Classical Arabic and Jihadi culture

Analyzing the religious linguistic inter-discursive relation of the Islamic State

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Abstract

This study explores the linguistic aspects of the jihadi culture and highlights the discursive role of classical Arabic within jihadism. It builds on literature on Jihadi culture and contributes to it by empirically analyzing the case of Islamic State linguistic traditions archeologically and genealogically. The study concludes that the use of classical Arabic constitutes one of the pillars of the cultural structure of the jihadi culture. Classical Arabic does play an important role in the jihadi culture leaning towards a literalist approach to religious texts, and hence to adopt violence. However, the study denies any essentialist relation between classical Arabic and jihadi culture through presenting a historical sketch of the language as an element in a variety of other contexts.

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1. Introduction

This thesis aims to discuss the linguistic aspect of the cultural practice within jihadism. The case study chosen for analysis is the usage of the classical Arabic language (CA) within selected material produced by Islamic State (IS) actors.[1] The general approach of the thesis is to investigate the relationship between using the CA in the IS leaders' accounts, and the conceptualizations of Islam adopted by the group. This connection will be discussed through investigating different aspects of the discursive relation between CA and the perceived Islamic traditions of IS. In this thesis the term "discourse" is a technical term that should support the study of the relation, archeologically through different times as well as genealogically back to the formation of such relation. The thesis topic intersects with the perspective of Thomas Hegghammer's recently published book on jihadi culture, yet it opposes and suggests modification to its theoretical foundation in some points.[2] Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge - and the Discourse on Language*[3] will constitute the methodological framework for most of the analysis in conjunction with discussion on linguistic aspects of the use of CA by IS.

This study touches upon a variety of linguistic traditions that could relate to different societies among the Arabic speaking Muslims in the Middle East.[4] Yet, it presents a specific focus upon the case study of IS. The thesis briefly discusses the role of CA in Muslim historiography in general, focusing on its role in the jihadi culture of IS in particular. The research questions specifically concern CA because it is a linguistic choice in the vast majority of the important accounts of jihad, where CA is used widely in the aesthetics, practical, and almost-official literature of the jihadi culture. For instance, the jihadi books, poetry, leaders' speeches, media outlets, religious and enthusiasm sermons, religious and official documents. Moreover, this linguistic phenomenon escalated and was noted on a larger scale with regards to the IS officials and supporters. As Graeme Wood states: "They often speak in codes and allusions that sound odd or old-fashioned to non-Muslims, but refer to specific traditions and texts of early Islam."[5] Conversely, the CA use within

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[1] The use of the term (IS) is based on the group self-identification, besides that most other labels carry a specific political position against the group.
[2] , Thomas Hegghammer, ed. *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[3] Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (Vintage, 2012).
[4] For example, one of the most successful Arab reality television shows, *Million's Poet* (2007-present), which is a competition in classical poetry.
[5] Graeme Wood, "What ISIS really wants," *The Atlantic* 315, no. 2 (2015): 78-94.

other mainstream Arabic speaking societies is mostly limited to language education or aesthetic purposes. Hence, the main research question of this thesis is:

- What inter-discursive role does classical Arabic play within the jihadi culture of the Islamic State?

Furthermore, the following sub-questions will be addressed during the thesis discussions and findings:

- Why do Islamic State actors use the Classical Arabic? What is its effect, and how does this effect happen? What role the use of Classical Arabic has in radicalization?

Some scholars have already addressed certain jihadi cultural practices, but this study is different in its approach as it conducts a general genealogical study of the linguistic traditions of jihadi culture, whether the language is used in aesthetic, official or ritual jihadi accounts. The main hypothesis of the thesis is that CA has a central role in cultural structures of the religion of Islam, and therefore CA, especially Islamic terminology, plays a role in supporting the extreme understandings of Islam in jihadi cultures.[6] This research should be relevant for the fields of history of ideas, jihadism, and Islamic reform. In addition, it has a certain policy relevance because of the threat that jihadi groups constitute on the international, regional and local levels.

The thesis starts with an introduction chapter, which presents the study aims, research questions, main hypothesis and thesis disposition. This is followed by a theory chapter that presents the theoretical foundation for the rest of the thesis. Next, the methods chapter introduces the Foucauldian methodology utilized within this study. Followed by two chapters about the selection of empirical material, and limitations of the study. After that, a thematic literature review chapter is presented. Next, the four analytical chapters are presented, first a historical and linguistic background for Arabic language contexts and IS linguistic traditions, second analysis for IS empirical material using Foucauldian methodological perspectives, third a discussion for the

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[6] The Islamic terminology refers to terms in Arabic that can be understood as constituting a set of key terms that designate Islamic theology and/or practice such as *jihad*, *umma*, *munafiq*, *tawhid* and *kafir*.

analysis, fourth a findings chapter for the analytical chapters is presented. Finally, the thesis finishes with a brief conclusion chapter.

2. Theory

This chapter presents the Islamic historiography perspective adopted within this study, where the link between Islamic traditions, their interpretative process, and relevant Islamic conceptualizations are pointed out. This is followed by a discussion where IS' religious position and its relevance to their linguistic traditions is accounted for. After that, the theory chapter builds a connection between this thesis and the most relevant scholarly work in connection with it, that of Hegghammer's Jihadi Culture.

Islamic historiography goes back to the seventh century, where it interacted effectively with regional and world history. A few decades after the emergence of the religion in the Arabian desert. Since then, the Islamic discourse is continuously interacting with spectra of ethnicities, cultures, languages, institutional practices and political entities in Asia, Africa, Europe and later on in other places. Most of the Islam-ruled societies were labeled objectively as Muslim societies,[7] where their legitimacy was partially based on the patronage of religious activities.[8] Nevertheless, a localized Islamic tradition characterized each society, which has left a relative sequel on the timeline of Islamic historiography and Islamic traditions.[9] The dynamics of the internal struggle between different Muslim actors has characterized most of the Muslim political history, where "narratives concerning history, among scholars as well as believers, arise in situations framed by contesting claims for legitimacy and authenticity, influencing identity-making and delimitation of in-groups and out-groups."[10] Consequently, different and colliding Islamic currents were interacting since the early start of Islamic history, where religious legitimacy of ruling families or of specific cults was usually extracted from theological positions. An example of this is the specific interpretations of a few sacred texts, for instance, the link between the jihadism tendency towards violence and some Quranic interpretations.[11] These interpretations, of Quranic verses and *hadith* mostly, usually constitute the base for a wider discourse that conceptualize the full set of Islamic terminology in favor of a specific position or functional role. Such conceptualizations play an essential supportive

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[7] Either negatively in the orientalist or essentialist scholarly positions, or objectively in relation to the universalist claims that are believed by many Muslims.
[8] Ira M. Lapidus, *A history of Islamic societies* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), XXIII.
[9] Leif Stenberg, and Susanne Olsson, "Engaging the History of Religions-from an Islamic Studies Perspective," *Temenos* 51, no. 2 (2015): 201-225.
[10] Stenberg, and Olsson, "Islamic Studies Perspectives," 212.
[11] Amritha Venkatraman, "Religious basis for Islamic terrorism: The Quran and its interpretations," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 3 (2007): 229-248.

role to religious legitimacy with respect to the time and place, still it could be situated historically among a long line of similar Islamic interpretations that belong to different historical Muslim actors, for instance and with regards to the case study of this thesis, IS as a group belongs to the jihadi movement.

IS is perceived as a hybridization of Salafism, Wahhabism, takfirism, political Islam and Islamic modern resurgence that started in the 1970s, where the influence of some movements on the group could be traced to the Muslim Brotherhood, al Qa'ida[12] and other local groups. Also, certain historical individuals have had an effect on the broader group ideology, for instance, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855), founding father of the Hanbali school of Islamic law who was known for a literal and legalistic interpretation of the Quran and *hadith*,[13] Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328), the controversial theologian who encouraged a literal interpretation of scripture,[14] Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1791) the Saudi Arabian theologian and ideologue of the Wahhabi movement,[15] Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966) the important Islamist thinker and activist whose writings advocating revolutionary change are influential among both Sunni and Shi'a Islamists,[16] and Abdullah Azzam (d. 1989) the Palestinian scholar and theologian who played a leading role in promoting and developing the modern Islamist concept of jihad.[17] In addition, the group founders and current leaders were directly affected by the scholars of modern Jihad, including some Saudi clerics and the ideologists of al Qa'ida.[18] Building on this historical background, the main theological position of the group could be attached to a narrowness and rigidity in interpreting sacred texts based on one opinion only, that is the group's opinion.[19] Nevertheless, the religious roots and ideology of IS will not be discussed in this study except when relevant to the religious-linguistic relationship. This relation can be traced empirically in the high dependence on the

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[12] The thesis will use the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) transliteration system for Arabic words and names.

[13] John L. Esposito ed., "Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed, December 14, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e939.

[14] John L. Esposito ed., "Ibn Taymiyyah, Taqi al-Din Ahmad," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed, December 14, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e959.

[15] John L. Esposito ed., "Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed, December 14, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e916.

[16] John L. Esposito ed., "Qutb, Sayyid," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed, December 14, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1955.

[17] Andrew McGregor, " "Jihad and the Rifle Alone": 'Abdullah 'Azzam and the Islamist Revolution," *Journal of Conflict Studies* 23, no. 2 (2006).

[18] Michael Weiss, and Hassan Hassan. *ISIS: Inside the army of terror (updated edition)* (Simon and Schuster, 2016).

[19] Wood, "ISIS really wants," 78-94.

Quranic, classical religious and historical texts in IS process of indoctrinating their group members.[20] The religious position and the linguistic tradition are connected in the sense that the choice of such texts and its relevant linguistic style "conforms to the group's position that it is an extension of authentic Islam rather than an organization with its own set of teachings."[21]

My thesis builds on the theoretical framework of Hegghammer's *Jihadi Culture*, as it is one of the first and few studies to highlight the topic of the cultural dimension of this radical branch of Islam. It is an edited volume that deals with different genres of this culture. The richness of the empirical data allows him and his colleagues to state a theory for this understudied dimension of jihadism. His work, as well as the work of the other contributing scholars, is a much needed contribution in this field and a significant theoretical point of departure for the scholarly study of the phenomenon described as jihadi culture. Hegghammer's book discusses different forms of jihadi culture, like poetry, odes, videos and dream interpretations, while this study focuses on only one component of the textual production of a jihadi group, that is IS linguistic tradition. Consequently, Hegghammer's two hypotheses are addressing the jihadi culture in general, while my engagement will be selective to address the use of CA among jihadi actors specifically. Hegghammer states two hypotheses for the relationship between the jihadi culture and the violent behavior of the jihadis. The first hypothesis considers the jihadi culture as a source for overcoming trust problems with new recruits, since the jihadi culture act as an indicator for how much the new recruit was devoted to, involved with, or immersed inside a jihadi surrounding environment, or for eliciting commitment signs from recruits who enter the organization with no or little prior knowledge about jihadi culture. The second hypothesis claims that the jihadi culture is used as an emotional persuasion tool, either to affect the individuals to join or to pursue higher ranks or different tasks within the jihadi groups, or it is used by leaders to convince new people to join the jihadi group or cause. This thesis suggests a third hypothesis to be added here: the jihadi culture in general and the mastery of CA in particular has a role in the creation of an exaggerated self-esteem of the jihadi activists and leaders, on the level of the superego, leading to a belief that their role is sacred and historical, and is much needed

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[20] 87% of the propaganda material of IS contains references form the Quran and *hadith* or from the aforementioned Islamic scholars, as stated in a study conducted by Center on Religion and Geopolitics from April 2013 till summer 2015 on IS and two other jihadi groups. Also, a Jordanian Master's thesis noted that most of IS media campaign titles were influential Quranic verses or Quranic derived sentences; " رسالة ماجستير تحلل الحملات الإعلامية لداعش," *alghad*, accessed November 21, 2017, https://goo.gl/DY17oj.

[21] Hassan Hassan, "*The Sectarianism of the Islamic State: Ideological Roots and Political Context*," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (June 13, 2016), http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/06/13/sectarianism-of-islamic-state-ideological-roots-and-political-context-pub-63746.

by the religious community, and by the religion itself. Consequently, the theoretical enhancement proposed by this thesis is that the militant or violent behavior of the jihadi individuals and groups is connected to their linguistic choices. In other words, the jihadi narrow and rigid approach to religious texts has an inseparable linguistic dimension, that of using CA.

3. Methods

The models used for proving the hypothesis of the present thesis are extracted from the complexity of the discursive relations presented by Michel Foucault (d. 1984), which is close to structuralism yet not identical. Contrary to the structuralist approach that pursue "objective laws which govern all human activity",[22] Foucault's methodology implies that such activity is constructed of "a well-determined set of discursive formations that have a number of describable relations between them",[23] like archaeological isomorphisms, archaeological correlations and archaeological shifts. Consecutively, the structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss positioned language as "the prototype of the cultural phenomenon and the phenomenon whereby all the forms of social life are established and perpetuated".[24] Accordingly, he suggests that the whole of cultural analysis could be based on the model of linguistic analysis.[25] Whereas Foucault, perceives language as a multi-functional element that does not represent any given discourse solely, as the discourse "is not a consciousness that embodies its project in the external form of language; it is not a language, plus a subject to speak it. It is a practice that has its own forms of sequence and succession."[26] In addition, the jihadi texts' linguistic richness may imply that the hermeneutical approach fits the thesis topic best. Conversely, this approach will only lead the researcher in a linear trajectory to trace the ideological and theological roots of that specific group, with no respect to any wider discourse to relate to.

The Arabic language and Islam are large fields that can be studied from a variety of disciplines, and are difficult to connect empirically in a convenient matter with respect to, for example, different times and places.[27] Therefore, Foucault's methodological approach is used as a tool in this thesis in order to reach an understanding of the inter-discursive grouping of the two discursive formations of the Arabic language as well as Islam, and through this methodology an inter-discursive configuration could be recognized. Applying methodologies from Foucault's work, mainly *The Archeology of Knowledge*, should cover different aspects of the discursive relation between CA and

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[22] Hubert L. Dreyfus, and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (University of Chicago Press, 2014), XIX.
[23] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 157-61.
[24] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural anthropology* (Basic Books, 2008), 359.
[25] Terence Hawkes, *Structuralism and semiotics* (Routledge, 2003), 20-21.
[26] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 169.
[27] Edward E. Curtis, IV, "Ode to Islamic Studies: Its Allure, Its Danger, Its Power." *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 43, no. 4 (2014): 21-25.

Islam, through different periods of time, and via different fields. Furthermore, this methodology offers the chance to integrate the breadth of pre-systematic and pre-discursive formations, periods, events, entities, and actors. This is in order to investigate the linguistic religious inter-discursive configuration genealogically, and therefore apply it on the conceptualizations of CA and Islam in the recent jihadi culture.

Founded on the aforementioned methodological foundation of the thesis, I have chosen a deductive approach for this study since "it can use comprehensive theories and models to extract the universal structures in any cultural phenomenon"[28]. Also, this research is mostly descriptive in the sense that it analyses empirical material.[29] Moreover, the qualitative method will be used in data collection. This method fits the topic's exploratory approach, where the aim is more related to understanding the subject than measuring it, especially when it is hard to relate the existing knowledge to a specific topic. Considering the ambitious assumptions of this thesis, the qualitative methods has historically "been given the role of being a method that generates hypothesis."[30] Moreover, the qualitative methods intersect with the Foucauldian discursive methodology in allowing a wide spectra of sub-topics to merge in the same theoretical framework.

