad zīnā*), despite which they hold him to be the greatest messenger of God.”⁵

The author's opposition to the Mongol legal code al-Yāsiq, combining Mongol customary law with the laws of conquered nations is often and widely recycled by modern *takfīrī* groups against the existing laws of secular countries or international agreements and declarations.

3.3 Rebuilding the System, bringing the Synthesis

Like in the theoretical polemics with his major intellectual foes, Ibn Taymiyya also speaks about majority-minority issues on the practical level of living everyday spirituality, mainly in the form of *fatāwā*. And again he founds his recent auditory which is re-implementing and discussing those *fatāwā*.

Ibn Taymiyya's works are numerous; nearly all have now appeared in print. A list of his main works is given in the treatise by Ibn al-Qayyim entitled *Asmā' al-mu'allafāt Ibn Taymiyya*. Author's more practical opinions including more concrete attitudes towards majority-minority issues can be find in collections of his *fatāwā*. From those compendia which were collected and

5 See Ibn Taymiyya: *Majmū' al-fatāwā*, 28:521–522. Quoted in AIGLE, Denise. *The Mongol Invasions of Bilād al-Shām by Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymiyyah's Three “Anti-Mongol” Fatwas*. Chicago: Middle East Documentation center, 2007, p. 114.

edited mainly in 20th century and are until now inseparable part of Muslim internal theological discussions, we can list these: *Mağmū'a ar-rasā'il* (published in Cairo in 1906), *Kitāb Mağmū'a al-fatāwā* (published in Cairo 1908-1911), *Mağmū'a ar-rasā'il wa al-masā'il* (published in Cairo between 1930-1935) and finally the largest (consisting of 30 volumes) and most important collection *Mağmū'a al-fatāwā šaykh al-islām Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya* edited by Saudi Salafi scholars 'Abdurrahmān and Muḥammad Qāsim (published in Riyadh between years 1961-1964).

The reformed system of new synthesis of different and previously competing Islamic approaches and theologies Ibn Taymiyya was calling for revolved around the Qur'anic principle of the path of the golden and just middle way (arab. *al-wasatīyya*), mentioned as an eternal characteristic of the islamic umma in the verse: “And thus we have made you a just community (arab. *ummataṅ wasaṭtan*) that you will be witnesses over the people and the Messenger will be a witness over you.” (2: 143)⁶

This very same concept is now the central theological theme for reformist or post-*ikhwānī* circles and favourite alternative concept to beat the extreme tendencies in the writings of Muslim diasporal scholarly authorities in Europe or in America.

3.3.1 *On non-Muslims among Muslims*

Although his remarks on this issue are quite extensive, Ibn Taymiyya did not write about non-Muslim minorities under Muslim majority and Muslim government in one single writing. Rather they are about to be found in several of his famous works. They were assembled, systematized, widely commented and edited into one single work called *Aḥkām ahl adh-dhimma* by the most prominent Ibn Taymiyya's student Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya.

The piece called *aṣ-Ṣarīm al-maslūl 'alā šatīm ar-rasūl* (written approximately in 693/1293) represents one of Ibn Taymiyya's first incursions into the issue of majority-minority relations. The cause behind its writing was the affair of °Aṣṣāf an-Naṣrānī, a Christian of Ṣuwaydā' who was accused of having insulted the Prophet. Ibn Taymiyya's involvement in this affair led to his being imprisoned for the first time, at al-°Adhrawīya prison.⁷

Here, in one of his first works chronologically, young Ibn Taymiyya (probably in his late twenties), driven by his disillusion from the difference between religious theory and profane reality, stipulates that between the Muslims and non-Muslims there is sacred covenant which bounds both of them by obedience to superiority of Islamic system and its laws over them being

⁶ Transliteration of the arabic original text in italics inserted by the author.

⁷ See Laoust, Henri. “Ibn Taymiyya” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1986, III/951.

either as Muslims religiously obligated or being as non-Muslim in the state of *adh-dhimma*, and in the result in the position of *as-sāgirūn*⁸ towards Islamic System, as it is declared in Qur'an:

“Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture - [fight] until they give the jizyah willingly while they are humbled.” (9: 29)

All benefits of protection, religious identity and personal liberties to judge by their own law codes in terms of property or family law are guaranteed for them as long as they maintain and recognize this subdued, “humbled“ position toward the privileged law code of Islam and that's why this *adh-dhimma* is lifted from them whenever they willingly and intentionally mock or desecrate anything Muslims generally consider being intouchable, like for instance the Prophet or even Allah Himself.⁹ If someone does so, he is possibly objected to capital punishment if the court proves him guilty. This is valid for Muslims by the scholarly consensus (Arab. *iğmā'*) and by opinion of the majority of *'ulamā* (except of Abū Ḥanīfa) for the *dhimmi* also. Ibn Taymiyya himself advocates for this prevailing opinion.¹⁰

In the view of Ibn Taymiyya and his likes, Islamic System (Arab. *an-nizām al-islāmī*) offers the possibility to keep their beliefs and religious practices and untouched and unviolated by the governing Islamic rules despite it includes infidelity in the idea of God's Oneness (Arab. *tawḥīd*), worshipping other than One True God (Arab. *širk*) and challenging the ultimate Prophecy of Muhammad. Hence, trying to find some balance between the guaranteed religious autonomy and the “Islamicity“ of the System is inevitable. Ibn Taymiyya puts it as follows:

