



The Phenomenon Of Reference In The Arab Functional Approach: An Approach In Light Of Functional Grammar Theory

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Abstract:

Functional grammar, being a pragmatically founded grammar, incorporates reference as a pragmatic concept within the aspects of cohesion or contextual properties. This inclusion is based on the principles of functional grammar theory, which posits that structural properties (such as the network of referential and deictic links) are merely reflections of broader contextual properties, particularly those manifested in referential and deictic elements. Consequently, this paper aims to shed light on reference within the Arab functional approach as conceptualized by functional grammar theory.

Keywords: Functional grammar, reference, pragmatics, Arab functional approach.

Introduction:

To begin, it is essential to clarify that the term "Arab functional approach" refers to the linguistic trend that adopts functional grammar theory as a general framework and reinterprets Arab linguistic thought, including grammar, rhetoric, jurisprudence principles, and exegesis, in light of this theory (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 85). This definition is based on the proposal made by Al-Mutawakkil in 1982, which was later revised in 2006 in his book "The Functional Approach in Ancient Arab Linguistic Thought." Before discussing reference within the Arab functional approach, it is necessary to briefly explore reference in ancient Arab linguistic thought, particularly among grammarians, rhetoricians, exegetes, and scholars of jurisprudence principles.

1. Reference among Grammarians and Rhetoricians:

a. Sibawayh (d. 180 AH):

Sibawayh stands out among the eminent scholars of the Arabic language, as he was one of the first to highlight the role of substitutes or ambiguous names, which possess the feature

of reference yet lack an explicit referent to clarify them. Sibawayh pointed to textual anaphoric reference, stating: "As for what is built on ambiguous names, it is like saying: 'This is Abdullah, departing.' Here, 'this' is a subject name upon which what follows, i.e., 'Abdullah,' is built. This could not be considered a complete statement until it was built upon or connected to what preceded it..." (Sibawayh, 1999, p. 75). Through this explanation, he addresses the issue of formal and semantic cohesion. He goes on to lay the groundwork for the theory of reference as early as the second century AH, explaining it by stating: "They began with the pronoun because they stipulated an explanation... An example of this is 'perhaps him a man,' with the pronoun used on the condition of subsequent explanation. It is an advance pronoun before the noun, and the pronoun that precedes another is necessary until it is explained. Among the cases where the pronoun is used with subsequent clarification is the Arabs' statement: 'He is the nobles of your people,' where the pronoun 'he' refers to what was mentioned after it..." (Sibawayh, 1999, pp. 178-179). Based on Sibawayh's texts that we have cited thus far regarding the pronoun and its referent and the position each occupies in the sentence, we realize the extent to which he preceded modern text scholars in formulating a theory of pronominal reference, even at the sentence level. The referent, or what modern text scholars refer to as the "deictic element," may precede the pronoun or the substitute that lacks a referent to clarify and eliminate its ambiguity. In such cases, the reference is anaphoric, or preceding ("référence anaphorique"). Alternatively, the referent may follow the pronoun, in which case the reference is cataphoric or subsequent ("cataphoric référence"). These rules and conditions related to the direction of reference operate both at the sentence and text levels, and what Sibawayh said about pronominal reference at the sentence level can also apply to the text.

Ibn Hisham Al-Ansari (d. 761 AH):

Ibn Hisham produced a rich body of scholarly material regarding the links between sentences that contribute to both formal and semantic cohesion, under the title "The Links of the Sentence as News About It" (Al-Ansari, 1969, p. 551). He emphasized the importance of the pronoun and its role in linking and referencing. In his view, pronominal cohesion is fundamental, whether the pronoun refers to a previously mentioned subject, such as in the sentence "Zaid ضربته" (Zaid, I struck him), or to an omitted subject, as in the verse:

﴿قَالُوا إِنْ هَذَانِ لَسَاحِرَانِ يُرِيدَانِ أَنْ يُخْرِجَاكَ مِنْ أَرْضِكَ بِسِحْرِهِمَا وَيَذْهَبَا بِطَرِيقَتِكُمُ الْمُثَلَّى ۖ ٦٣﴾

"They said, 'Indeed, these are two magicians who want to drive you out of your land with their magic and do away with your most exemplary way'" [Ta-ha: 63].