The following paragraphs are sketching the methods followed within this thesis, as well as the organization of the four analytical chapters. The chapter on methods starts as shown by presenting the Foucauldian discursive approach as the methodology of the thesis. Here this choice is justified and connected to the general theoretical framework through applying selected Foucauldian tools, like inter-discursive grouping and genealogy. This is followed by the criteria of selection material for the analysis, and the limitations of the study. Subsequently, a brief thematic literature review is presented, including historical literature about the linguistic-religious relation, followed by more specific literature about the jihadi culture, leading to the presentation of the literature discussing IS linguistic traditions. The analytical chapters of this thesis start by presenting a historical background of Arabic language traditions in general, and a linguistic background for IS in particular, followed by three inter-dependent chapters: The analysis of IS material, the discussion, and the findings.

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[28] Erik Stavnsager Rasmussen, Per Østergaard, and Suzanne C. Beckmann, *Essentials of social science research methodology* (2006), 61.
[29] A similar idea was discussed by Coffman, yet adopting an ethnographic methodology with a local focus on Algeria: James Coffman, "Does the Arabic language encourage radical Islam?," *Middle East Quarterly* (1995).
[30] Rasmussen, Østergaard, and Beckmann, *Essentials of social science,* 94.

As mentioned before, the analytical chapters of the material are designed based on a Foucauldian methodological framework, where the purpose of analyzing such diverse material – historical, sociolinguistics and literary material - is to grasp the unity of the jihadi discourse.[31] The historical and linguistic background should situate IS linguistic traditions in a long line of other Arabic linguistic traditions throughout Islamic history, and it is a prolegomenon for analyzing IS linguistic-religious inter-discursive configuration. Initially, it shows the disparity of linguistic historical inter-discursive formations that have different kinds of relations between them, followed by an overview of general linguistic traditions exercised within IS, with respect to different languages and dialects of Arabic. Also, the linguistic aspect of fighting the group, used by its enemies and rivals, will be mentioned. This part is included in the construction of the analytical chapters for two reasons: Firstly, to encounter any leaning towards essentialism in the analysis of the material, either with respect to the Arabic-Islamic linguistic-religious correlation, or with respect to the IS linguistic traditions in relation to the CA. Secondly, to present other discourses that IS linguistic-religious inter-discursive configuration might relate to. Analyzing these disparate discursive formations will be on the level of the intrinsic contradictions[32] with the IS inter-discursive configuration. Here the analysis will highlight some relevant aspects of *inadequacies* of the objects, *divergence* of enunciative modalities, *incompatibility* of concepts, and *exclusion* of theoretical options.[33]

Concerning the analysis of IS material, each element within the analysis will be investigated archeologically with respect to IS texts, and genealogically with respect to the classical and formation times of Islamic traditions. The first three topics of the analysis will investigate the linguistic religious inter-discursive configuration within IS top organizational structure, where the group leaders' linguistic profiles will be analyzed, followed by an investigation within the group accounts for the use of two classical linguistic forms, poetry and traditional speech. The profiles of IS leaders should reflect the speakers of the jihadi discourse and their cultural positions, which includes the most important individuals within the group hierarchy: the leader of IS, the spokesman of IS, the chief religious advisor of IS, and the most well-known woman in IS. Subsequently, the

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[31] Where Foucault defines the unity of discourse, in the case of madness, by; "(…) the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time"; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 32.

[32] The intrinsic contradiction is defined by Foucault as; "those that are deployed in the discursive formation itself, and which, originating at one point in the system of formations, reveals sub-systems (…)" in; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 153.

[33] As defined with examples in; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 154.

genealogical aspect of the analysis traces this linguistic-religious correlation back to some significant individuals in the formation and classical times of Islam. The use of poetry and the role of orator will be analyzed based on this thesis' methodological foundation that claims that jihadi culture is "characterized not so much by its objects or concepts as by a certain style, a certain constant manner of statement".[34] Similarly, a genealogical analysis will be conducted on the same topics with regards to the formation and classical times of the Islamic history.

The next two topics in the analysis of the material are connected, and they project the main topics of correlation between jihadi culture and CA. Consequently, two terminological and conceptual aspects of IS linguistic traditions will be investigated: the use of Islamic classical terminology in IS political accounts and the related notion of the Arabic language sanctity. Firstly, the two topics will be investigated archeologically, with respect to IS leaders' texts and labeling systems. The genealogical aspect of the analysis will concentrate more on the conceptual and theoretical formation of using this terminology, as well as its related notion of language sanctity. The analysis will investigate "(…) the relations of dependence that may be observed between the theories of attribution, articulation, designation, and derivation",[35] where such theories should discuss "(…) what forms of succession are possible between analyses of the noun, analyses of the verb, and analyses of the adjective, those that concern phonetics and those that concern syntax, those that concern the original language (*langue*), and those that project an artificial language (*langue*)."[36] This kind of analysis to the formation of concepts should reveal how the linguistic-religious inter-discursive configuration "(…) defines a domain of validity for itself, (…) and how it constitutes a domain of normativity for itself, (…) and how it constitutes a domain of actuality for itself (…)."[37]

Foucault also states: "Archaeology is a comparative analysis that is not intended to reduce the diversity of discourses, and to outline the unity that must totalize them, but is intended to divide up their diversity into different figures."[38] Consequently, the last three topics of the material analysis are presenting three different relations that characterize the religious-linguistic inter-discursive configuration of IS linguistic traditions. These relations are analyzed through a notion of an

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[34] Foucault was describing the 19th century medical science by that sentence. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 33.
[35] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 60.
[36] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 61.
[37] Foucault, in the chapter about the formation of concepts, used such description for the general grammar in the 17th and 18th Century; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 61.
[38] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 159.

archeological correlation, a notion of an archeological shift, and a notion of an archeological isomorphism. The analysis of these notions should reveal "the play of analogies and differences as they appear at the level of rules of formation".[39]

First, the archeological correlation will be analyzed in conjunction with a non-discursive domain, where Foucault defines the latter as; "institutions, political events, economic practices and processes".[40] The non-discursive domain is represented by the institutional field that hosts the educational and a disciplinary correlation between Arabic studies and Islamic studies in general, and between the CA and the Quran in particular. Consequently, the genealogical analysis of this topic is based on the relation between the discursive formations and the non-discursive domains, where it "tries to determine how the rules of formation that govern it – and which characterize the positivity to which it belongs – may be linked to non-discursive systems: it seeks to define specific forms of articulation."[41] The second relation that will be analyzed is the archeological shift, which is "how a single notion (possibly designated by a single word) may cover two archaeologically distinct elements".[42] It will be analyzed by tracing the archeological shift through the notion that Arabic language teaching is associated with the struggle against a perceived colonial occupation, where the shift happens from the anti-colonial discourse to the Islamic jihadi discourse. Thirdly, the archeological isomorphism, which is "how quite different discursive elements may be formed on the basis of similar rules",[43] will be analyzed by conducting a comparison between IS traditions and the classical traditions, with respect to the classical Arabic practice of the classifications of science.

Finally, the analysis discussion and findings are the last analytical chapters of the thesis, and they are followed by the conclusion. The discussion basically connects the different subtopics of the analysis and summarizes them, followed by a more concluding chapter, the findings. The analysis findings build on the entire analytical chapters, in order to conclude about the main and additional research questions, as well as uncover new relations, new aspects of understanding the thesis topic, and finally connect all of the previous points to a discussion involving the theoretical foundation of the thesis. Ultimately, the conclusion presents a short summary of the whole thesis and the overall outcome of the study.

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[39] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 160.
[40] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 162.
[41] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 162.
[42] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 161.
[43] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* 160.

4. Selection of Empirical Material

The jihadi culture needs not to be sophisticated in order to be categorized as jihadi culture, Hegghammer claims, however due to the scope of this thesis it is imperative to make selective choices. Therefore, the selection of IS material has been limited to the top organizational level, which includes the following significant individuals and entities: The Caliph, the official spokesman, the chief religious advisor, the officially praised female poetess, and some production from IS main media entities.[44] The second and third levels of IS media entities, on the level of provinces (*wilayat*) and small municipalities,[45] are not taken into consideration due to their focus on practical and procedural topics, as well as their limited local outreach and content compared to the internationally spread material of the first level media production. The material has been chosen to cover different types of the IS media production, hence to have an overview of IS linguistic traditions generally and to highlight relevant patterns.

One main criteria of this thesis is that CA is the linguistic form and reference of all the material under analysis. CA is not the most dominant cultural component that could define the jihadi culture, yet it constitutes a common factor in the top level religious, propaganda and ideological production of the jihadi culture. The significance of this selection has been elaborated before, but hereby is a practical justification, which is irrelevant to the theory and methods. CA, with respect to its codes and metaphors, has proven to be hard to be understood by non-Arabic speakers, either for research[46] or security purposes.[47] Therefore, this study also made a choice for CA for practical reasons, as the writer is a native speaker with a good command of the Arabic Islamic classical culture. Also, CA will be balanced against Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) in terms of relevance to the Quranic lexicon, religious and classical vocabulary, linguistic roles, political terminology and the choice of literary style.

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[44] Notably, due to different concerns, regarding international security limitations and censorship against IS material, the empirical data of this thesis depends partially on resources like; Islamic online platforms, jihadi blog entries, and specific texts data bases.

[45] For a full list of IS media institutions; Suhyb al-flahy, "إعلام تنظيم الدولة: مؤسسات داعش الإعلامية", نون بوست, accessed November 21, 2017, https://www.noonpost.org/content/5637.

[46] Robyn Creswell, "Is Arabic Untranslatable?," *Public Culture* 28, no. 3 80 (2016): 447-456.

[47] Lizzie Dearden, "US agents tasked with taking on Isis 'can't speak Arabic or tell difference between terror groups'," *Independent*, January 31, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/isis-islamic-state-online-psyops-us-central-command-webops-investigation-arabic-speaking-terror-a7555541.html.

5. Limitations

Because of the restricted extent and the specific focus of the thesis, it has some limitations with regards to the context, the medium of the material, and the religious dimension of the material. First, although international politics and regional geopolitics constitute the common and today traditional context of discussing IS, this thesis will only address outside factors in relation to internal discursive elements. Similarly, the genealogical analysis will not discuss the effect of other languages or religions on the pre-discursive level of the Arabic-Islamic correlation, and any reference to an external element will be mentioned only in relevance to an internal discursive factor. The projection of such limitation on the methodological level could be discussed with regards to Foucault works. The discussion about religion in *Religion and Culture*[48] and the discussion about language in *The Order of Things*,[49] as well as the application of notions like power relations, biopower, disciplinary power, all could be relevant to the investigation of the discursive relationship between CA and Islam and jihad. However, the scope of this study is, as shown, limited, and the methodological foundation of the thesis is primarily built on Foucault's works *The Archeology of Knowledge*, and other relevant scholarship.

Second, although social media plays a main role regarding the outreach of the jihadi culture, the online activism of the jihadis is a huge field that cannot be covered in this study. Besides that, the use of social media is a new phenomenon that cannot be traced genealogically. Third, discussions about Islam will avoid the theological aspect, and primarily focus on the level of classification of the disciplines that could be categorized as parts of the Islamic studies. Hence, any mention to the Quran or *hadith* within the analysis will not touch upon the validity of the mentioned Quranic interpretation or *hadith*, as this is a wide area of Islamic scholarship that belongs to a different discipline and irrelevant to the thesis discussion. Similarly, as mentioned before, the religious roots and ideology of IS will not be discussed in details within this study.

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[48] Michel Foucault, *Religion and culture* (Routledge, 2013).
[49] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the human sciences* (Psychology Press, 2002).

6. Literature review

6.1 Literature on Arabic language

The literature discussing the linguistic religious relation between the Arabic language and Islam is mentioned partially in the content of almost all the books that discusses the formation of the Muslim culture, either from a cultural or historical perspective. Such linguistic religious correlation has always constituted a field of scholarship since the interest in Arabic studies emerged in European academia. For instance, with regards to orientalist literature, the British scholar Reynold A. Nicholson (d. 1945) wrote *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 1907, and *Islamic Poetry and mysticism*, 1921, and the German scholar Carl Brockelmann (d. 1956) wrote *History of the Arabic Written Tradition Supplement*, 1898-1902. Also, with regards to modern scholarship, American scholar Bernard Lewis wrote *The Political Language of Islam*, 1988, and other books about the history of the Arabs and Islam where the linguistic religious relation was mentioned. Nevertheless, the scope of this thesis rarely intersects with the orientalist literature as most of its empirical material has been integrated in modern literature. Also, the thesis barely relies on general Islamic Studies literature, but only in relation to linguistic topics.

More importantly, some academic books and scholars have devoted their research to the specific topic of the role of the Arabic language in Islamic history, where they discussed the topic in more detailed and extensive accounts. The Arabic language is discussed in these accounts from linguistic, literary and historical approaches. Logically, such discussions highlight the formation, classical and imperial times of the Islamic history, as these eras constitute the golden age of both Arabic linguistics and the Islamic sciences. Many scholars have touched upon this relation, yet three scholars devoted most of their career to this topic specifically: Anwar G. Chejne (d. 1983) as in his book *The Arabic Language: Its Role in History*, 1969; Yasir Suleiman as in his books *The Arabic Language and National Identity: A Study in Ideology*, 2003, *Arabic in the Fray: Language Ideology and Cultural Politics*, 2013, and his earlier book *Language and Identity in the Middle East and North Africa*, 1996; and finally Kees Versteegh who contributed effectively to the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language & Linguistics*, 2005, besides his authored book *The Arabic Language*, 1997, and his co-authored book *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam – Islamic History and Civilization*, 2011. Moreover, the number of scholarly works that address the linguistic

religious relationship from different angles and approaches are uncountable with respect to the disciplines and topics. For example, it includes Quranic cultural and sociolinguistic studies, minor Islamic cults' linguistics, linguistic psychological studies, linguistic nationalism studies, and linguistic identity studies. Most of the genealogical analysis of this thesis is derived from such literature, beside a variety of Arabic sources. Where I believe that Chejne and Suleiman has produced the most insightful literature on this topic, as their work builds on the orientalist and classical literature objectively, and it utilizes the vast amount of Arabic empirical material effectively.

Notably, with regards to the Arabic scholars, the classical theories about purism and divine origin of the Arabic language still resonates till now, not only in the religious educational institutions, but also in the modern, secular, academic institutions. For instance, the religious correlation with the language is taken as fact in the most recent book *Arabic Passes By – The Living Arabic Language: Permutations and Combinations of False Dichotomies*, 2016, written by Kamal M. al-Ikhnawy, an Arabic language teacher at the American University in Cairo, and similarly all the relevant linguistic scholarship produced by al-Azhar related academics adopt the aforementioned theories fully. Hence, the thesis will not depend much on recent Arabic literature, whereas literature produced during the Arabic reform, revival and liberal eras will be included in the genealogical analysis.