“From their religion is the lawfulness to fight Muslims, take their wealth and to go to war with them in any manner, but along with this fact it is not something they may do after the covenant is made, and if they do (any of those things), their covenant is nullified. And that is because, even though we accepted that they believe differently, and they conceal things (such as hatred for the Prophet) we do not accept these things to be manifested or spoken off among Muslims. We do not view the nullification of the curser's covenant until we hear him (curse) or the Muslims testify to it, for if that happens, then they have manifested it (in which the covenant is nullified).“¹¹

This quite surprisingly liberal attitude is brought further and even emphasized in the writings of Mohammad Hashim Kamali, who, although being more modernist himself, quotes Ibn Taymiyya often and his grand disciple Ibn Qayyim even more, what can be noticed in his works, for example in his pieces named *The freedom of expression in Islam*, or in the study called *Citizenship: An Islamic Perspective*, where he heavily draws from Ibn Taymiyya's *Kitāb as-šarḥa*,

⁸ This term shares a three consonantal root with an Arabic expression for “being small“ and occurs in Qur'anic verse 9:29 quoted below.

⁹ Ibn Taymiyya and Gibbs Abu Salih Eesa. *The Summary of Unsbeeted Sword against the one who instults the Messenger*. London: 5 Pillar Publications 2013, pp. 48-63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

especially when it comes to the concept of ruling system embodied in the person of the ruler.¹² This ruling system and its coercive power are in author's views necessary for applying Islam in the widermost sense both as a religion and as a state ideology, as Henri Laoust describes:

“In fact Ibn Taymiyya considered religion and the State to be indissolubly linked. Without the coercive power (arab. *ṣawqa*) of the State, religion is in danger. Without the discipline of the revealed Law, the State becomes a tyrannical organization. The essential function of the State is to see that justice (arab. *‘adl*) prevails, to ordain good (arab. *amr bil-ma‘rūf*) and to forbid evil, to bring about, in reality, the reign of unity (tamlik at-tawhid), and to prepare for the coming of a society devoted to the service of God (arab. *‘ibāda*).“¹³

As far as the protection of statute, property and life of the *dhimmīs* is concerned, Ibn Taymiyya write about the prescribed punishment for highway robbers, rebels and those who wage a war against Islamic System (arab. *al-muḥāribūn*) and clearly states that the law against them – that means to kill them and even expose their bodies on the cross or cut off their hands and feet on opposite side¹⁴ is applied also in the case when the perpetrator is a Muslim and the victim is a non-Muslim, either *dhimmī* or *musta‘min* (e.g. subject of temporary protection of an Islamic State): “The majority of them asserts that the murderer (in these circumstances) should be killed, because his crime engenders corruption which is (usually) punished by, inflicting on the criminal the penalty set by Allah.“¹⁵

3.3.2 *On Muslims among non-Muslims*

Classical legal debates often discuss the rule on the status of Muslim community which have fallen under non-Muslim ruling system, either because of occupation of its land, religious conversions to Islam happening in predominantly non-Muslim ambience or whatever reason. In response, Ibn Taymiyya, as one of the first authors, concluded that such community lives neither in “the abode of Islam“ (arab. *dār al-islām*) nor the “abode of war“ (arab. *dār al-ḥarb*), but in “something in between.“¹⁶ This historical milestone in Islamic legal tradition became favorite precedence in contemporary modernist writings like those of Mohammad Hashim Kamali.

Ibn Taymiyya also as one of the first classical Islamic scholarly authorities recognizes the situation of a Muslim residing in the lands of the disbelievers having to not profess his religion

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹³ Laoust, Henri. *Op. cit.*, III/954.

¹⁴ This is unchangeable punishment from the *ḥudūd* category for such a crime according to Qur’anic verse 5:33.

¹⁵ See Ibn Taymiyya. *The Political Shariyah on Reforming The Ruler and The Ruled*, No place: Daru l-fiqh, No date., p. 116.

¹⁶ See Ibn Taymiyya. *Maḡmū‘a al-fatāwā*, III/532-33. Quoted in Abou El Fadl, Khaled: “Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities – the Juristic Discourse on Muslim Minorities from the 2nd/8th to the 11th/17th centuries,“ in *Islamic Law and Society*, 1(1994): 2, p. 178.

openly. Also he obligates the Muslims to best conduct to those non-Muslims that are not hostile towards them:

„The faith in his heart indeed obliges him to act with them in truthfulness (arab. *sidq*), honesty (arab. *amāna*), devotion (arab. *naṣṣḥ*) and in willing the best (arab. *irāda al-kebayr*) for them even though he is not in agreement with them about their religion. Thus Joseph the truthful behaved vis-a-vis the inhabitants of Egypt, who were unbelievers.“¹⁷

In recent times, the author's remarks on these very same questions are widely recycled by the modernist authors of Muslim diaspora in the West in their quest for so called “Islamic jurisprudence of Muslim minorities (arab. *fiqh al-aqalliyāt*).“ This new and increasing trend is gaining more attention and its proponents seemingly would like to affirm it as a new branch of Islamic legal science to fit the requirements of (post)modern globalized society.