In addition to the pronoun of reference, Ibn Hisham also discussed the demonstrative pronoun, such as in the verse:

﴿وَالَّذِينَ كَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِنَا وَاسْتَكْبَرُوا عَنْهَا أُولَٰئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ ۖ ٣٦﴾

“But the ones who deny Our verses and are arrogant toward them – those are the companions of the Fire; they will abide therein eternally” [Al-A'raf: 36].

The pronoun, regardless of its type, is employed to link the preceding with the following and to bind them together. It is used to avoid repeating what the speaker has already referred to, instead substituting it with a pronoun that references the prior content, as seen in the examples provided by Ibn Hisham. In the first example, the pronoun "him" refers to Zaid as an anaphoric "internal antecedent" reference. Similarly, the demonstrative pronoun "those" (أولئك) refers to the previous statement, bringing it back to the mind of the listener. The pronoun "those" (أولئك) stands in for the entire sentence "those who deny Our verses and are arrogant toward them," where the textual entity replaced by the demonstrative pronoun "those" is a group of deniers and arrogant individuals, making it an anaphoric reference.

Ibn Hisham, like his predecessors among Arab linguists, did not limit his analysis to anaphoric references. He also extensively discussed cataphoric references, which he elaborated on under the topic "Cases Where the Pronoun Refers to a Later Word in Terms of Position and Rank" (Al-Ansari, 1969, p. 541). According to him, these cases are as follows:

1. The pronoun is the subject of "Nima" or "Bisma," and is only explained by the predicate, such as: "نعم رجلاً زيداً" ("What an excellent man Zaid is").

2. The pronoun is the subject of the first of two competing verbs, where the second one governs the syntax, as in the phrase: "جفوني ولم أجف الأهل" ("They deserted me, though I did not desert my friends").

3. The pronoun is the subject of a sentence where its explanation is provided by the predicate, as in the verse:

﴿وَقَالُوا إِن هِيَ إِلَّا حَيَاتُنَا الدُّنْيَا وَمَا نَحْنُ بِمَبْعُوثِينَ ۚ ۲۹﴾

“And they say, “There is none but our worldly life, and we will not be resurrected” [Al-An'am: 29].

4. The pronoun refers to the subject of the matter or the story, as in the verse:

﴿قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ ۝﴾

“Say, ‘He is Allah, [who is] One’” [Al-Ikhlās: 1].

5. The pronoun is governed by "Rubba," explained by a distinctive term, with the same rule applying as with the pronouns of "Nima" and "Bisma" in requiring the distinctive term to be singular. For instance, a poet said:

"رُبَّه فَنِيَّةٌ دَعَوْتُ إِلَى مَا يُورَثُ الْمَجْدَ دَانِبًا فَأَجَابُوا"

(“Many a group of young men I called to that which continually bequeaths glory, and they responded”).

6. The pronoun is substituted by a visible noun that explains it, such as "ضربته زيداً" ("I struck him, Zaid") (Al-Ansari, 1969, pp. 541-545).

Ibn Hisham's Discourse on "Things That Require a Link":

In another section titled "The Things That Require a Link" (Al-Ansari, 1969, p. 556), Ibn Hisham discusses certain sentences that lack elements linking their parts. He notes the following in this context:

First: The descriptive clause, which is only connected by a pronoun, either explicitly mentioned, as in the verse:

﴿حَتَّىٰ تُنزِّلَ عَلَيْنَا كِتَابًا نَقْرُؤُهُ ۙ﴾ (٩٣)

"until you bring down to us a book we may read." [Al-Israa: 93]

Second: The relative clause connected to nouns, which is typically linked only by a pronoun, as in the verse:

﴿وَمَا عَمَلُهُمْ أُبْدِيهِمْ﴾

"And their hands have not produced it," [Ya-Sin: 35]

Third: The circumstantial clause, linked by either the conjunction "و" (and) along with a pronoun, as in: "لا تقربوا الصلاة وأنتم سكارى" ("Do not approach prayer while you are intoxicated") [Al-Baqarah: 43], or solely by a pronoun, as in the verse:

﴿تَرَى الَّذِينَ كَذَبُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ وُجُوهُهُم مُّسْوَدَّةٌ﴾

"You will see those who lied about Allah [with] their faces blackened." [Az-Zumar: 60]

Fourth: The replacement clause (بدلا البعض والاشتمال), linked only by a pronoun, either explicitly mentioned, as in:

﴿ثُمَّ عَمُوا وَصَمُوا كَثِيرٌ مِنْهُمْ﴾

"Then [again] many of them became blind and deaf." [Al-Maidah: 71]

or implied, as in:

﴿مَنْ اسْتَطَاعَ﴾ ("whoever is able [from among them]") [Al-i'Imran: 97]

Fifth: The object of the quasi-adjective, also connected only by a pronoun, either explicitly mentioned, as in "زيدٌ حسنٌ وجهه" ("Zaid is handsome in his face"), or implied, as in "زيدٌ حسنٌ" ("Zaid's face is handsome") [meaning "his face"] (Al-Ansari, 1969, p. 556).

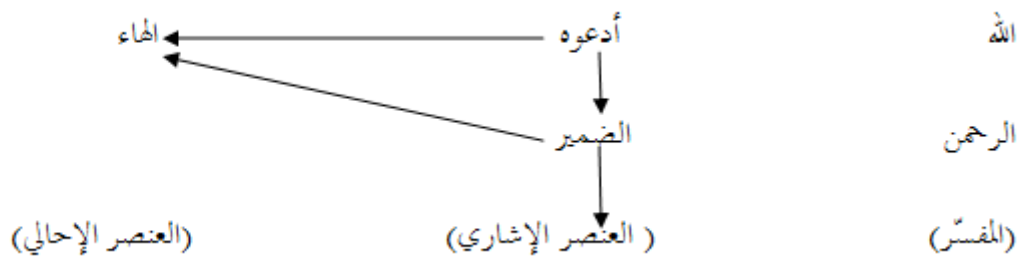
Abdul-Qahir Al-Jurjani (d. 471 AH):

Abdul-Qahir Al-Jurjani, in his commentary on the verse:

﴿قُلِ ادْعُوا اللَّهَ أَوْ ادْعُوا الرَّحْمَنَ أَيًّا مَا تَدْعُوا فَلَهُ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَىٰ وَلَا تَجْهَرُوا بِصَلَاتِكُمْ وَلَا تُخَافِتُ بِهَا وَابْتَغِ بَيْنَ ذَلِكَ سَبِيلًا ۙ﴾ (١١٠)

"Say, 'Call upon Allah or call upon the Most Merciful. Whichever [name] you call - to Him belong the best names.' And do not recite [too] loudly in your prayer or [too] quietly but seek between that an [intermediate] way." [Al-Isra: 110]

states that anyone who reads this verse without understanding that the verb "ادعوا" (call upon) does not refer to supplication but rather to invoking a name, and that there is an implied omission in the speech with the meaning: "Say, 'Invoke Him as Allah, or invoke Him as the Most Merciful...'" might fall into the error of polytheism. This is because, if one interprets the verse literally without considering the omitted pronoun, one could mistakenly attribute multiple entities being invoked, a concept that contradicts the oneness of God. Al-Jurjani's estimation of the omitted pronoun (ادعوه) clarifies the meaning and resolves the ambiguity, thereby affirming the monotheism of the entity being invoked, as follows:



Cataphoric Reference

Ambiguity and confusion arise in the mind of the recipient when the pronoun precedes its referent. This requires additional effort from the recipient, who must first interpret the pronoun and then search for or deduce the element to which it refers. For instance, the pronoun "هاء" (he) in the verb "أدعوه" (I invoke Him) appears before its referent, "الله والرحمن" (Allah and the Most Merciful). This results in the pronoun "هاء" (he) functioning as a cataphoric reference, linking to a subsequent referent. Similarly, the pronoun "هاء" (he) in "له" (to Him) appears singularly, referring to a preceding referent. Despite the presence of multiple referential elements ("Allah" and "the Most Merciful"), the referent is singular, signifying one entity being invoked, whether named "Allah" or "the Most Merciful," as He possesses the most beautiful names.