6.2 Literature on Jihadi culture

The linguistic religious relation within IS linguistic traditions belong to the wider academic framework of the culture of jihadism. The cultural aspect of jihad was partially included in many general literatures about jihad, mostly in conjunction with other fields, like Olivier Roy's book *Jihad and Death*, 2016, that included discussions about the jihad youth culture and rebellion, or in relation to other theories like Roy's article "Al Qaeda in the West as a youth movement," 2008. The concept of Jihadi culture was introduced in Hegghammer's book that carries the same title, *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists*, 2017, where different scholars cover different realms of this culture. Hence, the references used in his book and his related lecture "Why Terrorists Weep: The Socio-Cultural Practices of Jihadi Militants," 2015, in *Paul Wilkinson Memorial lecture*, cover most of the up-to-date literature about the jihadi culture. Therefore, this

study is relying on Hegghammer's book in many ways. Also, other scholars produced valuable works on the topic, yet more specialized. For instance, Jessica Stern's article "Pakistan's Jihad Culture," 2000, in *Foreign Affairs*, focuses on the presence of jihadi culture within the schooling system in Pakistan and the relation with the local gang culture. Also, new mediums and tools adopted by jihadi groups, led to specialized literature about the relevant topics. For instance, Gilbert Ramsay's *Jihadi Culture on the World Wide Web*, 2013, discusses the jihadi online media, forums and online activism. Moreover, many research projects addressed the topic of jihadism, and this thesis uses many databases, articles and minor studies that were published there. For instance, jihadica.com and the Clarion Project. Ultimately, this thesis, as shown in previous chapters, relates to a specific branch of the jihadi culture and focuses on a particular case study of the jihadi movement, which is the linguistic traditions of IS. Therefore, the jihadi culture literature is relevant as a theoretical point of departure for this study, and as a wider academic field to relate the findings to.

6.3 Literature on Islamic State

As a result of the dramatic, sudden appearance of IS, several jihadi scholars and platforms shifted their research towards IS, as the group gathered the attention of international politics and media. Most of the scholarly work about the group concentrated on analyzing the group with regards to geopolitical roots and development, like Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassan's *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*, 2015, and Abdel Bari Atwan's *Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate*, 2015. The thesis will rely on the data presented in such literature for supporting some arguments. Other literature took the ideological religious approach to study IS, like Cole Bunzel's article in *Brookings* "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State," 2016, where it will be used to connect IS ideology and theology to a wider jihadi, salafi and Islamic contexts. Also, IS notable success in the field of media has gained much scholarly attention, where the most significant media tools and strategies of the group were discussed in a number of publications. For instance, Mah-Rukh Ali's article "ISIS and Propaganda: How ISIS Exploits Women," 2015, discusses the different levels of female related topics that are found in IS media strategies. Moreover, most of the media and propaganda literature concentrates on *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, the two multilingual IS produced magazines that are accounted for the aim to recruit non-Arab jihadists. For example, Harleen K. Gambhir article "Dabiq: The strategic messaging of the Islamic State," 2014, in *Institute for the*

Study of War, and Michael WS. Ryan article "Dabiq: What Islamic State's new magazine tells us about their strategic direction, recruitment patterns and guerrilla doctrine," 2014, in *Terrorism Monitor, The Jamestown Foundation.* Nevertheless, the scope of this study is the Arabic production of IS, which only intersects with the literature on *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah* in the theoretical and methodological aspects.

Other linguistic aspects of IS publications were discussed in a range of literature, where most of this literature is referred to throughout this thesis, as this is the very particular focus of the study. One example that uses new analytical tools is Matteo Vergani and Ana-Maria Bliuc's article "The Evolution of the ISIS' Language: a Qualitative Analysis of the Language of the First Year of Dabiq Magazine," 2015, where the authors apply a new text analysis program, LIWC - Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count, which is supposed to "unveil latent psychological dimensions" in the first 11 issues of *Dabiq*. The writer argues that "the psychological structures of a text (…) generate identification in the audiences that recognize themselves in such structures and motives".[50] Also, the notion of defeating IS on the linguistic level was discussed in some literature. For example, in Belhoul Nacim's article "Daesh and Religion: Values and Words as Weapons," 2016, published in *The Arabic Journal of Human and Social Sciences*, the writer discusses the religious words and ideas IS uses to attract recruits, and Theresa Ford article "How Daesh Uses Language in the Domain of Religion," 2016. Moreover, many articles discuss this topic through the lens of poetry, like "Battle lines: Want to understand the jihadis? Read their poetry," 2015, in *The New Yorker*, usually in connection or comparison to different jihadi groups. Consequently, this study may be categorized among the literature discussing IS linguistics, and its contribution to this literature is to investigate dozens of speeches, articles and literary productions of IS, through Foucauldian discursive methods.

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[50] Matteo Vergani, and Ana-Maria Bliuc, "The evolution of the ISIS' language: a quantitative analysis of the language of the first year of Dabiq magazine," *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società - Security, Terrorism and Society* 2, no. 2 (2015): 7-20.

7. Historical and Linguistic Backgrounds

7.1 Historical Background of Arabic languages contexts

The Arabic language is in the core of the identity for many Arabic speaking people by default, as it carries with it common aspects of cultural, religious and historical mainstream. Yet the language carries other significance for others, who might be sharing the same ethnicity, place, history, culture or religion with the mainstream. The relation between the mainstream and the others change over the time, and it change with different rules with respect to the language discourse. This chapter identifies main identities, religions, ethnicities and discourses that the Arabic language effected and was affected by. As mentioned in the methods chapter, this background should deny any kind of essentialism between IS and Arabic language, and also relate the IS linguistic traditions to parallel traditions over the history.

7.1.1 The Arabic language as an Arabic identity

Many resources consider the Arabic language one of the main components of, if not identical to, the Arabic identity.[51] Evidences for this hypothesis can be found within the academic discussions about the formation of the Arabic identity and its historical developments in different eras, including the classical, decentralized, decline, revival and modern eras. Some of these accounts have a religious background, while others do not. This chapter describes accounts that discusses the Arabic identity despite their religious affiliation.

Many religious clerics and religious texts considered the Arabic language and the Arabic identity as equivalent. For instance, Ibn Taymiyyah described the Arabs by: "those whose language was Arabic" in his "*The definition of an Arab*".[52] Many *hadith* also state this relation, one of them mentions it clearly "(…) whoever speaks Arabic is an Arab".[53] Regarding the classical linguistic scholars, the Arabic language was connected to the old desert Arab identity. For instance, al-Suyuti

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[51] For instance, Yasir Suleiman followed the language as a main component of the identity throughout different times and places in his book; *The Arabic Language and National Identity: A Study in Ideology*, (Georgetown University Press, 2003).

[52] Ahmad bin Abd al-Halim bin Abd al-Salam Ibn Taymiyyah, edited by Nassir bin Abd al-Karim al-'Aql, اقتضاء الجحيم أصحاب لمخالفة المستقيم الصراط, (Riyadh: Daar Ishbilia, 1419 A.H./ 1999 C.E.) pp.164- 166.

[53] From the hadith book; 'Ala' Al-Din 'Ali Ibn Husam Al-Din Ibn 'A. Muttaqi, *Kanz al-'ummal fi sunan al-aqwal wa-al-af'al*, (Turath For Solutions, 2013), *hadith* number: 926.

(d. 1505) the Egyptian theologian and philologist,[54] discusses the pure roots of the Arabic language by: "in general no language was taken from any urban residents or prairie people … ".[55] Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) the great Arab historian and historiographer,[56] stated in his most famous work, *Muqadimma*, that Quraysh accent, which constitutes the CA main source, was the purest and most eloquent due to the tribe's location far from the non-Arabs, whilst other tribes were in contact with Persians, Byzantines, and Abyssinians, which resulted in linguistic impurity.[57]

During different historical eras, Arabic played a role as an enhancement to the Arabic identity. For instance, the language played a parallel role to religion in culturally unifying the decentralized Islamic states of the Abbasid empire, and during the Arabic identity revival in the modern era, the language was used to stress the Arabic identity against the Turkish Islamic identity by the Lebanese clerics and Christian intellectuals. [58] Moreover, Arabic is still one of the main abstract notions in some recent intellectuals' belief in a unified Arab identity despite of ethnicities and religions. [59]

7.1.2   The Arabic language as a tool in minorities' identity construction

During the spread of Islam, mastering the Arabic language was the choice of some non-Arab intellectuals to compete with the Arabs in both the cultural and religious fields. For instance, a historical movement that appeared in the Umayyad and Abbasid eras, al-Shu'ubiyya, claimed superiority over the Arabs based on their skills in the Arabic and Islamic studies. Such tendency was thriving especially among the new converts. Arabic was the literary language of many non-Muslims living in the Islamic, Arabic speaking countries. For instance, Arabic was the intellectual language for the Jews of Spain during the medieval time, and its first cultural revival in the modern times was connected to Christian religious institutions of the Levant, like the churches of the Levant and Iraq. Consequently, the language in both cases did not serve any religious discourse of Islam, on the contrary it was used within a Christian religious discourse, as in the translations to the gospel

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[54] Elizabeth M. Sartain, "Jalal al-din al-Suyuṭi: biography and background. Vol. 1," *Cambridge University Press* (1975).

[55] Jalal al-Din al-Suyuṭi, *al-Muzhir fī 'ulum al-lugha wa anwa'iha, 2 vols* (1971), vol I, 212.

[56] John L. Esposito ed., "Ibn Khaldun, Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed, December 14, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e948.

[57] Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history; in three volumes. 1*. No. 43 (Princeton University Press, 1969), vol III, 343.

[58] For examples; Costi K. Zurayk, "The Essence of Arab Civilization," *The Middle East Journal* (1949): 137. And Costi K. Zurayk, *The Arab Consciousness*, (1938), 38.

[59] Anwar G. Chejne, *The Arabic language: Its role in history* (U of Minnesota Press, 1969), 19.

and the Bible.[60] The Arabic language was the choice of some religious Muslims, who were not Arabs and lived in non-Arabic speaking countries. For instance, the nowadays Muslims of India and Pakistan, and some religious communities in Turkey and Iran in different historical times. Moreover, some other Islamic sects show a great interest in mastering the CA language, for instance the Sufis, whose interaction with the language happens at a high literary poetic level, where they excel at the poetic structure and the semantic knowledge of the language.

7.1.3   Different discourses on the Arabic language

Arabic has also been central in many other discourses that do not coincide or connect with the Islamic traditions. For example, the Arab revival, Arab modern reform and Arab nationalism. Regarding the Arabic revivalists, they perceived the Arabic language both as a revival target itself, and as a medium for reviving the historical and religious heritage that is written with it. Hence, the Arab revivalists gave a special interest to the Arabic literary language, "which embodies our long-cherished glories".[61]One of the main concerns of the Arab reform efforts was the educational situation of the masses, and teaching the Arabic language on a wide level was considered a primary step towards creating the right medium for spreading knowledge outside the traditional intellectual and privileged circles. Consequently, the linguistic reform was part of the general reform process. For instance, Taha Husayn (d. 1973), the Egyptian writer and one of the most influential Arab intellectuals of the 20th century,[62] insisted on applying immediate reforms of the language so that everyone could read it regardless of his education and career, in order for Arabic not to remain an elite language.[63]

The Arabic language was fundamental in the modern discourse of nationalism, as well as in earlier versions of national pride. For instance, during the Abbasid era, an old notion of national pride took the form of a competition between the cities of Mecca, Medina, Basra and Kufa, over the

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[60] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 135.
[61] Mahmoud Taymour (d. 1974) as cited in: Niloofar Haeri, *Sacred language, ordinary people: Dilemmas of culture and politics in Egypt* (Springer, 2003), 18.
[62] "Dr. Taha Hussein Dead at 85; Egyptian Writer and Educator," *New York Times*, October 29, 1973, accessed November 21, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/1973/10/29/archives/dr-taha-hussein-dead-at-85-egyptian-writer-and-educator-won-highest.html.
[63] Conference for the Arab academies for the language held in Damascus in 1956, as cited in; Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 122.

proclaimed purity and eloquence of speech.[64] Later on, the Arabic language was considered one of the main pillars of the post-colonial modern Arabic nationalism, both on the national and the regional levels.[65] Notably, the different Arabic language academies could reflect the trajectories of the Pan Arabism discourse in the 20th century. For instance, these academies imitated each other in the beginning, such as the Iraqi version that was established in 1947 following the earlier Syrian version. They continuously failed to agree on a supranational version, despite the topic being acknowledged and addressed at the institutional level of Arab committees starting from the 1930s, under the umbrella of the Arab League starting from the 1940s, and even in connection to the political authorities based on a decree of unification issued in 1960 during the union between Egypt and Syria (1958-1961). Consequently, the Arab language academies failed to create a continuous momentum both with intelligentsia and the masses.

7.2 General background of Islamic State linguistic traditions

Most of the European, north American and Asian countries have residents who joined IS at some point during the past years. The numbers are higher from Arab countries, either those who share borders with the group territory or the remote countries. The group held control over millions of locals from Syria and Iraq. This international, regional and local diversity must have a significant reflection on the linguistic scene inside the group. This chapter discusses how the group manages the linguistic scene, between the pragmatic need to recruit more and the practical need to deal with a big population and the cultural need to stick to their cultural authenticity.

7.2.1   The Islamic State as a multi-linguistic group

Most IS high level leaders, for instance al-Baghdadi and al-Adnani,[66] have a tendency to use the Arabic Quranic language in their speeches. Likewise, the highest religious authority of IS, al-Binali, claims that the use of Quranic Arabic is encouraged religiously, and that the use of any other language than Arabic, unless critically needed, is abhorrent (*makruh*). Nevertheless, the real situation in IS tends to be more pragmatic and practical when it comes to the linguistic skills of

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[64] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 61.
[65] Yasir Suleiman, *The Arabic language and national identity: A study in ideology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 3.
[66] IS leaders will be introduced in details in a different chapter, see below.

their activists. For example, IS also encourages and supports the learning and use of international languages. Those who speak international languages, e.g. because of their ethnic or national background, are often seen promoted within IS ranks to higher levels, as they are organizationally needed in different media and communication duties that uses these languages.[67] Furthermore, some non-Arabic IS activists support the need to know international languages through religious references, for instance Quranic verse 49:13.[68]

In his three-part linguistic series about IS published in qz.com, Michael Erard covered many aspects of the languages used by the group. He claims that the multi linguistic jihad propaganda is not a creation of IS, as it goes back to the 1980s.[69] He also states that this linguistic situation was not perceived positively within jihadi groups in general, for instance, regarding al-Qa'ida non-Arabic activists, the code-meshing between Arabic and other regional languages, like Dari and Pashto was noticed as a degraded jihadi pidgin.[70]

However, what seems as a weakness for the former and the parallel jihadi groups, like al Qa'ida and Jabhat al Nusra, has been turned to a point of strength by IS. For example, Abdel Bari Atwan claims that one of the main logistic failures for al Nusra, compared to IS, is that the group was not equipped to handle non-Arabic speakers. It is to be noted though, that their percentage reached 20 % at one point.[71] On the contrary, IS was exceling in this logistic aspect. "It isn't merely tolerant of people who speak languages besides Arabic; it needs them, not only to produce its multilingual propaganda but also to help in managing the would be caliphate's increasingly diverse population and to mount attacks outside it."[72] Nevertheless, the need to learn Arabic language among the non-Arabic population of IS was mostly connected to religious reasons in general and the Quran in particular, but not for practical reasons.