3.3.3 On divisions within ahlu-l-qiblah

From the “liberal“ stance, Mohammad Hashim Kamali in reference of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim poses the term seduction or fitna as a main distinction to be observed in dealing with sectarian groups or heretics deviating from the core beliefs of *ahl as-sunna*. Whenever they spread public seduction, they should be penalized by the repressive organs of the coercive power of an Islamic regime and if they do not, they should enjoy the freedom of expression and have not to be touched.¹⁸

On the other hand, in the case of the *takfiri* circles, the quotations of Ibn Taymiyya lead them to sharply different conclusions. Nowhere it can be seen better than in debates about the recent situation in Syria. Those circles frequently refer to Ibn Taymiyya's responses on the issue of *nusayri-ʿalawi* sect, where he stipulates that they “are more heretical than the Jews and the Christians, even more so than many polytheists”, and determined their apostasy and possibility to legitimately fight, suppress and kill them.¹⁹ These authors left no space for proper historical evaluation of the bases of shaykh's response in the light of conflict at his time and his views are simply recycled to suit the recent fight, bearing in mind that Syrian Baʿathist regime of al-Asad family these groups are fighting against, is mainly of Alawite background. In 2012 Abu l-Mundhir aš-Šanqīṭī claimed unprovoked attacks on minority sects like Alawites or Druzes (including those of them who do not support the regime) as perfectly legal but tactically improper. Muslim fighters

17 Ibn Taymiyya. *Minhāj*, 6/425. Quoted in Michot, Yahya. *Ibn Taymiyya against Extremisms*. Beirut: Dar Albouraq, 2012, p. 255.

18 Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. *Freedom of Expression*. Cambridge: ITS, 1997, pp. 190-191.

19 Friedman, Yaron. “Ibn Taymiyya's Fatawa against the Nusayri-'Alawi Sect.” in *Der Islam*, 82 (2005). Quoted in Lund, Aron. *Syria's salafi insurgents: The Rise of Syrian Islamic Front*. Swedish Institute for International Affairs, 2013, p. 20; online at <www.ui.se/eng/upl/files/86861.pdf> (Accessed on 22. September 2015).

may, according to him, keep their neutral position towards them.²⁰ Less than five months later, in a harsher and longer Fatwa, he claimed Jihad against *an-nuṣayrīya* being a religious obligation for every Muslim and compared Jihad against the Alawites to the Jihad against the Zionists regime in Palestine.²¹

This is not a new phenomenon, similar usage of anti-Alawite rhetoric was used by the (mostly Islamist) opponents of al-Asad dictatorship long time before the revolution even started. In 2005, the same *fatāwā* against Alawite sect were used by Abū Baṣīr aṭ-Ṭartūsī, nowadays one of the swornest condemners of the Dāʿiṣ movement among militant Islamists and also by Abū Mus'ab as-Sūrī, formal active member of Syrian Muslim brotherhood.²²

However, this is not the case with other minorities present in the Syrian battlefield, as Aron Lund compares it e.g. to their position towards the Christians:

“The position of Christians is not as problematic for Salafis as that of the Alawite and Druze minorities, or even the Twelver Shia. As a non-Muslim “people of the book” (*ahl al-kitāb*), Christians enjoy a clearly defined albeit subservient position in the Salafi conception of an Islamic state. As long as they submit to Islamic rule, pay a special *jizya* tax, and do not interfere with Muslim society, they can be left alone to rule themselves according to Christian custom. The marginal role played by Christians within the Assad regime also makes this question less immediately relevant to Syrian Islamists, than the fate of the Alawite minority.”²³

3.4 Readings and misreadings of shaykh al-islām

Yahya Michot, one of the leading scholars and readers of Ibn Taymiyya in recent time, both believing Muslim and European Islamologist in the same time, sees a high amount of flexibility of Ibn Taymiyya when speaking about Muslim relations to non-Muslims, especially in the situation of Muslims living as a minority among them, what is nowadays the condition of approximately one third of the world's Muslim population.²⁴ He sees Ibn Taymiyya's Synthesis as a middle way of moderation staying in opposition towards extremisms of all kinds (extremely harsh as well as extremely lenient), which is in concordance with pure human nature and rationality. According to Michot, Ibn Taymiyya saw all other religions and sects as a deviation from this clear path of moderation and equilibrium tending toward extremes in one or more partial aspects.²⁵

20 Aṣ-Ṣanqīṭī, Abū al-Mundhir. „Fatwa no. 6360“, in *Minbar at-Tawhid wa al-Jihad*, June 11, 2012. Online at <tawhed.ws/faQ/display_question?qid=6360> (Accessed 22. September 2015).

21 For the Fatwa of Abū al-Mundhir Aṣ-Ṣanqīṭī in *Markaz al-Maqriṣī lil-Dirasat at-Tarikhiya*, online at almaqreze.net/ar/news.php?readmore=1939 (Accessed 22. September 2015).

22 Lund, Aron. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

23 *Ibidem*.