Al-Jurjani's Discussion on Definite Articles:

Al-Jurjani discusses the role of the definite article in his works, noting that its function extends beyond simply converting an indefinite noun into a definite one. It also serves to connect sentences in a manner akin to the linking function of pronouns, as it recalls something previously mentioned. He provides the following example from Ibn Al-Bawab:

وإن قَتَلَ الْهَوَى رَجُلًا فإني ذلك الرَّجُلُ

If love kills a man, then I am that man.

Al-Jurjani emphasizes the significance of the phrase "that man," noting that the definite article plays a crucial role in linking and ensuring the coherence of the text by referring back to something previously mentioned.

The Importance of Relative Pronouns:

Al-Jurjani dedicates a special chapter to the relative pronoun "الذي" (who/that), where he elaborates on its subtleties and benefits. He states:

"Know that in 'الذي' (who/that) lies abundant knowledge, numerous secrets, and subtle intricacies. If you investigate and comprehend them, you will uncover benefits that bring comfort to the soul and clarity to the mind, leading you to certainty and imparting excellent explanations to you."

He further explains that:

"You might say, 'I passed by Zaid, whose father is leaving,' or 'the man who was with us yesterday,' and find that the relative pronoun 'الذي' (who/that) allows you to distinguish Zaid from others through the clause 'whose father is leaving.' Without 'الذي' (who/that), this distinction would not be possible."

Al-Jurjani astutely recognizes the importance of the relative pronoun in linking what has been previously mentioned to what the speaker wishes to communicate or connect with prior knowledge.

The relative pronoun "الذي" (who/that) links the two sentences: "I passed by Zaid" and "whose father is leaving," achieving this by evoking an imagined scenario in the listener's mind, even if they have not witnessed or known it. This is particularly prevalent in imaginative scenarios, as Al-Jurjani illustrates with the following poetic examples:

أخوك الذي إن تدعهُ لملمةً يُجيبك، وإن تغضب إلى السيف يغضب

Your brother is the one who, if you call upon him in distress, will answer you, and if you are angry, he will anger with you.

أخوك الذي إن ربتهُ قال: إنما أرتبت، وإن عاتبته لأن جانبهُ

Your brother is the one who, if you blame him, says 'It is indeed my fault,' and if you reproach him, his side softens.

In both cases, the poet uses "الذي" (who/that) to refer to a hypothetical person who embodies these traits, leading the listener to imagine that this hypothetical person is the true brother, even though they might not have known someone with such characteristics.

Analysis of Referential Aspects by Grammarians and Rhetoricians:

From this brief overview of referential aspects in the works of grammarians and rhetoricians, we can infer that their treatment of reference can be divided into two perspectives: a purely linguistic perspective and a semantic perspective.

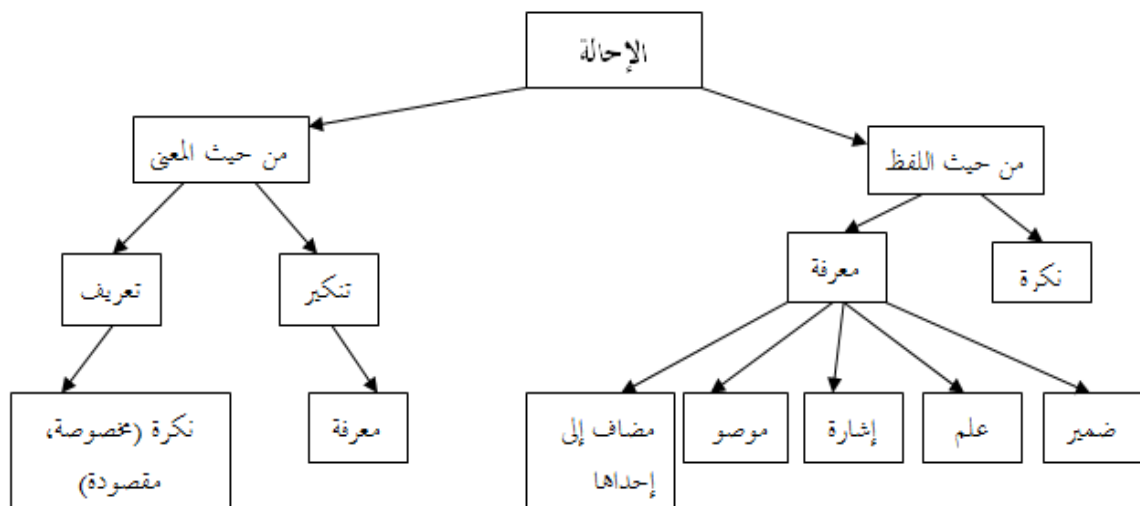
From the first perspective, a distinction is made between "indefinite" and "definite" nouns, considering an indefinite noun as any name that can be preceded by "أل" (the) except for proper nouns, such as "رجل" (a man), "فرس" (a horse), and "شجرة" (a tree). On the other hand, definite nouns include pronouns like "هو" (he), demonstratives like "ذا" (this), proper nouns like "هند" (Hind), nouns prefixed with "أل" (the) like "الغلام" (the boy), relative pronouns like "الذي" (who/that), and nouns added to any of these categories (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 75).