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[67] For a full presentation of IS media outlets and the languages used in them, see: Khald 'Zab, "إعلام «داعش»: الحياة", التنظيم إعلاميي على يطغى اللغات وهمّ ...حصتها القومية للأقليات
, accessed November 21, 2017, http://www.alhayat.com/Articles/18242426.
[68] Michael Erard, "ISIL isn't merely tolerant of people who speak language besides Arabic; it needs them," *QUARTZ*, August 4, 2016, https://qz.com/746731/isil-isnt-merely-tolerant-of-people-who-speak-languages-besides-arabic-it-needs-them/.
[69] See also; Thomas Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Vol. 33 (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[70] Michael Erard, "ISIL is using the language barriers within its ranks to evolve jihad beyond Arabic," *QUARTZ*, August 3, 2016, https://qz.com/746730/isil-is-using-the-language-barriers-within-its-ranks-to-evolve-jihad-beyond-arabic/.
[71] Abdel Bari Atwan, *Islamic state: The digital caliphate* (Univ of California Press, 2015), 168.
[72] Erard, "ISIL isn't merely tolerant."

7.2.2 The Islamic State as a local-linguistic group

In general, the diglossia situation within IS could be described briefly as follows: the official language and the more centralized language of IS propaganda has a tendency to be a classical version of Arabic, but the group is practically using the local dialects in the provinces (*wilayat*) and municipalities media levels, especially in the non-textual media such as videos, broadcasts and odes. Yet, the material analyzed throughout this study is limited to CA, and no colloquial Arabic material will be included. The conflict between these two forms of language, the written and the spoken, or the literacy and the vernacular, has a long history in the Arab linguistic traditions, as the diglossia situation has always created some kind of intellectual debates across different eras. Diglossia has been related continuously to the social status, especially in the historical eras, and also within traditional communities, which is applied to the high tribal construction of IS territory population.[73]

Regarding the genealogical analysis, different perceptions of the diglossia situation could be traced to the formation of the Islamic and linguistic sciences, where the different tribal Arabic accents creates a major field of the discussion related to the revelation of Quran, the *qira´at*. The connection between the language used by people and their social status started as early as the classical Islamic times, for instance, the good language was required in different Umayyad high level places like the courts and the caliphate court.[74] The diglossia situation was addressed in many classical scholarship, like Hamdani's *Sifat Jazirat al-Arab*, 10th century, and al-Muqaddasi's *Ahsan al-Taqasim*, 10th century, and al-Tha'alibi's *Fiqh al Lugha*, 11th century. Moreover, during the Ottoman supremacy over the Arab lands, the Turkish language was used on the official capacity, resulting in a severe weakness in the CA and a wider use of the local vernacular Arabic. The diglossia intensified to the extent that the colloquial Arabic was used in writing. Consequently, once the revival of the Arab identity emerged in the 19th century, a relevant debate occurred about the use of different forms of Arabic languages. The intellectuals' position within this debate was mostly in favor of the classical literary language against any other linguistic forms, where the CA was always supported by the Quranic language and the long literary heritage, whilst the dialects were said to

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[73] In the biggest cities held by IS in Syria, Deir Ezzor, Hasaka, Raqqa and Deraaa, 90% of the population are tribes in comparison to 30% of all Syria; Weiss and Hassan, *ISIS: Inside the army of terror,* 202.
[74] Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs* (Routledge, 1998), 203.

lack codification.[75] Nevertheless, this debate has always been the concern of the intelligentsia, and never a concern for the masses.

7.2.3 The linguistic aspect of fighting the Islamic State

Although this study is only concerned with the linguistic traditions of IS, undeniable similarity with parallel traditions used by the group opponents can be noticed. Poetry was also used to encourage and support IS enemies, for instance poems were declaimed before groups of the Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) and their supporters in order to raise their morals during their fight with IS, and to increase their support among Iraqis.[76] Notably one of the famous poets for the PMF is female.[77] Moreover, a Facebook page connected to PMF used the same enthusiastic poem, which al-Baghdadi included in his speech, to praise their warriors.[78] Furthermore some linguistic tools have been used on the international level in terms of countering IS propaganda and gaining public appeal. For instance the US state department used a video showing al-Shishani, IS senior war commander and Shura council member,[79] while reciting Quranic verses with poor Arabic skills, aiming to undermine his authority as a military leader in IS.[80] During the war on terrorism, use of Arabic linguistics was considered a security threat, for instance the "flowery rhetoric" was

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[75] Mahmud Taymur, *Mushkilat al-lugha al-arabiya* (Beirut: Dar Aladab for Publishing, 1998), 184.

[76] For some examples, see; داعش الى الاعاجيبي محمد الشاعر جديد", الاعاجيبي محمد الشاعر, video, 11:44, November 30, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NvXCzU7BWoU, and خادم - الزيدي علي, القوي و رائع شعر", الصدر ال, 2016 الخيكاني نهاد السلام وسرايا الشعبي الحشد على قيل ما اجمل", video, 5:19, June 1, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBdu5z1lZRE, and الصفار احمد شعر", الأعاجيبي محمّد الشاعر - (المقدس الحشد أنا) الشعبي للحشد, video, 9:52, May 2, 2015, الشعبي للحشد شعر قصيده اقوى", السلطاني جعفر المخرج https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mu4vZNXPUgo, and 2015 - روعهه وعلي تفوتك الكناني موسى الشاعر 2016", video, 5:13, April 16, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GW00vBth4dw, all accessed November 21, 2017.

[77] See her at; متشوفه اذا خساره/رائع الشعبي للحشد شعر تلقي شاعره", الحسيني منتظر/2016," video, 5:10, February 13, 2016, accessed November 21, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Byq-r9xq1rg&t=143s.

[78] Both used the same classical poetic line "تخلق المنية أن يحسبوا لم حسبتهم الحديد لبسوا إذا قومٌ" Facebook, March 22, 2015, الحديد لبسوا إذا قومٌ", 2015, الديوانية محافظة الحشدالشعبي ". For the PMF Facebook page; https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=691558694305988&id=674255379369653, and for al-Baghdadi speech; دولة] نوره يتمّ أن إلا الله ويأبى :بعنوان كلمة [تفريغ]", Nukhbat Al-I'laam Al-Jihaadi ::: الجهادي الإعلام نخبة , الإسلامية العراق]," Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/2b-bkr-bghdd, both accessed November 21, 2017.

[79] For more information about al-Shishani, see; "Omar al-Shishani", Counter Extremism Project, accessed November 21, 2017, https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/omar-al-shishani.

[80] Michael Erard, "ISIL demands many things of its top commanders, but good Arabic isn't always one of them," *QUARTZ*, August 5, 2016, https://qz.com/746732/isil-demands-many-things-of-its-top-commanders-but-good-arabic-isnt-always-one-of-them/.

eliminated from Bin Laden speeches following an unprecedented agreement between the former secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice and the five major American news networks.[81]

 "Letter to Baghdadi" [82], the message that was addressed to IS leaders, refuting all IS theological arguments and practices, and was signed by 126 Muslim official clerics and scholars, touched upon some linguistic topics as a defect within IS religious methodology. For instance, the message questioned the validity of IS' religious position by stressing the linguistic mastery as a necessary condition for achieving the status of *Mufti*, followed by a detailed elaboration of the linguistic skills that are required like (linguistic sciences, rules, grammar, prose, rhetoric, poem, lexicography and interpretation). Moreover, the content of this message included a linguistic analysis of the speech on announcing the caliphate, by al-Adnani.[83] The message pointed out some linguistic mistakes in the speech, the first is in the title of the speech (*hadha wa'ad allah*) and the suggested correction is (*hadha min wa'ad allah*), both meaning "that is what Allah has promised" generally but the difference is in the linguistically technical absence of the preposition in IS version. Another mistake was discussed regarding a linguistic derivative, where the derivation between *istikhlaf* and *khilafa* (caliphate) was discussed based on the Quranic lexicon of the former word in Quran (verse 7:129), and the message denied any connection between the Quranic verse and establishing a caliphate, linguistically. Finally, the message was summarized in the end under the section of executive summary, were the second article states: "It is prohibited to have the religious *shar'i* (legitimacy) authority without the fluency (mastery) of the Arabic language".

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[81] Bill Carter, and Felicity Barringer, "Networks Agree to US Request to Edit Future bin Laden Tapes," *New York Times*11 (2001): A1.

[82] "رسالة مفتوحة," Open Letter to Al-Baghdadi, accessed November 21, 2017, http://www.lettertobaghdadi.com/14/arabic-v14.pdf.

[83] For transcripts: "تفريغ كلمة — هذا وعد الله — إعلان قيام الخلافة الإسلامية للشيخ المجاهد ابي محمد العدناني حفظه الله," مدونة جرير الحسني, أخبارها وأحدث الأردن في الجهادية السلفية حول | accessed November 21, 2017, https://thabat111.wordpress.com/2014/06/29/.

8. Analysis of Islamic State empirical material

8.1 Islamic State linguistic traditions

Investigating the roots of IS and its creation as a group usually starts by analyzing the background of the leaders of the group and significant individuals, as shown in many IS studies. This thesis will also conduct an analysis of IS leaders, yet from a linguistic lens. The main linguistic traditions, like the use of poetry and classical speech, should supplement the individuals' backgrounds, and reflect the status of the linguistic traditions of IS. Also, relevant historical linguistic traditions should add to the chapter, the genealogical approach.

8.1.1 Linguistic profiles of Islamic State leaders

The caliphate was announced by IS in June 2014.[84] Concurrently, the group leader, Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri, changed his name to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.[85] Al-Baghdadi is an Iraqi religious scholar of Islamic studies, and holds a PhD in Quranic phonetics besides other studies in history and poetry. According to jihadi websites, his family is from a religious kinship to the prophet, his uncles and peers are religious clerics, and Arabic language and *fiqh* teachers.[86]

Abu Muhammad al-Adnani, Syrian by birth, the official spokesman and the Shura Council member of IS, was famous for the label of attack dog, based on the unique linguistic skills he showed in the dispute against al Qa'ida.[87] Notably, he is the highest ranked IS leader that shows an extensive mastery of the CA language, in my opinion, which he uses through different skills and forms, like being an orator, ideologue and spokesman. Like many of IS' multi-functional leaders, al-Adnani was active in both the military and the organizational levels. Nevertheless, the significance of holding this position, besides the great fame he achieved among the jihadi communities, reflects the

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[84] Matt Bradley, "ISIS declares new islamist caliphate," *The Wall Street Journal* 29 (2014).

[85] Polly Mosendz, "How the head of ISIS got his name," *Newsweek*, August 11, 2014, http://www.newsweek.com/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-abu-dua-invisible-sheikh-awwad-ibrahim-ali-al-badri-al-282939.

[86] For more details about al-Baghdadi, see; Sawsan Abuzahr, "المسلمين؟ لخلافة "داعش" بايعه الذي البغدادي بكر أبو هو من"، *an-Nahar*, June 30, 2014, https://www.annahar.com/article/141192.

[87] Kyle Orton, "Profiles of Islamic State Leaders," *The Henry Jackson Society (CRRT)*, 2016, 31-35.

strong role of his cultural and linguistic structure that was acknowledged by the fellowship of the jihadi cultural discourse.[88]

Turki ibn Mubarak al-Binali from Bahrain, was selected by al-monitor as the likely successor of al-Baghdadi after the death of al-Adnani.[89] Despite his young age, he reached the position of the chief religious advisor of IS,[90] which is the most important position within the religious hierarchy of the group. He also could be considered as one of the significant proponents of IS jihadi cultural discourse, as he was one of the pillars behind the IS publications and propaganda process, including the IS training manuals for the newcomers. Al-Binali was not active in any security or military capacity, yet he was a member of the IS Shura Council. His position in IS was mainly supported by his strong theological arguments, either on political matters like supporting the legitimacy of al-Baghdadi's caliphate claims, or in the doctrinal, where "his early jihadi activities help the Islamic state stake a claim in a long line of jihadi jurisprudence".[91] Yet the linguistic aspect was highly present in his profile, as he was a poem composer, like seen in his response to the state of Bahrain withdrawing his nationality by composing a poem against the notion of modern nationalism.[92] He could also be considered a linguistic scholar besides being a religious one, as one of his main early publications is a scholarly linguistic book that is connected to the classical religious-linguistic scholarship, *A reproach for those who speak with a different language than the language of the book - al 'itab limn takalam bighayr lugha al kitab,* 2008.[93] This book will be investigated in details in a different chapter.

The female position in IS is divided into two main categories. The first concerns the highly appreciated jihadi role of women that appeared strongly in the female military, media and logistic

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[88] For details about al-Adnani being acknowledged for his linguistic skills, see: Anthony N. Celso, "More than the Voice of the Caliphate: The Destructive Legacy of Abu Muhammad Al-Adnani," *International Journal of Political Science.* 2 (4), (2016).

[89] Giorgio Cafiero, "Meet the likely successor of Islamic State's Baghdadi," *al-monitor*, September 14, 2016, https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/en/originals/2016/09/turki-binali-bahrain-islamic-state-successor-baghdadi.html.

[90] "Treasury Sanctions Key ISIL Leaders and Facilitators Including a Senior Oil Official," U.S. Department of the Treasury, accessed November 21, 2017, https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl0351.aspx.

[91] Hassan, "Ideological Roots and Political Context."

[92] For the incident of withdrawing his nationality and al-Binali poem, see; Cole Bunzel, "The Caliphate's Scholar-in-Arms," *JIHADICA*, accessed November 21, 2017, https://web.archive.org/web/20151213140920/. http://www.jihadica.com/the-caliphate%E2%80%99s-scholar-in-arms/.

[93] For an online version of this book; "الكتاب لغة بغير تكلم لمن العتـاب," Ebook Collection, Al-Madinah International University (MEDIU), accessed November 21, 2017, http://elibrary.mediu.edu.my/books/SDL1188.pdf.

participation in the battle of Mosul,[94] also this category includes the female suicide bombers, the female media activists involved in the (media-jihad),[95] and the female security group al-Khansa brigade.[96] Generally, other women are placed in the second category, where the disrespectful view of the female subjects under IS control is ranging between sexual jihad and slavery.[97] Regarding the first category, Ahlam al-Nasr from Syria, achieved a prominent position as one of the very few women who were acknowledged as a significant individual within the group's official media and dynamics. She reached this prominent place based mainly on her linguistic skills, as she was very active in writing articles aside from her famous *diwan*.[98] Moreover, she was not only praised verbally or through publication, but she was officially offered tours within the IS controlled territory in order to highlight the perceived Islamic utopian society of the caliphate, where the first shop she entered in her tour was a gun shop.[99]

The genealogical inter-discursive relation between the religious and the linguistic is direct and fundamental with respect to the fellowship of discourse. This mutual relation could be traced throughout different ages among the prophet, the grammarians, the lexicographers and the linguistic scholars in general. Notably this relation extended through a more educational institutional frame in modern times, in comparison to classical and medieval times, when the scholars' community was more into smaller groups and individuals.