24 Michot, Yahya. *Ibn Taymiyya against Extremisms*. Beirut: Dar Albouraq 2012, p. 246.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

With his complex approach to Islam, historical Ibn Taymiyya cannot be compared to or incorporated in any of the three forementioned sub-discourses of recent Islamic thought, respectively labeled as their historical pattern. On the contrary, those three sub-discourses themselves provide ahistorical reconstructions of Ibn Taymiyya depicting him as their admired precursor.

The main theme for the *takfirīs* (or militant Islamists) is Ibn Taymiyya as a fighter against foreign oppression, pure exclusivist and uncompromising subduer and conqueror of all heretical sects unwilling to offer them any kind of concession. But their reflection of *shaykh al-islām* lacks any of its typical deepness, extensivity and nuanced approach. *Takfirīs* also build on non-existence of the mitigating factor of ignorance (arab. *al-ʿudhr bil-ġaḥl*) in labeling disbelief (arab. *takfīr*), which was in lengthy defended by Ibn Taymiyya himself.

The main characteristic of the *salafī* pietist view of Ibn Taymiyya is his sticking to the clearness of the pious predecessors' sacred methodology (arab. *manbağ as-salaf aṣ-ṣāliḥ*) and his view on the necessity of social coherence, the governance and ruler, the doctrine of the precedence of the lesser evil and also the impossibility to label a ruler not governing by sharia as a disbeliever. They avoid mentioning Ibn Taymiyya's nonconformity or viewing him as an expert on philosophy who reconsidered classical rejection of speculative theological rhetoric (arab. *kalām*) by the salaf claiming this to be the exception of necessity, defending the classical early Muslim positions with very courageous and modern methods of detailed polemic. They keep quiet about the theoretical possibility he left for the revolution against the ruler if he is oppressive or does not judge according to Sharia if the alternative leader and his shadow government is present. The reformist or post-*ikhwānī* circles refer to Ibn Taymiyya because of his defence of Ijtihad and free reasoning, unique opposition to all of the islamic streams in his ery, tendency to search for the causes and motives of rulings, re-articulating and reconstructing major theological dogms and severe critique of the blind following of the schools of islamic jurisprudence (arab. *madhāhib*) or kalām. They do not speak about his adherence to the scripture and the degree how much he was unwilling to give precedence to the analogy or reasoning over the text (arab. *nāṣṣ*) of Qur'an or Hadith.

To sume all the mentioned facts up, Ibn Taymiyya's writings present such a variety of different views and contexts that he can serve as a potent source for all of these three strikingly different sub-discourses. Each of them uses the aura of Ibn Taymiyya's scholarly brilliance to prove they are right and to beat up their rivals for their assumed fallacy, regardless any historical accuracy. And it clearly serves its purpose very well. These three subdiscourses result in three

parallel universes with three different less-dimensional “Ibn Taymiyyas,” ceasing to be similar to the real historical personality anymore.

The six different readings and interpretations of Ibn Taymiyya's *Fatwā al-mārdīniya* collected by Yahya Michot are the perfect illustration of this common (mis)usage and reflection of the author. In this fatwā, Ibn Taymiyya speaks about Muslim people of Mardin (ethnically Arabo-Kurdish city nowadays in South-Eastern Turkey) who are living under vassal regime within Mongol Empire and claims that their land is neither *dār al-islām* since there do not exist proper institutions and neither *dār al-ḥarb* since its inhabitants are Muslims. According to Michot's explanation, those different invocations of Ibn Taymiyya were enabled by non-existence of knowledge of the historical conditions in which the author responded and issued this particular fatwā. Militant theoretician Muḥammad ʿAbd as-Salām Farāğ, referring to this *fatwā*, compared secular Arab rulers to the Mongols and judged recent secular states to be *dār al-ḥarb*. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAzzām declares jihad to recapture Afghanistan from the hands of the Soviet invaders using this same *fatwā*. Saudi opposition thinker Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Masʿarī supports his condemnation of Saudi regime of being unislamic with quotations from it. Saudi radical *shaykh* al-Ġarbūʿ uses the same fatwa to prove obligation to leave such non-islamic states. All of them ignored the point that *shaykh al-islām*'s judgement that Mardin is not *dār al-islām* does not in any case automatically mean it is *dār al-ḥarb*, or, precisely to say, we can not speak about certain locality to be *dār al-ḥarb* whenever its inhabitants are still predominantly Muslims.²⁶

4. Legend and Reality: What do we actually know?

Ibn Taymiyya is in Western Orientalist tradition often described as a bigot and the spiritual ancestor of nowadays fundamentalist tendencies. Michot describes how far this notion from being truth is:

“Besides, the essential thing does not lie in that, but in how the Damascene *Shaykh al-Islām* enables us to perceive all that the Arab Spring also carries – for all its post-Islamism and cyber-modernity – of what is profoundly Muslim and in the end more authentically Muslim than the extreme militancies of the past. Just as the Ibn Khaldūn celebrated as 'the ancestor of modern sociology' and the Averroes celebrated as 'the precursor of the Enlightenment' are ideologically contrived myths, so too the violent Ibn Taymiyya of the assassins of Sadat was nothing but a vicious fairy-tale, a Mongolizing bad dream. As for the ideas that the *Shaykh al-Islām* himself expresses in his multiple writings, including the one translated in this present work, far from the simplistic thinking that the ignorant attribute to him, they have never had a greater present resonance.”²⁷