From the second perspective, they distinguish between "indefiniteness" and "definiteness," where "indefiniteness" refers to an unknown, unqualified entity, and "definiteness" refers to a known, qualified entity. It is noteworthy that the relationship between these two perspectives is not one of complete overlap. This is because "definiteness" (in the sense of known and informative) extends beyond the scope of definite nouns to encompass indefinite nouns when they refer to a known, informative entity, such as in the case of a "particular" or "intended" indefinite noun (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, pp. 75-76).

The following examples clarify the concepts:

- سيدة معنا. (An identified indefinite: A lady is with us.)
- سيدة من الكرام معنا. (An identified indefinite: A lady from the noble ones is with us.)
- يا قادمًا رويدك! (An intended indefinite: O arriving one, slow down!)
- يا قَدَمُ رويدك! (An intended indefinite: O foot, slow down!)

This can be summarized in the following diagram (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 76).



2. Reference in the Interpretation of the Qur'an by Exegetes and Jurists:

a) Al-Farra (d. 207 AH):

Al-Farra discusses the referentiality of pronouns and how they extend across a text. Commenting on the verse:

{يَأْتِيكُمْ بِهِ}

"Allah could bring them [back] to you." [Al-An'am: 46]

He states, "It is said that the pronoun 'هاء' in 'به' refers to guidance" (Al-Farra, 1980, p. 335). Upon examining Surah Al-An'am, the word "الهدى" (guidance) is mentioned in verse 35 of the same surah, and then the pronoun "هاء" refers back to "guidance" across ten verses, as in the verse:

{وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَجَمَعَهُمْ عَلَى الْهُدَى}

"But if Allah had willed, He would have united them upon guidance." [Al-An'am: 35]

Al-Farra's identification of the referential element and its corresponding antecedent was not arbitrary. He relied on the meaning of all the preceding verses until he found the referential element that matched the pronoun or referential element in its semantic characteristics. This type of reference, as seen through Al-Farra's analysis, is known as "anaphoric reference."

Al-Farra sometimes resorts to interpretation based on homonymy. For instance, he comments:

"In the verse {فَإِنْ أُحْصِرْتُمْ} [Al-Baqarah: 196], the Arabs use the term for someone prevented from completing Hajj or Umrah due to fear or illness, and anything that is not constrained, like imprisonment or captivity. In such cases, they say 'أحصر' for the sick, but 'حُصر' for captivity and coercion. If you intended by the coercion of the ruler that it is a hindering cause and did not refer to the action of the agent, it would be permissible to say 'أحصر الرجل' (the man was prevented). If you meant illness or something similar, you could say 'أحصرتم' (you were prevented). The verse {وسيدا وحصورا} [Al-Imran: 39] is said to refer to someone who is prevented from women, as it is a hindrance but not captivity, and on this basis, it is interpreted" (Al-Farra, 1980, p. 213).