The religious linguistic inter-discursive relation is connected to the prophecy on the personal level of the prophet of Islam. One of Muhammad's prophetic qualities is his superior linguistic skills that distinguish him from his peers, where he confirmed that he is the only mortal that can have a complete mastery of the language, as in the *hadith* (I am privileged over the other prophets by six, I

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[94] Isaac Kfir, "The Role of Women in Islamic State-led Terrorism," *Real Clear Defense (RCD)*, September 18, 2017, https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2017/09/18/the_role_of_women_in_islamic_state-led_terrorism_112315.html.

[95] For more details, in Arabic, about IS female activists involved with media-jihad, see; Marwan Shlala, "نساء يتولين "الجهاد" الإعلامي في داعش," *elaph*, November 18, 2014, http://elaph.com/Web/News/2014/11/959029.html, and "السعوديات" بيد والقيادة ...«النساء من جيش» لـ الإعلامي النشر يوكل «داعش»," *Al Hayat*, November 18, 2014, http://www.alhayat.com/Articles/5759079.

[96] For more details about al-Khansa group, see; Kathy Gilsinan, "The ISIS Crackdown on Women, by Women," *The Atlantic*, July 25, 2014, https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/the-women-of-isis/375047/.

[97] Mah-Rukh Ali, "ISIS and propaganda: How ISIS exploits women," *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism* (2015).

[98] *Diwan* is a collection of poems in one volume, usually with a main theme.

[99] Huda Salih, "أصولية منحنيات "داعش» شاعرة «النصر أحلام»,السورية," *Asharq al-Awsat*, November 10, 2014, https://goo.gl/v2r2Wv

have been given the collections of words, (…)). Also, the language creates a religious divine kinship between Muhammad and Ismail, the grandfather of Arabs and the first to speak Arabic.[100]

During the formation and classical Islamic eras, most of the Quranic readers were grammarians, like Ibn Abi Ishaq (d. 735),[101] Abu 'Amr ibn al-'Ala' (d. 770),[102] and al-Kisa'i (d. 804).[103] Also, some linguistic top level skills were associated with religious-related labels. For instance, al-Khalil ibn Ahmad (d. 791)[104] reached a high level of proficiency and eloquence that was said it was never reached since the time of prophet, and similarly Sibawayh's (d. 796)[105] influential grammar book, *al-Kitab*, was called the Quran of grammar.[106] Moreover, many scholars of medieval times across Arabic speaking states were combining linguistic and religious knowledge, for example al-Shafi'i (d. 820)[107] was first collecting Arab poetry and literature before being interested in *fiqh*, and Abu Hayyan (d. 1344)[108] from Spain was a poet, a grammarian beside being a commentator on the Quran. In modern times, after Christian religious institutions paved the way for the Arabic linguistic revival, the lead was taken by their Islamic counterparts, where al-Azhar played a major rule in Egypt, along with other Islamic institutions and families in other Islamic societies. For instance, Abdullah al-Sharqawi (d. 1812),[109] Hasan al-Attar (d. 1835),[110] and Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (d. 1873),[111]

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[100] For a reference to a *hadith* stating that Ismail is the first to speak proper Arabic, see; "لغة نبي الله إسماعيل عليه السلام," islamweb, accessed November 21, 2017, http://fatwa.islamweb.net/fatwa/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=104508.

[101] Considered by many the first Arabic grammarian and he also pioneered the use of linguistic analogy in Arabic. For more information, see; Bilal Orfali, *In the Shadow of Arabic: The Centrality of Language to Arab Culture, Studies Presented to Ramzi Baalbaki on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[102] One of the Quran's seven *qira'at* transmitters. For more information, see; Ibn Khallikan, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical dictionary*. Vol. 4 (Oriental translation fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1871), vol II, 399.

[103] One of the Quran's seven *qira'at* transmitters and the founder of the Kufi school of grammar. For more information, see; Julie Scott Meisami, and Paul Starkey, eds. *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*. Vol. 2 (Taylor & Francis, 1998), vol II, 453.

[104] The author of the first Arabic dictionary and the creator of rules of Arabic prosody. For more information, see; "Al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad," *Encyclopedia Britannica, inc*, accessed November 21, 2017, https://www.britannica.com/biography/al-Khalil-ibn-Ahmad.

[105] One of the most prominent Arabic grammarians and linguists and the author of seminal works. For more information, see; Yasir Suleiman, "Sibawayh the phonologist. A critical study of the phonetic and phonological theory of Sibawayh as presented in his treatise Al-Kitab. By Al-Nassir A. A., (Library of Arabic Linguistics, Monograph No. 10.) pp. xx, 130+ pp. 12 (Arabic). London and New York, Kegan Paul International, 1993," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5, no. 2 (1995): 267-269.

[106] According to Abu al-Ṭayyib al-Lughawi (d. 962), as cited in; Kristen Brustad, "The Iconic Sībawayh1," *Essays in Islamic Philology, History, and Philosophy* 31 (2016): 141.

[107] The famous Muslim jurist and the founder of one of the four schools of *fiqh* (*madhhab*). For more information, see; Josef W. Meri, ed. *Medieval Islamic civilization: an encyclopedia* (Routledge, 2005), 724.

[108] The most important grammarian of his age and the first Arabic to write in comparative linguistics. For more information, see: Meisami, and Starkey, *Arabic literature*, vol I, 35.

[109] The grand Imam of al-Azhar during the French campaign (1798-1801) and he wrote about linguistics. For more information, in Arabic, see; "الشرقاوي الله عبد الإمام," وسير تراجم, دار الإفتاء المصرية, accessed November 21, 2017, http://www.dar-alifta.org/AR/ViewScientist.aspx?ID=21.

all were either students, teachers or grand Imams at al-Azhar, besides their significant linguistic contribution. Similarly, some Arab linguistic scholars came from religious backgrounds, for instance, Abd al-Qadir al-Maghribi (d. 1956)[112] from Syria, came from a religious family, as his father was the *mufti* of Syria and one of the religious and linguistics reformers of Syria for long time.

8.1.2 Poetry of the Islamic State

Some individuals were highly praised within the IS hierarchy for being good at using poetic linguistic skills, as they were acknowledged within the group media entities as, first and foremost, poets. This position is connected to the extensive use of poems within IS literature, where the use of poems can be traced intensely throughout most forms of IS material on different topics. For instance, it can be found in political speeches, religious discussions, official technical arguments, internal enthusiastic rhetoric and external media propaganda. Poems are used in IS accounts either as original poems created by the author of the material in the context of the topic, or as cited poems that are immersed in the text to connect the topic to relevant historical discussions or arguments, or sometimes the media production is just the poem itself.

Poems have been used by IS within the political context repetitively. For instance, IS leader al-Baghdadi cited a classical poem twice[113] in the crucial speech "God denies until complete lightsome - *wa ya'ba allah 'illa 'an yatma nurahu,* 2012".[114] Here he announced his acceptance to the leadership of the group (*Al-tawhid wa al-jihad*), which is one of the groups that eventually led to the creation of IS. The poem was an elegy (*ritha*) for the jihadi leaders: Osama Bin-Laden (d. 2011), Anwar al-Awalki (d. 2011), Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (d. 2006) and the former founders of his faction Abu Omar al-Baghdadi (d. 2010) and Abu Hamza al-Muhajer (d. 2010).

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[110] One of the most famous grand Imams of al-Azhar and he has a linguistic and grammatical contribution. For more information, see; Peter Gran, "Rediscovering Al-'Attar,ll," *Al-Ahram Weekly* 770, 2005.

[111] The prominent Egyptian religious scholar and intellectual and the head of the language school of Egypt for five years. For more information, see; John L. Esposito ed., "Tahtawi, Rifaa al-," *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed, December 14, 2017, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2310.

[112] An important linguistic scholar who was associated with the Arab academy in Damascus. For more information, see; Charles Kurzman, ed. *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: a sourcebook* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2002), 207.

[113] Poems by the famous medieval poet Abu Tammam (d. 845), as cited in: Ahmed Ibn Abed Raba Al-Andelesy, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farid* (1996).

[114] al-I'laam al-Jihaadi , "نوره يتَمَّ أَن إلا الله ويأبى".

Poems have also been used within the religious sermons. For example, al-Binali, the senior religious advisor of IS, included poems in six places in a religious theological study, published by al-Ghurba' media house production, "Elaborating the conditions and prohibitions of infidelity – *sharh shurut wa mwani' al takfir*, 2014".[115] The cited poems were used within the theological context to support the religious position of al-Binali. He cited some religious classical figures like Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 1350)[116]. Ibn al-Qayyim was also cited, among five other poems, in a report produced by al-Khansa media battalion, "Women in the Islamic State,"[117] discussing official related topics to the women of the group in different fields. Moreover, poetry was used intensively in some of the enthusiastic material addressed to IS fighters. For instance, twenty-three lines of poetry were included in al-Adnani's speech "How wonderful is the smell of heaven – *waha l rih al janah* 2015",[118] addressed to the fighters of Diyala[119] originally, preparing them for a big fight. The number of poetic lines exceeds the Quran and *hadith* lines combined within this speech.

Although most of the poems produced by IS belong to the classical poetic form *'amudi* that has always been used, some belongs to the modern poetic form *hur* that emerged only in the 19th century, and the language of some poets connected to IS ranges between CA, MSA and vernacular Arabic. Ahlam al-Nasr was among the specific poets that were highly praised and published by the group. Her collection of poems *diwan* "The blaze of truth - *awar al-haqq,* 2014"[120] was widely distributed, and was used in the external media propaganda for the group aiming to draw a utopian picture of the group.[121] The *diwan* was highly praised by IS media production, hence al-Nasr was given many bright titles, like the poetess of jihad and the poetess of the IS. Also, her *diwan* belongs

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[115] شرح تفريغ شروط وموانع التكفير للشيخ تركي البنعلي pdf," Internet Archive, accessed November 21, 2017, https://archive.org/details/Torki_bannali.

[116] The Sunni hanbali jurist and thinker and the most important student of Ibn Taymiyyah. For more information, see; Mohammad A. Abderrazzaq, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, (Oxford University Press, 2009,) http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195305135.001.0001/acref-9780195305135-e-1043.

[117] "New article from al-Khansa' Media Battalion: "Women in the Islamic State"," Jihadology, accessed November 21, 2007, http://jihadology.net/2015/01/22/new-article-from-al-khansa-media-battalion-women-in-the-islamic-state/.

[118] For the transcript, see; "الجنة لريح واهاً," JustPaste.it, accessed November 21, 2017, https://justpaste.it/emwaha.

[119] A governorate in eastern Iraq.

[120] To download the *diwan*: "[هدايا رمضان 2] الديوان الشعري الأول لشاعرة الجهاد / أحلام / النصر / بعنوان [أوار الحق], فُرسَانِ البَلَاغ للإعلَام, JustPaste.it, accessed November 21, 2017, https://justpaste.it/fursan-d-awar.

[121] Robyn Creswell, and Bernard Haykel, "Battle lines: Want to understand the jihadis? Read their poetry," *The New Yorker* 8 (2015).

to the classical form of poetry and covers many topics like elegy (*ritha*), pride (*fakhr*) and enthusiasm (*hamasa*). Notably, she emphasizes the connection to the classical form in her *diwan*, as she states the classical metre (*wazn*) of the poem just below the title throughout the 117 poems of her *diwan*. Also, al-Nasr persistently injects classical words in her mostly MSA language. On the other hand, Sheiba al-Hamad's poetry, another IS poet, belongs mostly to modern poetry, where the rhyme and the metre are changing across the poem.[122] Furthermore, IS produced some poems with local dialects, either in the published form or the ode (*nashid*).[123]

This high position that the poets enjoy within IS' official capacity is not paralleled in any other Arabic communities nowadays, however it was the default during many centuries of Arab history. For instance, in the pre-Islamic era poets have always enjoyed a unique position among their tribes, as they were the "the spokesman, leader, and oracle for the tribe; a master of satire and praise; a guide in peace, and a champion in war."[124] This position was highly esteemed to the extent that it constituted a challenge to the prophecy, hence they were condemned by the prophet for "the bewitching influence they possessed".[125] However, soon after the so-called four rightly guided caliphs and during the first dynasty, the Umayyad, the poets partially regained their old positions, as well as their political influence. On the literary level, some of the tribes, events, rulers, and political entities were mainly remembered and immortalized, in connection to the poets of the era, for example, the pre-Islamic Arabic history (*ayyam al-'arab*) and the dislocated Islamic states during the Abbasid era. Although the position of poetry is declining in the modern era, as it is highly contested by other forms of literature and different culture, still one of the main condition of being an expert of Arabic language is to have good knowledge of the famous poets of the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras. Poetry, specially of the pre-Islamic era, has always been celebrated as the most artistic medium of the classical language next to Quran. Also, the poetic heritage in general is considered as the repository of the Arab virtues throughout Islamic and pre-Islamic history, like loyalty, generosity, hospitality, manliness, being very protective regarding honor, and having a tendency toward vengeance.[126] Moreover, poetry, contrary to other literary forms, could be related to both the religious and the Arabic pagan spirit.

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[122] "قَدِموا فالعدا .. حِزامَك جَهِّزْ," JustPaste.it, accessed October 13, 2017, https://justpaste.it/ansar_chari3a_001.
[123] Hegghammer, *Jihadi Culture*, 60-62.
[124] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 6.
[125] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 7.
[126] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 35.

8.1.3 Orators of the Islamic State

All the public speeches of al-Baghdadi and al-Adnani carry all the characteristics of a traditional religious speech, similar to any Friday prayer speech in Arab speaking Muslim societies, yet with a different topic. This structure includes a start of praising the prophet and his companions, excessive reference to Quran and *hadith*, the unified addressing for Muslims all over the world, the use of rhymed prose, the supplication (*du'a*) and the closing by praising the prophet again. The genealogy of this linguistic tradition goes back to the origins of the Arabic pre-Islamic history, where the orator (*khatib*) was only second to the poet in importance among the tribal community.[127] Contrary to the poet's role that remained in touch with different topics, the orator has been limited to the religious spheres of Islam, as of being a religious preacher. The qualified orator, ideally, should be enthusiastic, eloquent and persuasive, where the style is as important as the content. Notably, the prophet himself could be considered as an orator, as well as a preacher.

8.2 Conceptual and theoretical aspects of Islamic State linguistic traditions

The linguistic-religious inter discursive relation has many layers and aspects. Few of them were discussed in the previous chapters on backgrounds and practices. The conceptual and theoretical analysis constitutes a major layer of the discursive formation that is needed in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of this relation. The next chapters will investigate the Arabic language sanctity and the use of classical Islamic terminology through a conceptual and theoretical Foucauldian approach to reach this goal.