26 Michot, Yahya. *Muslims under non-Muslim rule: Ibn Taymiyya*. Oxford: Interface Publications 2006, pp. 27-33.

27 Michot, Yahya. *Ibn Taymiyya against Extremisms*. Beirut: Dar Albouraq, 2012, p. xxix.

One of the reasons of false image of Ibn Taymiyya and his theological legacy are the incorrect translations of some of his *fatāwā* based on erroneous manuscript containing spelling typos respectively miss-vocalized or simply missing words. Such example is the alleged permission the shaykh gave to kill the monks of fighting Christians whenever they are found outside their monasteries originally translated during the time of Lebanese civil war by Yahya Michot who himself later discovered and proved its inaccuracy. But such disinterpreted false *fatāwā* are still in use by some radical violent, mostly *takfīrī* groups which use them as a justification of their actions.

More accurate description of Ibn Taymiyya's doctrine and role in history of Islamic thought gives Henri Laoust:

„His doctrine was intended to be primarily, while centred on and inspired by the spirit of hanbalism, a doctrine of synthesis or of conciliation - "the happy mean" (*wasat*)—which would accord to each school its rightful place in a strongly hierarchical whole in conformity with the precepts of the Kur'an and the Sunna. "The dogmatic theologians", he wrote, "based their system on reason (*'aql*), the traditionists based theirs on hadith (*naql*), and the Sufis theirs on free-will (*irada*)". Tradition, reason and free-will are precisely the three elements Ibn Taymiyya aimed to integrate and harmonize in a solidly constructed doctrine which might be defined as a conservative reformism, whether it was a case of the formulation of the credo, the rehabilitation of *idjtihad* or the reconstruction of the state.“²⁸

For Henri Laoust, Ibn Taymiyya is not an advocate for "re-opening" of *Ijtihad*, neither a rigid literalist. He put very strict conditions on mujtahids and his own reinterpretation effort was mostly aimed to find some reconciliation between the general principles and teachings (arab. *kullīyāt*) and specific particularities of the religion (arab. *ḡuḏ'īyāt*), announcing the absolute supremacy of the Qur'anic or Prophetic text (arab. *naḡs*), questioning and examining the scholarly consensus (arab. *iḡmā'*) and stressing much importance to the analogy (arab. *qiyās*). He also used, although quite carefully, the principle of common welfare (arab. *maḡslaha*).²⁹

We can simplify Ibn Taymiyya's perception of the others and otherness as concentric circles (see the diagramme bellow). The outermost circle is the aggregate of all people. In this circle there is another smaller circle representing ahl al-kitāb - the aggregate of Jews, Christians and Muslims. Each subgroup within this circle is closer to each other than to the rest of people, like for instance the historical Arab idolators (arab. *muḡrikūn*) or for instance the Buddhists, who are not member of the inner circle. Inside the circle of ahl al-kitāb there is also circle of *ahl al-qibla*, or the Muslims in the widest possible sense, separated from the others by the red line between belief and disbelief. The Jews or the Christians are clearly outside this red line and that's why considered as disbelievers. Inside the circle of *ahl al-qibla* there are many other circles of