Al-Farra's work indicates a profound understanding of the references within the contexts where these meanings were derived. He does not merely explain meanings based on homonymy or differentiation by simply referring to shared meanings; instead, he attempts to connect each meaning according to its contexts, usages, and appropriate circumstances. Thus, the meaning of "حُصور" (prevented) varies depending on the contexts in which it is used (Zaral, 2008, p. 222).

b) Exophoric Reference and Contextual Interpretation:

Exophoric reference, which cannot be interpreted without returning to the external context, has been a focal point for our classical scholars in their study and interpretation of the Qur'anic text. They often resorted to the context, especially in cases where ambiguity surrounds the meanings of verses due to the presence of pronouns referring to

elements not explicitly mentioned in the text. Thus, it is necessary for the Qur'anic interpreter to search for these references within the context and link them to their corresponding elements. Al-Farra comments on the verse:

﴿وَأَقْسَمُوا بِاللَّهِ جَهْدَ أَيْمَانِهِمْ﴾

"And they swear by Allah their strongest oaths that if a sign came to them," [Al-An'am: 109]

He explains:

"The ones swearing are the disbelievers who asked the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, to bring them the sign mentioned in Ash-Shu'araa:

﴿إِنْ نَشَأْ نُزَلِّلْ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ آيَةً فَظَلَّتْ أَعْنَاقُهُمْ لَهَا خَاضِعِينَ﴾

"If We willed, We could send down to them from the sky a sign for which their necks would remain humbled." [Ash-Shu'araa: 4]

They asked the Messenger of Allah to bring it down to them so that they might believe. Then Allah, the Exalted, revealed: 'قل للذين آمنوا وما يشعركم أنها إذا جاءت لا يؤمنون' (Say to those who believe, 'And what will make you perceive that even if it [i.e., a sign] came, they would not believe?')" (Al-Farra, 1980, pp. 349-350).

Through this analysis, it is evident that Al-Farra relies on the external context when searching for the referential element hidden in the external referential field, which explains the pronoun and clarifies its meaning. His comments show his awareness of the function of contextual interpretation through the reasons for revelation and their corresponding circumstances. This contextual intermediary role deciphers the referential element, and without Al-Farra's reliance on the external context, the ambiguity that the reader might encounter would not be resolved. Thus, Al-Farra and other scholars who devoted themselves to studying, analyzing, interpreting, and explaining the Qur'anic text have preceded modern text scholars in emphasizing the role of context in determining the meanings of certain referential elements, known as "exophoric reference."

Al-Zamakhshari (d. 538 AH)

When we turn to Al-Zamakhshari, we find that he offers a substantial number of serious opinions regarding referentiality, with analyses that demonstrate a textual sensitivity that closely aligns with modern textual scholars. Al-Zamakhshari follows in the footsteps of grammarians such as Sibawayh, Al-Mubarrad (d. 285 AH), and Al-Sabban (d. 1207 AH) (Wajdi, 439), among others, who required that the relative clause must contain a pronoun that refers back to the antecedent noun, and that this clause should be known to the listener. He explains the relative pronoun by stating: "The antecedent, which must be a noun, requires a clause that describes it and contains a pronoun that refers back to it" (Al-Zamakhshari, 2003, p. 182). Thus, the function of the pronoun is to link and refer back to

the antecedent by absorbing its semantic properties, thereby facilitating its recall in the mind of the recipient as a pronoun referring back to the antecedent.

In addition to his understanding of linguistic anaphoric reference, Al-Zamakhshari explains cataphoric pronominal reference, stating: "The pronoun in their statement 'his lord, a man,' is an ambiguous indefinite that refers back to a latent referent, which is then clarified" (Al-Zamakhshari, 2003, p. 172).