8.2.1 Using the Classical Islamic terminology

The Arabic language used by IS leaders in their political speeches mostly imitates the style of religious sermons, hence it has a tendency to use vocabulary extracted from Quran, *Sunnah* and *fiqh* lexicon. Yet, only a few of them reach a level of mastery for such lexicon. For instance, and with respect to the selected material, an average level of using the classical language could be noticed in al-Baghdadi's speeches, whilst a high level could be noticed in al-Adnani speeches. On the other hand, the non-religious style material, even if it addresses the same topics, does not use any Quranic

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[127] A. al-Jahiz, *al-bayan wa al-tabyin* (Beirut: dar al-jil, 1960), 241.

lexicon, but it uses the MSA vocabulary instead. An example being al-Nasr's poem "Whenever a ruling is unjust it vanishes – *ina al muluk idha tajur tazul*"[128] about the political situation in the Arab Spring countries, with respect to the five leaders of the five countries that were hit by the events.

In the following, one speech of al-Baghdadi, one speech of al-Adnani and one poem of Ahalm will be analyzed to elaborate more about the different levels of using CA, followed by a genealogical discussion about the classical and Quranic Arabic lexicon.

The use of the classical vocabulary can be witnessed frequently in al-Baghdadi's political speeches, mostly when the speech follows the religious sermon style and is associated with rhymed prose (*saj'*). For example, in the introduction and the closing *du'a* of al-Baghdadi speech *wa ya'ba allah 'illa 'an yatma nurahu*,[129] he used almost the same classical religious vocabulary that is used in the caliche religious sermons. Although rhymed prose has been used rarely in the content of the speech, it is still associated with Quranic vocabulary, like (*wa'duh … junduh*), and (*al-mudalalin … al-'alamin*). Generally, al Baghdadi's choice of vocabulary has a tendency to relate to the Quranic and classical lexicon, either in his choice of verbs, like (*ya'ba*) instead of the more common synonymous (*yarfud*), or in his expressions like (*khyulahum musaraja*) that belong to *hadith* tradition, or in his nouns like (*muhajrin*) and (*'nsar*) labeling the locals and new comers in a clear imitation to *Sunnah*. However, al-Baghdadi uses the MSA vocabulary when discussing recent political topics. For instance, he uses the terms (democracy-dictatorship) a lot,[130] in the context of urging the Syrians not to follow their peers in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen. Whilst al-Adnani speech " *waha l rih al janah*"[131] could be characterized by using a high level of a classical lexicon. Also, al-Adnani is usually using classical and Quranic vocabulary associated with rhymed prose, which is a classical linguistic tool. For instance, in the enthusiastic introduction for the IS fighters, strong rhyming classical words could be noticed (*yakin ... salkin ... murjfin … hasdin*), and on another location of the same speech some examples of Quranic lexicon could be noticed (*al faza' al akbar … hawl al-mahshar*). Other times he uses modern language, especially when addressing

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[128] Ahlam al-Nasr, *Diwan awar al-haqq*, (فُرسَان البَلَاغ لِلإعلَام, JustPaste.it, 2014), 31-33, accessed November 21, 2017, https://justpaste.it/fursan-d-awar.

[129] Al-I'laam Al-Jihaadi , " نوره يتَمَّ أن إلا الله ويأبى".

[130] "[تفريغ]: المؤمنين وبشر﴿ ،كلمة لأمير المؤمنين: أبي بكر البغدادي حفظه الله," accessed November 17, 2017, www.tawtheek00jihad00dawlah.wordpress.com.

[131] JustPaste.it, "واهاً لريح الجنة".

current political topics, for example (*qrsa … ghsa*). Another example that lacks the religious style completely, although it confirms to the classical poetic style, is al-Nasr's poem about the Arab spring.[132] The language used in the poem content is rarely Quranic or classical, mostly in the title (*ina al-mlwuk iza tajur tazwul*) and in very few lines of the poem. Most of the language used in the poem belongs to the MSA lexicon. For instance, the rhyming words (*mazhul ... ghoul ... mastul ... makhbul*) for describing the Arab presidents, which can only be considered as MSA.

In addition, the classical language is used occasionally among IS activists externally in their communication with the potential recruits, as they need to send a "sophisticated set of 'nudges'" that deliver a combination of culturally and linguistically specific choices.[133] Concurrently, the classical language is used internally in their political and theological discussions and debates, as IS activists follow the wider salafi activist insistence on speaking in a Quranic language, where speaking CA is part of being a good Muslim, according to them.[134] For instance, the IS expert, Hassan Hassan, during his research, organized a skype conversation between a man and his 15 years old son, who joined IS. When the man argued against the violence acts of the group, his son responded in "mechanical, but classical Arabic" using the common Islamic theological references to justify such acts.[135]

The classical Islamic terminology used by IS was highlighted in the study "How Daesh Uses Language in the Domain of Religion".[136] The study stresses on the significance of acknowledging the Islamic genealogy of a variety of expressions, names and titles. For instance, the naming of the Islamic state between ISIS, ISIL, IS and Daesh; the composition of the chosen name of IS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi al-Quraishi; the name of some of their media outlets like *Dabiq* and expressions like the caliphate. Also, the writer suggests that defeating IS, in the battlefield of words and ideas, should take place in the terminological and linguistic fields. Hence, the writer suggests to call the Islamic state Daesh instead of *al-Dawla al-Islamiyya* (IS). On the other hand, IS as a group take this battle very seriously, for example the Arabic use of the term *al-Dawla al-Islamiyya* could be noticed eleven times in a seven-page long speech by al-Baghdadi. Also, after the establishment of the caliphate and the associated abandon of the name *Daesh*, IS decided to punish those who use

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[132] al-Nasr, *awar al-haqq*, 31-33.
[133] Nicole Matejic, "Content Wars: Daesh's Sophisticated Use of Communications," *NATO Review Magazine*, 2016.
[134] Erard, "ISIL demands many things."
[135] Weiss and Hassan, *ISIS*, 157.
[136] Theresa Ford, "How Daesh Uses Language in the Domain of Religion," *Military Review 96, no. 2* (2016): 16.

the expression of *Daesh* inside their territory by cutting their tongue.[137] Moreover, on the individual level, the writer also suggests to promote more the word of *intihar* (self suicide) instead of *inghimassi* (immersed behind the enemy lines) as a description for IS suicide bombers. Furthermore, the writer stresses the importance of having a religious cultural knowledge to defeat IS: "we need to use the same weapons, including knowledge of Islam, Islamic history, and language, to defeat them."

The significance of using a classical Islamic terminology on the institutional and conceptual level is common among the Islamic revival movements, as well as the Jihadi groups, where the classical and Quranic Arabic is usually the main source of such terminology. For example, the ousted president of Egypt Mohammed Morsi used to repeat specific phrases during his public speeches, only to make a grammatical correction, not to stress an idea or to address a political actor as a political speech rhetoric should impose, which reflects the dominant role that this terminological aspect plays within the political Islam structure in general. Although this topic may be related to ideological or religious motives, it could also be related to pure sociolinguistic motives like the lack of sociologically rooted modern Arabic terminology that deals with such political terminology, like Bernard Lewis suggested in his study about the political language of Islam.[138]

Regarding the genealogical studies of the classical language, two theories created a continuous influence over the Arabic linguistics scholars. First, the association between the origin of the Arabic language and the origin of the Arabic people. For instance, the Winckler - Caetani theory, published in the early twentieth century, was widely accepted among the Arabic scholars for suggesting that the people of the Middle East have always been Arabs since the ancient history, where this theory supported the Arab political and linguistic claims, regarding the emerging Arab nationalism and anti-Zionism struggles at the same time.[139] Second, the concept of purism of the Arabic language that could be related to the Quranic text purism. The concept of purism was dominant among the scholarly discussion about the genealogy of the Arabic language for centuries among the Arab

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137 Nacim Dr. Belhoul, "Daesh and Religion: Values and Words as Weapons," وأبحاث دراسات 8, no. 23 (2016): 393-409.
138 Bernard Lewis, *The political language of Islam* (University of Chicago Press, 1991).
139 The Winckler - Caetani theory claims that most of the people of the ancient middle east are originally form the Arabian Peninsula, where they migrated from it in successive waves due to continuous desiccation and aridification. These waves of migrations from "the cradle of the Semites", Arabian desert, first reached Iraq then proceeded westwards, creating most of the ancient empires and peoples. For more information, see; Premysl Kubat, "The Desiccation Theory Revisited," (2011), and Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the two World Wars: The militarist origins of tyranny* (Columbia University Press, 2004), 92.

religious linguistic spheres, and it still dominates the linguistic studies conducted by scholars with religious backgrounds nowadays.

The concept of the linguistic purism was highly protected on all levels and during all times in the Arab states, as most philologists denied any effect for a foreign language on the formation of Arabic in general, and on the Quranic Arabic in particular. For instance, during the classical times, Abu Ubaidah (d. 825) a famous philologist of the 8th and 9th century, commented on this topic by: "Whoever pretends that there is in the Quran anything other than the Arabic language has made a serious charge against God".[140] Another example to show the continuance limiting effect of the linguistic purism on the linguistic studies during the modern times, is the case that was raised against Taha Husayn. In his book, *Fi al-shi'r al-jahili* (about the pre-islamic poetry), 1926, Husayn conducted a controversial linguistic study on the famous pre-Islamic hanged poems, *mu'allaqat*, which are considered by both the religious and linguistic sciences as the most authentic Arabic language work next to the Quran. He suggests that they were written mostly after Islam, and were said to be pre Islamic for several reasons: to support the claim of the pure origin of the Quraysh dialect as the literary language of the Arabs; for technical purpose regarding the Quranic lexical origins; and to provide the miraculous nature of the Quran with a linguistic comparative context.[141] Although Egypt was then, at 1926, passing through a relatively liberal era of its history, but Husayn went to the court after a cleric from al-Azhar raised a case against what he considered a denial to the purity of the Quranic language. During the investigation, a pure linguistic discussion took place between Husayn and a well-informed member of the prosecution about the CA genealogy ending in setting the writer free, yet with legal reservations.[142] Hence, the language purity was still standing in the modern age, and it still enjoys an influence over the religious discourse.

8.2.2 Sanctity of the Arabic language within IS linguistic traditions

One of the main books written by al-Binali, the chief religious advisor of IS, is his linguistic study *A reproach for those who speak with a different language than the language of the book - al 'itaab limn takalam bighayr lughaa al kitab,* 2008.[143] His book contains 13 chapters distributed over four

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[140] As cited in; Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 9.

[141] Taha Husayn, *Fi al-shi'r al-jahili*, (Cairo: Dar al-kutub al-masriyyah, 1926): 389-449.

[142] For more details about the trial, in Arabic, see; Ahmad Fathy Sulyman, "محاكمة طه حسين," بوست ساسة, October 23, 2016, https://www.sasapost.com/opinion/taha-husseins-trial/.

[143] Al-Madinah International University (MEDIU), "العتــاب لمن تكلم بغير لغة الكتاب."

sections plus an introduction and a closing, where every chapter is mainly a vast collection of classical religious scholarship supported by a few modern opinions and poems. His religious position mainly depends on the salafi religious references, where he mentions citations from Ibn Taymiyyah in almost all the book sections.

The first section discussed the advantages and characteristics of the Arabic language, which revolve mainly around the religious inter discursive relation with the language. For instance, the first chapter, "Arabic is the language of the people of heaven", contains a lot of religious reference about the use of Arabic in heaven. The second chapter entitled "Arabic is the language of the Quran and *Sunnah*", is building on the fact that for many Muslims the Quran was written in Arabic, where he cited references connecting between understanding the Quran and loving the prophet on one hand, and understanding and loving the Arabic language on the other hand. In the third chapter al-Binali reveals his position about the strength of the religious-linguistic inter discursive by stating that one of the main conditions of being a *mufti* is to master the Arabic lexicon and grammar, and that the degree of the *mufti* understanding religious texts and scholarship is proportional to the depth of his Arabic knowledge. Also, al-Binali states continuously, that language is an integral part of religion, and that language mastery holds a primary position in relation to the Quran recitation and memorization, where he cited the first caliph Abu Bakr, the second caliph Umar ibn al-Khatab, and Ibn Taymiyyah among others.

Under the section, "Motivations to talk with the best of languages, al-Binali discusses different aspects of the discursive relevance of Arabic. Firstly, a religious importance to whoever chose a trajectory of Islamic scholarship. Secondly, societal importance to whoever aspire a high social rank. Subsequently, al-Binali devotes the whole final section to criticize the weak status of the Arabic language today as well as the spread of other languages among the Arabs. He believes that learning Arabic and teaching Arabic is a *fard al-kifaya*, which is a communal obligation of the Muslim society according to Islamic jurisprudence.[144] Also, with regards to criticizing the foreign languages, al-Binali states some religious references, for instance a *hadith* denying to talk in foreign language because it brings hypocrisy, and some *fiqh* opinions refusing either to mention Allah in *du'a* with other languages, or to refuse to translate the Quran to other languages, or to refuse any swearing with a foreign language. Moreover, al-Binali paralleled using foreign languages to

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[144] Esposito, John L., ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

wearing and using infidels' clothes, tools and imitating their manners. Furthermore, al-Binali drives some religious references to refuse learning foreign languages unless for necessity, where he refutes some widely circulating *hadith* traditions that encourage Arabs to learn foreign languages.

The religious linguistic inter-discursive formation could be traced genealogically through the Arabic-Quranic pre-discursive formation, where the significant presence of Arabic (*'arabi*) in the Quran is revealed in a variety of topics: Arabic is the linguistic medium of the text where the word Arabic is mentioned 11 times in the Quran and three of them is in the expression of Arabic tongue (*lisan 'arabi*); Arabic is the subject of the interpretation of some Quranic verses (15:9 – 2:31); the biggest miracle of the Quran is its inimitable linguistic nature, according to Islamic theology. Also, on the conceptual level, the eternity of the language was relevant to the notion of eternity of the Quran that was debated on intellectual, religious, philosophical and political levels during early Islamic times.

Also, this religious linguistic inter discursive relation could be traced in different eras starting from the formation period reaching the classical, medieval and modern eras of the Arab world. Since Ibn Faris (d. 1004), the prominent grammarian and philologist of the Abbasid era, considered the divine nature of the language as a linguistic fact,[145] it has always been a dominant position among Arab philologists for centuries, and among religious linguistic spheres with a significant effect till the recent times. Although some serious attempts discussed this scared position from a less ideological perspective, the general abstract affirmation of the divine nature of the language was never fully contested. For instance, Mu'tazila, a group of speculative theology in the Umayyad and Abbasid eras that appeared in the current day Iraq,[146] believed in a bigger role of the mortals' convention within the language creation, and Ibn Hazm (d. 1064), the Andalusian (Spanish) prominent jurist, theologian. poet and philosopher, adopted an exceptional logical comparative approach to the Arabic language, in conjunction to the comparative religious studies that he pioneered.[147] He

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[145] ibn Faris, Aḥmad, *al-Saḥibi fi fiqh al-lugha wa-sunan al-'Arab fī kalamiha* (1910), 19-25.

[146] "The Mu'tazila developed a type of rationalism, partly influenced by Greek philosophy, based around three fundamental principles: the oneness and justice of God, human freedom of action and the creation of the Quran". For more information about the group, see; Massimo Campanini, "The Mu 'tazila in Islamic history and Thought," *Religion Compass* 6, no. 1 (2012): 41-50.