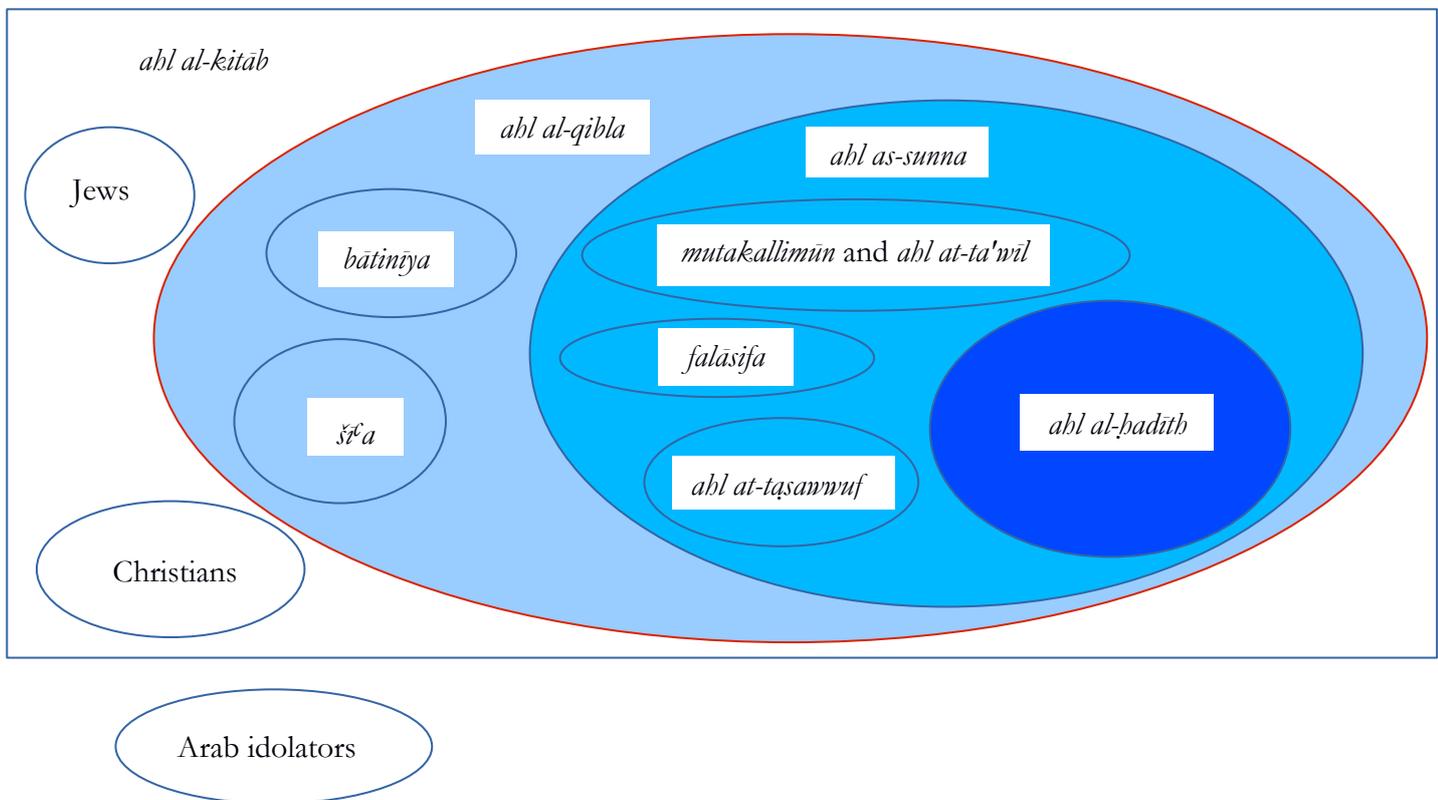
28 Laoust, Henri. "Ibn Taymiyya." in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1986, III/953.

29 *Ibid.*, III/954.

proximity or distance relations vis-a-vis each other. The circle of *ahl al-ḥadīth* is according to Ibn Taymiyya the innermost one and the closest to the Truth, what is depicted by the darkest colour in our diagramme. In opposition to *ahl al-ḥadīth* stand the circles of the *sūfiya* and the supporters of *kalām*. All of these factions share mutual proximity towards each other more than to the rest of *umma* building the mediate circle of *ahlu s-sunna*, which stands in oppose to the Shiis, for example, or to the *bāṭinīya*.

Pic. 1. Diagramme of Ibn Taymiyya's perception of others and otherness

The people



It is needed to add that this image is just an inevitable simplification, because Ibn Taymiyya recognized the possibility of some sort of inner dynamics between these relations. Thank to this dynamic can the extremist from all of the circles outside *ahlu l-ḥadīth* (like extreme Shiis, *bāṭinīya*, or Sufis) shift all the way deeply into disbelief.

In the light of what was said, it can be concluded that false, but deep-rooted depiction of Ibn Taymiyya as a rigid and intolerant traditionalist oponent to the reason survives and have not ceased out because of orientalism, defined as an europocentric prism giving more credibility to researcher's own hypothesis than the empiric reality experienced in the research

itself or as tendency to believe that what the Western islamologists wrote on Ibn Taymiyya is more real, authoritative and determinant than his very own opinions recorded in his writings by the author himself. This notion was also supported by the over and over repeated study of quite a narrow section of unrandom textual sources composed mostly of later pro-*aṣṣari* heresiographies mostly hostile to Ibn Taymiyya (accusing him of anthropomorphism, arab. *taṣbīḥ* and ascribing the lowly corporar attributes to the God, arab. *taḡṣīm*), which were by many Western scholars including the most prominent like Montgomery Watt or Ignác Goldziher viewed as the highest stage of Muslim orthodoxy development. Or generally said, the researchers from outside exhibited their inner urge to discover or establish something to be generally accepted as an “Orthodox Islam“ even such thing, in the sense comparable to for instance authoritative church textual production, in reality of historical Islamic thought legacy hardly existed. In such a conditions, the huge corpus of Ibn Taymiyya's works layed far away from concern of the Westerners, mainly neglected by them.

One of these incorrect Western depictions what does not correspond well with the new facts is presented by Claude Cahen in his entry on *Dhimma* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Cahen says about Ibn Taymiyya and his stance towards religious minorities this:

„The Mamluk government tried in general to uphold the earlier legal system, but it was able neither to prevent popular violence stirred up by extremists, especially in 721/1321, nor to resist the pressure of jurists, such as Ibn Taymiyya, who insisted on an increasingly vexatious interpretation of the law regarding dhimmis. Not only were the regulations on dress periodically renewed, though still with doubtful efficacy, but the regulations on mounts were narrowed so as to allow the Dhimmis nothing better than indifferent donkeys, and a new restriction was introduced - which has an Italian parallel - which forbade them to possess houses higher than those occupied by Muslims (thus indicating incidentally that they did not live in special quarters). Care was in general taken that nothing in their everyday social comportment might tend to conceal the evidence of their inferiority vis-a-vis Muslims; an attempt was made to embarrass the Dhimmi's trade by regulations, always temporary, against the sale of wine; there was a growing repugnance on the part of certain Muslims to associate with non-Muslims, and their religious buildings were destroyed on various pretexts; there was a partial exclusion of Dhimmis even from the administrative offices themselves. From this period date also treatises specially written against the Dhimmis (no longer merely religious polemics), to say nothing of chapters inserted in works of Fikh.“³⁰