To provide the reader with a more comprehensive understanding of types of referentiality, Al-Zamakhshari introduces another type known as "situational reference" (réf rence exophonic), which is based on the pragmatic context. In his interpretation of the verse:

﴿الَّذِينَ آتَيْنَاهُمُ الْكِتَابَ يَعْرِفُونَهُ كَمَا يَعْرِفُونَ أَبْنَاءَهُمْ الَّذِينَ خَسِرُوا أَنفُسَهُمْ فَهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

"Those to whom We have given the Scripture recognize it as they recognize their [own] sons. Those who will lose themselves [in the Hereafter] do not believe" [Al-An'am: 20],

he states: "'Those to whom We have given the Scripture' refers to the Jews and Christians; (they recognize him) they recognize the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) by his traits and characteristics that are established in the two scriptures, just as they recognize their own sons by their features and descriptions, so they are not hidden from them, nor are they confused with anyone else. This serves as a testimony to the people of Mecca of the knowledge the People of the Book have of him and the truth of his prophethood" (Al-Zamakhshari, 2003, p. 10). Here, he affirms that the pronoun (him) refers situationally to non-linguistic elements, and the referential ambiguity of this pronoun (whom We have given) can only be resolved through a pragmatic context, thus enhancing the text's clarity and coherence between the linguistic textual structure and its external context.

In his interpretation of the verses:

﴿كَلَّا سَيَعْلَمُونَ ثُمَّ كَلَّا سَيَعْلَمُونَ﴾

"No! They are going to know""Then, no! They are going to know" [An-Nabaa: 4-5],

Al-Zamakhshari considers repetition here as a form of deterrence, stating: "The repetition of deterrence, along with the threat, is a means of emphasizing it, and the word 'then' indicates that the second threat is more severe and intense than the first" (Al-Zamakhshari, 2003, p. 207). If we contemplate Al-Zamakhshari's interpretation of this repetitive image, we find that he connects the interpretation of the second threat, which is a referential element, to the first threat, which is a demonstrative element. Thus, the textual demonstrative elements mentioned the first time, before their repeated mention, hold an active role in determining the meaning of the referential elements and their development as the textual demonstrative element is repeated. Although it remains semantically complete, it acquires new meaning.

We also note that Al-Zamakhshari considers the repetition in the verses:

﴿وَمَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا يَوْمَ الدِّينِ ۗ ١٧ ثُمَّ مَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا يَوْمَ الدِّينِ ۗ ١٨﴾

“And what can make you know what is the Day of Recompense?” (17)

“Then, what can make you know what is the Day of Recompense?” (18) [Al-Infitar: 17-18], stating: "The repetition is for increased emphasis" (Al-Zamakhshari, 2003, p. 187). In another instance, he comments on the verse:

﴿فَبِأَيِّ آلَاءِ رَبِّكُمَا تُكَذِّبَانِ﴾

"So which of the favors of your Lord would you deny?" [Ar-Rahman: 16],

explaining: "If you ask why it is repeated at the beginning and end of each story in this Surah, I would say each story is like a separate revelation, and each contains lessons and reflections just like the others, so each deserves to be introduced as its predecessor was, and concluded as its predecessor was" (Al-Zamakhshari, 2003, p. 222).

Al-Zamakhshari's interpretation reflects his understanding of how repeated referential elements are interpreted in light of the demonstrative elements that are formally and semantically linked to them. These elements are absorbed in the recipient's mind, enriching their semantic memory and loading the demonstrative elements with additional meanings as they are positioned in new textual contexts. The repeated elements extract new meanings from their new contexts, thus enriching the meanings of the demonstrative elements.

Al-Suyuti (d. 911 AH)

Al-Suyuti also recognized the importance of employing semantics and context in the study of referentiality. He emphasized that the relationship between referential expressions and their referents is a semantic one, as these expressions serve as signs pointing to particular meanings. These signs or referential expressions can be vague and ambiguous because their meaning outside of context remains general; it is only within a specific context that their general meaning is narrowed down to the appropriate one. Al-Suyuti explains this in relation to the referent of a pronoun: "The context may indicate it, so it is implied, relying on the listener's understanding, as in:

﴿كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ﴾

“Everyone upon the earth will perish”(26) [Ar-Rahman: 26],

and

﴿مَا تَرَكَ عَلَىٰ ظَهْرهَا﴾

“He would not leave upon the earth any creature”(45) [Fatir: 45],

meaning the earth” (Al-Suyuti, 2004, p. 282).