[147] For more information about ibn Hazm, see; Ghulam Haider Aasi, *Muslim Understanding of Other Religions: A Study of Ibn Ḥazm's Kitab al-fasl fi al-milal wa al-aḥwa' wa al-niḥal* (Adam Publishers, 2007).

studied the Arabic language in relation to some other ancient Semitic languages,[148] especially those that are connected to an ancient religion or divine book.[149] Hence, he also refused the religious references stating that Arabic is the language of heaven.

8.3 Discursive Characteristics of IS linguistic traditions

The religious linguistic inter discursive formation always affects and is affected by other discourses and elements. These relations should reveal the tendencies and patterns of change within the inter-discursive configuration. Three notions will be investigated in this chapter due to their long and significant presence in IS linguistic traditions. The educational institutional notion is the first and more detailed relation, followed by anti colonial linguistic notion and an imitation to a classical tradition of classification of sciences.

8.3.1 Arabic education correlation with the Quran, and the wider linguistics sciences correspondence with Islamic studies

During a meeting with the educational top-level employees at Mosul city, the most populated town ever run by IS, Zi al-Karnin, the *emir* of the *diwan* (ministry) of education in IS, said: " [The children enrolled in IS schools] should be taught the Arabic language with more intensity in order to understand the Quran in the correct way".[150] Also, the linguistic aspect of the al-khansa brigade report regarding the Muslim girl education states "(…) and the linguistic curriculum of the Quranic language (…)",[151] where the Arabic language was discussed under the label of the Quranic language. Moreover, regarding the educational process of IS in general, the children of IS foreign fighters had to study two subjects in Arabic, the Arabic language and the Quran.[152] While other non-Arabic children of the region, for instance the Kurds, were forced to learn Arabic.[153] Although

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[148] To be noted, Ibn Hazm understanding of the Semitic languages is limited to the 10th century, as he accounts the Syriac and Hebrew only, balanced against the modern scholarship about the Semitic languages that didn't start until the scholar August Ludwig von Schlözer (d. 1809) in the eighteenth century, when the term of Semitic languages was first used extensively.

[149] Sayt Al-Din al-A'madi, *al-Ihkam fi Usul al-Ahkam* (Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2004), chapter 4.

[150] "Education in Mosul Under ISIL's Rule," Mosul Eye 2015, accessed 9 September 2017, https://mosuleye.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/mosul-eye-education-under-isil.pdf.

[151] Jihadology, "Women in the Islamic State."

[152] Bahya Mardyniyy, "الإنكليزية باللغة الأجانب أبناء لتدريس "داعش"," *elaph*, February 23, 2015, http://elaph.com/Web/News/2015/2/985579.html.

[153] John G. Horgan, Max Taylor, Mia Bloom, and Charlie Winter, "From Cubs to Lions: A Six Stage Model of Child Socialization into the Islamic State," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40, no. 7 (2017): 645-664.

this tendency to teach Arabic and their interpretation and practice of Islam to the new comers to the Caliphate was not as persistent regarding the foreign fighters for practical reasons, as shown before, the process of teaching Arabic to the new comers in general was very innovative, for instance using a children mobile app.[154] Hence, the Arabic educational process of IS will be considered hypothetically as related to the Arabic linguistic sciences discourse, and similarly the Quranic studies in IS context will be related to the wider discourse of Islamic studies.

The general framework of the genealogical analysis will be the general relation between Islamic studies and Arabic linguistic sciences. However, the formation of this wider inter discursive relation will be traced first to the specific pre-discursive relation between the Quran and the Arabic codification in particular. Then more general examples will be presented in relation to the generality of the two disciplines, the religious and the linguistic.

Both recent and classic Islamic resources and scholarship discussing the emergence of the Arabic linguistic sciences[155] claim that the main motivation was to preserve the correct Arabic language out of fear of corrupt pronunciation and interpretation of the Quran, by the new Muslims of the empire.[156] For instance, the very early codification efforts for the language, by Ali the fourth Caliph, were motivated by religious reasons. Moreover, the text of Quran has always been central for any Arabic linguistics, either recently using electronic tools, like the University of Leeds project,[157] Quranic Arabic corpus, that "shows the Arabic grammar, syntax and morphology for each word"[158] of the text, or earlier during the classical and middle ages of Islam. Although the language existed before Islam, the codification of the language only took place after Islam, where philologists adopted the Quran as one of the main models for language codification, which marks the launching of Arabic philological studies. Hence, the effect of the Quran on the formation and development of the Arabic linguistic sciences has been always of a fundamental role, with respect to the education and codification, and with grammar and lexicography specifically as will be discussed later.

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[154] Elle Hunt, "Islamic State releases children's mobile app 'to teach Arabic'," *The Guardian*, May 11, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/11/islamic-state-children-app-mobile-teach-arabic.

[155] M. Tantawi, *The emergence of grammar and the history of the most famous grammarians* (Cairo: Dar al-ma'aref, 1995), 16-19.

[156] Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, 342.

[157] Kais Dukes, and Nizar Habash, "Morphological Annotation of Quranic Arabic," In *LREC*, (2010).

[158] "The Quranic Arabic Corpus," Language Research Group, University of Leeds, accessed November 21, 2017, http://corpus.quran.com/.

The established sacred nature of the language and its association with the Quran took place even prior to the wide spread of Islam or the canonization of the Quran, as presented earlier. This sacred nature situates the language, on a conceptual level, as a specific ontological division of being companion to piety.[159] This prominent position of the language within the religious discourse on the abstract level could be presented in the connection between the linguistic skill and its corresponding religious good deed *thawab* regarding the ritual of Quranic recitation.[160] Also, the second caliph Omar instruction to his governors, as he supposedly ordered them to spread the knowledge of Arabic because, he believed, "it rejuvenates the mind and increases virtue."[161] Also, similar positions affirmed the language as being companion to piety across different Islamic eras, for instance, the knowledge of Arabic was considered as a religion in itself by Abu 'Amr Ibn 'Ala', whilst Ibn al-Farra (d. 1066), the prominent Hanbali scholar of the 9th century, exceeds his predecessor by claiming that knowledge of grammar is more valuable than *fiqh*.[162]

A discursive connection was gradually established between Arabic language, on the literary, linguistic and historical levels on one hand, and the Islamic studies as a multi-disciplinary science on the other hand.[163] Arabic linguistics is partially in the formation of some realms of Islamic studies, specifically those dealing directly with the textual aspect of the Quran, and some branches of sharia, for example, Quranic recitation and Quranic interpretation, beside that Arabic is the language that most of the Islamic studies heritage and scholarship is written with generally. The religious linguistic inter discursive relation is present in many branches and realms of Islamic studies. Consequently, two examples will be presented next, where one of them shows the crucial importance of linguistic sciences in Islamic studies related to the Quran, followed by a methodological overview for some of the effects of Islamic *fiqh* on linguistic sciences.

Regarding the linguistic interference in Islamic studies, Quranic interpretation and recitation represent two major disciplines of *fiqh* in general. One of the main pillars of the science of Quranic

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[159] Alessandro Duranti, ed. *A companion to Linguistic anthropology* (John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 431.
[160] According to a *hadith* stating that good deeds are calculated per letter.
[161] Anwar G. Chejne, "Arabic: Its significance and place in Arab-Muslim society," *Middle East Journal* 19, no. 4 (1965), 454.
[162] Yaqut al-Ḥamawi, *Irshad al-arib ila ma'rifat al-adib*, (London, Luzac 27, no. 7, 1907), 8 and 15.
[163] Marzieh Gholitabar, and Atiyeh Damavandi Kamali, "The Quran and the development of Arabic linguistics," *In International Conference on Language, Medias and Culture IPEDR*, vol. 33, (2012): 26-30. Also for more details on a linguistic account, see; Ahmed Achrati, "Arabic, Qur'ānic Speech and Postmodern Language. What the Qur'ān Simply Says," *Arabica* 55, no. 2 (2008): 161-203.

interpretation, the extraction *istimdad* is directly connected to Arabic linguistics. *Istimdad* as an Islamic studies term interferes with the sciences of grammar, inflection, rhetoric, and different Quranic readings *qira'at*.[164] The linguistic importance for Quranic interpretation could be found in many references, for instance from the *hadith* "do *i'rab* (suffixes) to the Quran and touch upon its wonders", and from classical Muslim Quranic scholarship "(…) this science of Quranic interpretation is proportional to the extent of the Arabic knowledge".[165] Also, linguistic skills are one of the most important criteria for mastering the Islamic science of Quranic recitation, where the linguistic aspect is highly present fundamentally in its division to seven readings *qira'at*.

On the other hand, the discursive effect of Islamic and Quranic studies on Arabic lexicography has exceeded the level of vocabulary, but reached a level of methodological effect, either on the research or referencing levels. Some basic methodologies of the Islamic studies disciplines, either in the medieval times or the modern times, have been used in linguistic and lexicography work following the jurisprudence approaches. This could be found in the work of the famous Abu al-Aswad al-Du'ali (d. 688), one of the founders of many aspects in grammar and a close companion to the fourth caliph Ali, and other philologists from the city of Basra, like "*taqdir* (appraisal), *usul* (basic principles), *furu* (ramification), and even *ijma'* (consensus) of grammarians".[166] Also, the principle of *qiyas* (analogy), was widely used in treating derivatives using the Quran and *hadith*, during classical times by the prominent classical lexicographer al Khalil ibn Ahmed, and recently by the Arabic language academies. Moreover, the Arabic language academies depended on other related principles like *majaz* that is connected to the use of metaphor in the Quran, in including new vocabulary to the Arabic language.[167]

8.3.2   The language as a tool in an anti-colonial discourse

In her article "The educational aspect of building the Islamic state,"[168] al-Nasr connects the deterioration of the educational situation in Muslim societies to "our enemies waging war on us".[169]

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[164] Badr al-Din Muhammad al-Zarkashi, *Al-Burhan fi 'ulum al-Quran* (Dar al-Fikr, 1988), part 1, 13.
[165] al-Zarkashi, *Al-Burhan,* 13.
[166] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 188, end note 46.
[167] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 48-49.
[168] al-Batar Media Foundation presents a new article from Aḥlam al-Naṣr: "Educational Aspects in the Construction of the Islamic State," Jihadology, accessed September 7, 2007, http://jihadology.net/2014/06/04/al-batar-media-foundation-presents-a-new-article-from-a%E1%B8%A5lam-al-na%E1%B9%A3r-educational-aspects-in-the-construction-of-the-islamic-state/.

One of the main characteristics of this deterioration is what she called "tilting of the tongues", in a clear reference to the use of European languages in many education systems in the Arab world today.[170] Similarly, in the report "Women in the Islamic state" published by al-khansa media brigade, the end of the era of imitation of the stronger, "the western",[171] has begun by the announcement of caliphate, the report claims. Where such imitation is present in many aspects of life including the educational aspect, the report states. Moreover, in the introduction to his Arabic linguistic book, al-Binali connects "the western" military invasion to the intellectual, media and linguistic invasion. al-Binali referred to examples which he stated are the British, French and Zionist occupation and he related their policies to the educational system of these countries.

Regarding the genealogical analysis for this topic, the pursuit for an Arabic tongue against the foreign tongue in the field of education has been a field for debates and struggles across different eras, and it could be traced through a variety of discourses beside the religious, mostly nationalism. For instance, during the independence struggle of the Arabic countries in the twentieth century, the struggle to make Arabic the educational language was one of the goals of different movements and groups, and the religious dimension of such linguistic demands could be noticed repeatedly, like in Algeria during the French occupation of the 1920s and 1930s, the starting chant of the Badissia movement nationalist schools was "Arabic is my language, Algeria is my country, Islam is my religion"[172]. Similar approaches could be noticed in Lebanon and the fertile crescent, favoring the Arabic language against the language of a different occupier, the Turkish or the French. For instance, one of the main demands of the Arab congress 1913 in Paris was that education should be in Arabic.[173] Also, the Syrian minister of education said, in 1936, that the CA or something close to it should be taught in schools, a similar step was taken by the Lebanese minister of education in 1943, and both demands had a nationalistic motivation.

8.3.3 The Arabic linguistics association to the religious sciences within the tradition of classification of sciences

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[169] Jihadology, "Educational Aspects in the Construction of the Islamic State."
[170] William A. Rugh, "Arab education: Tradition, growth and reform," *The Middle East Journal* (2002): 402.
[171] Jihadology, "Women in the Islamic State."
[172] Rick Fantasia, and Eric L. Hirsch, "Culture in rebellion: The appropriation and transformation of the veil in the Algerian revolution," *Social movements and culture* (1995): 144-59.
[173] Ceren Abi, "Modern Expectations: Demands for Reform by the Arabs in the Late Ottoman Empire," (2010): 15.

The writings of IS women factions dealt with the topics relevant to education, where one of these topics was the classification of sciences and the position of the Arabic language in such classification. First, the discussion of such tradition within IS accounts will be presented, then the genealogy of creating such classification and its religious discursive relevance will follow.

The discussion of classification of science, among IS activists, was mostly concerned with planning for education on an institutional level. For instance, in her article "The educational aspect of building the Islamic state" published by the Jihadi media foundation al-Battar, al-Nasr introduces the importance of sciences in building the society according to Islamic principles, referring to the high position of science in what she called "the Islamic golden ages".[174] Next, she praised the vast production of "religious, scientific, and even the literature"[175] of that era. Yet, she categorized the natural sciences, like physics and engineering, as "consumeristic science", or as "materialistic"[176] sciences in the report "Women in the Islamic State," published by al-khansa media battalion. The latter report promoted understudying of such sciences under the claim that the most favored society by god, the prophetic society, did not include education of such sciences. Also, the Muslim, according to the report, "doesn't have to cut decades from his short life to learn *al-dunya* (the worldly) sciences that doesn't lead to any religious reward".[177]

Moreover, al-Nasr states in her article a classification for the sciences into two sections: Societal sciences and individual sciences. The societal sciences are essential for society, and the individual science is the general background knowledge that should be taught for everyone, yet it is a field for experts' knowledge and consultancy regarding the advanced levels. The societal sciences include different branches, including the whole spectra of religious sciences, and languages and linguistic technologies, mostly foreign languages. While the individual sciences that needs only to be known as headlines without further knowledge unless for the expertise are: The Quran, recitation, interpretation, doctrine, *fiqh*, prophetic and companion traditions, the basics of medicine and mathematics and geography, and the Arabic language. As shown, the religious sciences and the linguistic science are mentioned in both sections, either as essential societal sciences, or as individual sciences that need to be known as a background knowledge or to seek help from an

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[174] Jihadology, "Educational Aspects in the Construction of the Islamic State."
[175] Jihadology, "Educational Aspects in the Construction of the Islamic State."
[176] Jihadology, "Women in the Islamic State."
[177] Jihadology, "Women in the Islamic State."

expertise for its advanced level. This specific view of her does not totally coincide with the CA classification of science, yet it belongs to the same continuous tradition of associating the Arabic language to the religious science in one category within any classification of sciences.

The classification of sciences is a continuous tradition through different Arabic intellectual eras, where the significant acknowledgment of linguistic sciences and its attachment to the religious sciences is a repetitive pattern. Regarding the genealogical analysis, the general tradition of science classification will be traced, next the origin of the specific relation between the religious and the linguistic disciplines among this classification will be discussed on the genealogical level.