Ibn Taymiyya himself indulged in debates and political battles of his time and had no reason to impose more strict attitudes towards non-Muslims living in his era for some benefit since his own position within the ruling regime itself was farly to be firm. He was even persecuted by the state power himself several times. He simply opposed the discrepancies between the Islamic ideal and daily praxis of his age what he condemned as non-Islamic. That resulted in different

30 Cahen, Claude. “Dhimma.“ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill 1986, II/230.

approaches to the non-Muslims (and also non-Sunnis) varying from the harsher to those very open. His mission was in every term not so different from many of his peers and colleagues seeking to find the balance between Islamicity of the rule and imperial ambitions of particular slave-aristocracy circles they depended on. Nevertheless, it is also the truth that the conditions of non-Muslims living in Muslim societies were, in general, deteriorating continuously with the proceeding Islamization of all the society (more people becoming Muslims affected and weakened the strength of traditional non-Muslim communities supportive networks and social institutions in favour of Muslim ones) and, in particular, with the danger from foreign non-Muslim invasions from the hands of either the Mongols or the Franks (how the crusaders were commonly identified in Muslim writings during that time). The manner and measure how certain limitations were actually imposed on non-Muslim populations in everyday life is also questionable. They clearly must not to be so extremely restrictive since later history witnessed viable survival of diverse religious minorities in the region which remained to be one of the world's hotspots of religious diversity up to nowadays.

Mamlūkī period clearly represents a turning point in majority-minority dynamics in Southwest Asian community relations, tensions and cohesion needed to be examined more deeply using the modern multidisciplinary methods of historical and comparative religious sciences, not just study of historiography and philology as it was conducted before.

5. Conclusions

The situation in Mamlūkī period was in many ways similar to the contemporary situation in the Muslim World. It was the earliest historical epoch when the region started to take the resemblance to what we can see here recently.

Firstly and primarily, there was no single unified state representing ideal Muslim empire or *khilāfa* serving as an umbrella state for all the Muslim *umma*. As a result Muslim inhabited areas were divided into many different states and regimes, each of them governed by its own ruler or leader with both loyal and oppositional circles of '*ulamā*' competing for power and reach on the masses of believers. This very same relationship between the throne and the pulpit was set up in ancient times of Ibn Taymiyya and persisted without any major change.

Secondly, Ibn Taymiyya's age was first in history when vast Muslim areas and populations fell under the rule of non-Muslim empires who did not apply *sharī'a* as a source of their legislative. The same situation we see in postcolonial Southwest Asia and North Africa today, not mentioning direct occupation of several Muslim countries or regions what is very often addressed by part of recent discourses of Islamic thought, especially among the fundamentalist writers.

Thirdly, it was in those centuries when the new minor religions or denominations branching out from Islamic mainstream, like the Druzes, Alawite or Yazidis, appeared as fully independent and separate ethno-religious communities and social groups. Further, the majority of its population was by its religious affinity already Muslim and communicated mostly in Arabic while being literate, providing new opportunities for spreading Islamic knowledge and in the same time needing higher number of religious specialists than whenever before. Those specialists were produced by the new reformed educational system of the *madrasāt* - very similar to the recent one. Then, there also exists an exhausting, delicate internal debate concerning the strong foreign influences on Islam and Muslims, where the intermediators were mainly non-Muslim minorities, in many cases the Christians. For Ibn 'Taymiyya's era it was the greco-latin philosophical legacy and for recent time they are the Western ideologies of nationalism, liberalism and secularism. Last but not least, there is also ongoing schism of basic intra-muslim division between the Sunni and the Shiis which lasts up until present. Ibn 'Taymiyya successfully expounds on all of these issues and thank to these striking similarities between both of the periods he can be so attractive also for the present Muslim thinkers from the entire opinion spectrum.

All intra-Muslim debates could be also described as a scholarly quest for “normative Islam”. Normative Islam can be then described as both upholding legacy of the past and perpetual discursive struggle to derive a new norm from the textual sources of Qur'an and Sunna.

In the light of this definition, Ibn 'Taymiyya represents nearly perfect example of orthodoxy according to this description – he is congruent with the positions of first Muslims, the pious predecessors (*arab. as-salaf as-sāliḥ*) and presents the new Islamic synthesis reacting and responding to new challenges of changing times and circumstances, being as traditionalist as reformist in the same time. Remaining success of his legacy until this day is mainly because of this characteristic ambivalency and it also makes his views to be very favourite among both the more conservative and more liberal Muslim thinkers (if it is even possible speak about conservative/liberal dichotomy in the muslim discourse at all).

He is also one of the first scholarly authorities speaking about non-Muslim minorities under government of Muslim majorities as well as about Muslims under non-Muslim rule. He expounds widely about the questions of apostasy and defamation, different sects branching from Islam and he also wrote polemics in defence of Sunni views against the Shiis, Asharis, *falāsifa* and the Christians. All of these can be simply seen as the result of the environment he lived in, but no one of his peers or colleagues did not in his work combine all of these issues. It is this unique combination and his holistic approach giving to every view its place within the whole Synthesis

of Islamic worldview (arab. *din al-islām*), what makes him such an outstanding figure in history of islamic theological and legislative thought.

Ibn Taymiyya distinguishes between the Divine and human perspectives when speaking about issues of belief (arab. *īmān*) and polytheism (arab. *širk*) or disbelieve (arab. *kufīr*) or *sunna* and *bid'a* respectively. That means not everyone who is recognized by the people as a Muslim or disbeliever is also recognized as the same in the Sight of the God. He also puts the distinction between the act itself and performer of that act stipulating e.g. not every performer of the act of disbelieve or innovation is a disbeliever or innovator, as it is clear outcome of several his writings. Ibn Taymiyya is even able to spot and differentiate between various kinds and categories of non-Muslims and he uses this approach consistently throughout his major works. He recognizes even crypto-Muslims, for example the likes of Negus of Abyssinia or Pharaoh's wife or one of Pharaoh's family members.³¹ Those people are disbelievers in the eyes of humanity but believers from the divine perspective.

Ibn Taymiyya also deals with personal liberties and responsibilities necessary for keeping social coherence in multi-religious society composed by those who do not recognize Islam as a truth or understand it or practise it in sort of heterodox or heretical way. Just this difference, according to him, is not the primary cause for the utmost hostility between them and the Sunni Muslims, since it is needed to be proclaimed openly with the proved aim to provoke the Muslims and to mock them. The necessary level of what constitutes a mockery depends on the language and social context – mockery and defamation is simply what is seen by the society in certain place and particular time as mocking or defamating statement, which the exception of clearly religious beliefs of certain non-Muslims what cannot be viewed as mockery until they are not announced publicly in front of the Muslims with the intention to abuse them verbally.

Throughout the writings of *shaykhu l-islām* himself and throughout his modern epigonism we also face the same problem – the coexistence with religious difference and otherness in the sense of separate religious tradition is not as a large problem as the coexistence between two diverse denominations of the same tradition. The heretics among fellow believers seem to represent a far more serious challenge than the unbelievers themselves.

With so extend, nuanced, detailed and varying statements is Ibn Taymiyya taken as an authority and reference point for all of the modern discursive circles studied. Each of them takes him as their major classical advocate, a guiding figure and the crucial evidence or their main argument in proving the veracity of their view, ignoring the other dimensions of his legacy. As a result, none of those discursive circles fighting in the battlefield of modern intra-Muslim debate

31 See Ibn Taymiyya. *Minhāj as-Sunna*, 5/111-116, quoted in Michot, Yahya. *Ibn Taymiyya against Extremisms*. Beirut: Dar Albouraq, 2012, pp. 246-251.

gives an historically accurate depiction of his personality and works, using *shaykh al-islām* as a symbol of several mutually conflicting views.

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Attila Kovács – Katarína Šomodiová (eds.)

MINORITY A MAJORITY NA BLÍZKOM VÝCHODE A V ÁZII
MINORITIES AND MAJORITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ASIA

Vzt'ahy medzi minoritami a majoritami do veľkej miere vytvárali a vytvárajú podobu Blízkeho východu a iných oblastí Ázie. Tento konferenčný zborník, vznikol z vybraných príspevkov konferencie „Minority a majority na Blízkom východe a v Ázii / Minorities and Majorities in the Middle East and Asia“, organizovanej v spolupráci Katedry porovnávacej Religionistiky Univerzity Komenského a Slovenskej spoločnosti pre štúdium náboženstiev pri SAV a prebehla v dňoch 14.-16. septembra 2016 v priestoroch Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave. Autori príspevkov kladú za cieľ pozrieť sa na tento problém podrobnejšie a pokúsiť sa o reflektovanie súčasných trendov v tejto oblasti a pokusy o ich konceptualizáciu v teoretickej i praktickej rovine. Robia tak z multidisciplinárnej perspektívy na rozhraní religionistiky, antropológie, histórie, orientalistiky ako aj iných humanitných a spoločenskovedných odborov zaoberajúce sa s náboženskými, etnickými a inými minoritami a majoritami v danom kontexte.

The relations among majorities and minorities have to a great extent shaped the face of the Middle East and other parts of Asia for millennia. This volume contains some selected papers presented on the conference entitled “Minority a majority na Blízkom východe a v Ázii / Minorities and Majorities in the Middle East and Asia” organized by the Department of Comparative Religion of the Comenius University in Bratislava and the Slovak Association for the Study of Religions. The conference took place at the Comenius University in Bratislava on September 14.-16. 2016. The main aim of the authors of this book is to take a closer look at this issue, reflect its current trends and attempt to conceptualize them in both theoretical and practical contexts. They are doing it from a multidisciplinary approach on the crossroads of the field of Religious Studies, Anthropology, History, Oriental Studies and other human and social sciences presenting religious, ethnic or other minorities and majorities in the given context.



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