The genealogy of classification of science could be traced back to the work of the Arab intellectual and mathematician of the tenth century, al Khwarizmi's (d. 850) keys of science.[178] He decided to divide science into two branches, Arabic and foreign sciences. The Arabic language was the common factor among the Arabic sciences, both as a medium and as a set of distinctive sciences of its own. The Arabic sciences then includes the whole set of religious and linguistic sciences: Quranic studies, prophetic traditions, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology (*kalam*), grammar, history, morphology (*sarf*), lexicography, rhetoric (*bayan*), belle-lettres (*adab*), and poetry. While the foreign sciences include the philosophical and practical sciences. This classification of sciences was confirmed throughout many centuries, reaching the most acknowledged work of Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddima* in the fourteenth century, where he listed the philological studies (lexicography, grammar, syntax, style, and belle-lettres), beside Quranic interpretation, Quranic reading, tradition, principles of jurisprudence, jurisprudence, and speculative theology, all under the category of traditional sciences.[179] Such tradition was revived through IS discussions about the educational institutions.

Moreover, the genealogy of the particular relation between the religious and the linguistic disciplines could be traced on the institutional level as follows. Arabic philology started under Abbasid ruling, where the pillars of the scientific study of the language emerged and thrived during different Abbasid phases[180]. Consequently, the ninth and tenth centuries are considered the golden

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[178] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: Al Khwarizmi's Keys of the Sciences," *Isis* 54, no. 1 (1963): 97-111.
[179] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 74, citing Ibn Khaldun.
[180] Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history; in three volumes. 1*. No. 43 (Princeton University Press, 1969), vol III, 319.

age of both the Arabic linguistics and the religious studies, as the most prominent scholars of the four schools of *fiqh* lived then. Also, during this period the schooling centers transferred from the mosques to the more professional institutes of *madhhab*, and it was "founded by individual scholars, who were first and foremost experts in Arabic and religious studies"[181]. Moreover, the two linguistic hubs of Basra and Kufa hosted many of the *madhhab* icons. Later on, this religious linguistic relation was institutionalized in bigger educational entities that were mostly connected to the caliph's or other Islamic rulers' court, like Bayt al-Hikma in Baghdad, al-Azhar in Cairo and the university of Cordoba in Spain. Notably, this tradition of accompanying the religious science to the linguistic science in education was adopted in these major schools, and till now in many religious institutions and educational curriculums in Arab states.

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[181] Chejne, *The Arabic language*, 74.

9. Analysis discussion

The CA - jihadi culture correlation constitutes one specific case of discursive relation that should be situated, discursively, among many other cases in different times, places and fields. The historical background covered some other cases where Arabic functioned in a variety of different practices, like being identical to Arab ethnic identity, or being associated to the construction of minorities' identities, or engaging with other historical discourses like Arab revival, Arab modern reform and Arab nationalism. Moreover, different contemporary linguistic traditions and forms could be noticed among IS traditions, as well as classical linguistic traditions and its related form of CA. This variety of linguistic traditions is mainly connected to the demographic realities, the recruiting process, and also to the textual production of the group; the latter is what this study is concerned with.

The group is characterized internationally by its multi linguistic media production, also the group uses local accents on the local media levels. Aspects of linguistic contemporariness could be traced within the group literary language, like the use of colloquial dialects in poems, odes and videos. Moreover, modern linguistic tradition could be found in some textual production of IS leaders, like the use of modern poetry, MSA and modern political terminology. Furthermore, on the institutional level of education, IS was innovative in using modern technological tools in teaching Arabic. Also, IS operationalization to the classical classification of sciences does not put the linguistic sciences in its traditional high position. Notably, the group weakness, with respect to the CA linguistic traditions, was highlighted and utilized within the group anti-propaganda. The aforementioned notions are signs of modern and contemporary linguistic traditions in IS.

Nevertheless, this thesis built a hypothesis that IS linguistic traditions is connected to the CA traditions, and that the traces of modernity or contemporariness has practical and pragmatic reasons. This hypothesis could be deduced in analyzing IS top organizational leaders' backgrounds, where the high representation of CA traditions was a common factor between the group leaders, either among their kinship or their personal educational backgrounds. Also, among IS leaders' official, religious and enthusiastic linguistic accounts, very high tendency to utilize classical linguistic traditions was associated, like the extensive use of classical poetry and the full adoption of the religious traditional orator role. Notably, this correlation between high personal linguistic

capabilities and extensive use of classical traditions on one hand, and the personal or institutional religious affiliation on the other hand, is a recurrent pattern with respect to many significant individuals, like the prophet Muhammad, most of the first Quranic readers, some prominent medieval scholars and modern Arab linguistic reformers.

The use of classical Islamic terminology could be clearly noticed within IS leaders' accounts, and the belief in the sanctity of the Arabic language is presented clearly in some IS literature. Both aspects constitute a great importance within the rules of formation of the correlation under study, the linguistic religious inter-discursive configuration. The two parts of the relation are characterized by a structural level of interdependence, which was analyzed on the conceptual and theoretical levels within IS linguistic accounts. Many aspects of this relation held an uncontested position over the centuries, like the idea of the divine origin of the Arabic language. Other aspects like the leaning of IS leaders to use a classical Islamic terminology, projects a similar tendency within the wider salafi current and the political Islam activists. Consequently, the genealogical analysis for the use of the classical Islamic terminology and for the concept of language sanctity is connected, theoretically, to different forms and claims of purism; Arabic linguistic purism, Arabic ethnic purism, and Islamic religious purism. Ultimately, this theoretical foundation is still active on some level, and still defines the validity, normativity and actuality of wider linguistic and religious domains.

In order to understand the CA – jihadi culture correlation more, and to perceive this correlation from different angles, the thesis discusses three different types of discursive relations that takes place in IS linguistic traditions: a notion of archaeological correlation; a notion of archaeological shift; and a notion of archaeological isomorphism, where each notion was represented and analyzed through one aspect, or more, of the IS linguistic traditions. First, the institutional interference with the linguistic religious correlation was analyzed on two levels, the narrow level of the association between Arabic language education and the Quran, and on the wider level of the interference between Arabic linguistic sciences and Islamic studies. The genealogical analysis reveals that the institutional field that host the linguistic religious correlation reflects a lot of structural similarities across centuries, where rules of formation are mostly uncontested. The second relation reveals a shifting relation, where the notion of a linguistic anti-colonial role has shifted archeologically from the actual colonial context of the Arab states in the previous century, to a more symbolic and

abstracted understanding of colonialism by IS. The third and final point of analysis presents an IS operationalization of a classical Arabic practice of classification of science, yet the group presents a total different order for such classification, as the group follows the rules of classification with no respect to its traditional positioning for elements. As shown, these three relations show that the linguistic religious relation is not ruled by a specific genealogical notion, and it is not governed by one factor alone. Consequently, IS emergence is situated within Islamic historiography as an event, where the event, as a methodological term, is defined by Foucault as "(…) not a decision, a treaty, a reign, or a battle, but the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it, (…)."[182]

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[182] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, genealogy, history," *Semiotexte* 3, no. 1 (1978), 88.

10. Findings

On the whole, the linguistic tradition of IS reflects a structural interference with their religious position on many levels. CA has been proven to be effective with respect to: the background of IS leaders, their terminological choice of classical Islamic terminology, their linguistic practices and their educational domain. Also, the group leaders believe in the concept of the Arabic language sanctity with respect to a long standing theoretical foundation of linguistic purism. My hypothesis in this thesis in relation to Hegghammer's are that the rules of formation of IS religious linguistic inter-discursive relation are derived from those relation, where it could be characterized by exaggerated self-esteem in relation to language purity, and limitation of the ability to adapt in relation to the theoretical purism. Below I will present more aspects of these findings.

10.1   Fellowship of discourse

Most literature on jihadism consider ideology and doctrine as almost identical, yet Hegghammer asserts that the ideology of jihadism should be divided into "two different things"[183], doctrine and aesthetics, where the aesthetics constitute the seven genres presented in his book *Jihadi Culture*. Although that division is much needed for the sake of widening the understanding of jihadi ideology, I suggest that there should be no sharp distinction between the doctrine and the aesthetics as two different divisions of the ideology. Further, I agree with Hegghammer in his assertion that "What is specific to jihadis is the particular combination or cluster of practices that they entertain, as well as the ideological tinge to the products they consume."[184] Naturally every cultural product has an entertaining purpose, whilst my reservation is still that the ideological presence in such product is much more than a tinge.

In light of the above statements, Hegghammer define jihadi culture as "products and practices that do something other than fill the basic military needs of jihadi groups".[185] He adds another definition reconfirms the passive definition and states that the jihadi culture is the non-functional things done by the jihadi actors. Nevertheless, a different understanding of that culture could be presented based on the previous chapters of this thesis, which is that the jihadi culture is what people do in order to

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[183] Hegghammer, *Jihadi Culture*, 2.
[184] Hegghammer, *Jihadi Culture*, 7.
[185] Hegghammer, *Jihadi Culture*, 5.

keep doing what they do, and expand it, with complete conviction and true affiliation, where the willingness to continue, despite of the big risks, is built on the religious-cultural combination of the jihadi culture, in which CA plays a crucial role within the jihadis' formation and practices.

Using some Foucauldian terminology, the jihadi actors who creates an aesthetic production using the linguistic form of CA, despite of the cultural genre, could be entitled as the 'fellowships of discourse'; "whose function is to preserve or to reproduce discourse, in order to circulate within a closed community, according to strict regulations, (…)."[186] Where, the mastery of CA for those fellowships actors is one of the needed qualifications in order to pass through the restrictive and exclusive systems of the jihadi discourse, so that those fellowships may eventually have the validity to add significant effective words to that discourse. For instance, the jihadi poets and rhapsodists could be described, as fellowships of discourse.

10.2   Jihadi-communities as epistemic communities

One of the most relevant terms that Hegghammer uses in his book, is describing the jihadi community as an "epistemic community". Where the jihadi actors see themselves as they belong to the same movement, that transcends the recent days, with footprints across different periods and geographies, yet reestablished recently in the late 1970s. This movement share common, or relatively similar, ideas and values that range between the fields of theology, politics and strategic matters. Hence, the analysis discussed this jihadi epistemic community, and its network of experts, and connected it through a genealogical analysis to a wider episteme of Islamic religious communities, where the use of CA traditions was the common factor for the study. The exact definition of the episteme does not coincide between Hegghammer's *Jihadi Culture* and Foucault's *The Archeology of Knowledge*, however, methodological points of intersections, similarities and common characteristics between the two definitions of the episteme could be found. Foucault defines episteme as "the set of constraints and limitations which, at a given moment, are imposed on discourse: (…); it is what, in the positivity of discursive practices, makes possible the existence of epistemological figures and sciences."[187] Consequently, since CA has a limiting discursive effect on both the Islamic and the jihadi discourses, as shown in the analysis, then the definition could be applicable on the discursive role of CA within jihadi discourse. In other words, CA plays a main

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[186] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 225.
[187] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 192.

role in jihadi epistemologization of Islamic discourse. This role was proven genealogically through investigating CA as one of the main rules of formation of Islamic discourse, where the rules of formation as defined by Foucault are "conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, modes of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected (...)."[188]

10.3   The ritualist nature of language

The aforementioned Foucauldian approach for the role of CA within jihadi culture may be complemented through other approaches, for example the linguistic anthropological approach will be mentioned briefly in conjunction with the terminological discussion.

The terminological interference between Quranic language and classical language carries more ideological-religious projections than its linguistic or historic significance. The same terminology could be used in religious rituals like Quran recitation during prayer, or in religious scholarship like Quranic interpretation, as well as in the current discussions with the IS and salafi religious activists, where their religious argumentation relies on classical terminology. Consequently, the Quranic language they use is associated with a ritualist nature.

This ritualist terminology has, according to linguistic anthropology, a tendency to suppress reality in proportional to the level of "being detached from context and from any association with the particular speaker."[189] Regarding current Islamic societies, the Quranic detach from the recent context and particular speakers constitutes an ideological and controversial debate within different Islamic traditions, as shown in the analysis. Hence, the insistence on adapting this ritualist Quranic language within salafi and jihadi communities gives the language the domain to speak on behalf of an "experience-distant entities",[190] like the golden age of Islam or the caliphate. The stronghold of using this ritualist Quranic language within conservative religious communities across the centuries, could be connected to the metapragmatic iconism[191] found in some repetitive linguistic aspect within Islamic rituals, like the Quran recitation or reading five times a day during the daily Islamic

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[188] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 38.
[189] Duranti, *Linguistic anthropology*, 434.
[190] Duranti, *Linguistic anthropology*, 434.
[191] The term was used by Michael Silverstein, as cited in; Duranti, *Linguistic anthropology*, 436.

prayers. Hence, the high recurrence of such ritualist language creates a *performativity* dimension for the Quranic statements, resulting in a form of linguistic ideology.[192]

This ideological function, according to the discursive analysis conducted before, has an idealistic nature and it is based on the cultural purism that usually projects the golden age of Islam. Moreover, this ideology usually reoccurs within minority isolated communities in different historical times, taking the form of attempts to imitate the Islamic golden age, both in its specific locality as well as in its universal claims. As described by Mohammed Arkoun: "sociocultural process by which collective consciousness shifted from a vision and practice of power appropriate for segmentary society to a transtribal and even transhistorical vision linking all political power to a divine jurisdiction".[193]

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[192] Duranti, *linguistic anthropology*, 432.
[193] Mohammed Arkoun, "Common questions, uncommon answers," *Trans, and ed. Robert D. Lee. Boulder, CO: Westview Press* (1994): 68.

11. Conclusion

The thesis aimed to investigate the conceptualizations of Islam adopted by IS through analyzing the linguistic aspects of the jihadi culture exercised by the group. Throughout the thesis, this aim was investigated by analyzing several linguistic traditions of the group. The study approached this correlation through different conceptual and theoretical discussions, where the focus was on the discursive role of CA within jihadi culture. Ultimately, CA has been found to be one of the pillars of the cultural structure of jihadi culture. Furthermore, CA has a role in jihadi culture leaning towards a literalist approach to the Quran, and to adopting violence in relation to the texts. However, the study denies any essentialist relation between CA and jihadi culture through presenting a historical sketch of the language as an element in a variety of other contexts.

In the context of discussing the phenomenon of radicalism, Oliver Roy states: "we must understand that terrorism does not arise from the radicalization of Islam, but from the Islamisation of radicalism".[194] Similarly, I believe that the jihadi violent literalist approach for the religion does not rise from the use of CA. Yet, using such language increases the probability of a violent literalist approach, particularly when CA acts as a main element in the inter-discursive configuration of the jihadi epistemization of Islam.

In terms of future research, the Foucauldian methodology applied in this study could be used to investigate other religious linguistic inter-discursive domains. For instance, it could be applied in a study of the cultural dimension of code-switching within the language of Arab minorities in Western countries, and its relation to potential radicalization. Another possible field for extending this research, particularly in the context of the Arab world, is a study of the interrelation between Islamic reform and linguistic reform, on different discursive and theoretical levels.

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[194] Olivier Roy, "Who Are the New Jihadis?," *The Guardian* 13 (2017).

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