Additionally, pronominal reference can be found within the internal context of the text, either preceding or following the pronoun. The referential element referred to by the pronoun may appear later in the text, as in:

﴿فَأَوْجَسَ فِي نَفْسِهِ خِيفَةً مُوسَى﴾

“And he sensed within himself apprehension, did Moses”(67) [Ta-ha: 67],

and

﴿وَلَا يُسْأَلُ عَنْ ذُنُوبِهِمُ الْمُجْرِمُونَ﴾

“But the criminals, about their sins, will not be asked”(78) [Al-Qasas: 78].

In these cases, the pronoun in (نفسه) "himself" refers to the later-mentioned referential element (موسى) "Moses." Similarly, "two things may be mentioned, and the pronoun refers to one of them, most commonly the second, as in:

﴿وَاسْتَعِينُوا بِالصَّبْرِ وَالصَّلَاةِ وَإِنَّهَا لَكَبِيرَةٌ إِلَّا عَلَى الْخَاشِعِينَ﴾

“And seek help through patience and prayer, and indeed, it is difficult except for the humbly submissive [to Allah]”(45) [Al-Baqara: 45],

where the pronoun refers back to prayer" (Al-Suyuti, 2004, p. 283). Moreover, "the default is that pronouns should agree in their reference to avoid confusion, which is why some scholars permitted:

﴿أَنْ أَقْذِفِيهِ فِي التَّابُوتِ فَاقْذِفِيهِ فِي النِّيمِ﴾

“[Saying], 'Cast him into the chest and cast it into the river, and the river will throw it onto the bank’” [Ta-ha: 39],

allowing the second pronoun to refer to the chest and the first to Moses. However, Al-Zamakhshari criticized this, considering it a flaw that detracts from the Qur'an's miraculous nature. He stated: ‘All the pronouns refer back to Moses, and allowing some to refer to Moses and others to the chest introduces a dissonance that disrupts the harmony of the structure, which is the essence of the Qur'an's miraculous nature. Preserving this harmony is the most important responsibility of the interpreter’” (Al-Suyuti, 2004, pp. 284-285). In any case, a pronoun "must have a referent to which it refers" (Al-Suyuti, 2004, p. 281) and a function that it performs in terms of reference and cohesion. Al-Suyuti states: "The primary purpose of the pronoun is for conciseness, as in:

﴿أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مَغْفِرَةً وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا﴾

“For them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward”(35) [Al-Ahzab: 35],

which takes the place of twenty-five words if expressed explicitly" (Al-Suyuti, 2004, p. 281).

Notably, jurists often "refer directly to the text and rely entirely on it, which is characteristic of their thinking or rather a flexible tool for achieving their objectives. In this environment, what is known today as 'intentionality' in contemporary pragmatic research emerged" (Zarroul, 2008, p. 82). Additionally, they studied referentiality through two dichotomies: "the general" versus "the specific" and "the absolute" versus "the restricted."

Jurists define the general as "a term that refers to more than one thing" (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 76), and thus a homonym like (العين) "the eye," which can refer to both the organ of sight and a source of water, does not fall under the category of the general. If it refers to one meaning in a specific context, it can be considered general or specific. However, the homonym was not established for its different meanings collectively but for each meaning separately" (Al-Sayyid, 1996, p. 80).

General Forms According to Usuli Scholars

Usuli scholars have identified several forms that indicate generality:

- Plural noun preceded by "Al" (without specific reference): For instance, the word "الرجال" (the men) when not referring to a specific group, as opposed to when it is used with specific reference, such as in the phrase "أقبل الرجال" (The men arrived), meaning the expected ones, which in this case does not indicate generality.

- Indefinite plural nouns: As in the verse:

﴿مَا لَنَا لَا نَرَى رَجَالًا﴾

"Why do we not see men"(62) [Sad: 62].

- Singular noun (preceded by "Al" without specific reference): As in the verse:

"والسارق والسارقة"

"[As for] the thief, the male and the female"(38) [Al-Ma'idah: 38].

- Generic nouns (preceded by "Al" without specific reference): Such as the word "الحيوان" (the animal).

- Conditional expressions: Such as "من" (whoever), "ما" (whatever), or "أو" (or), as in the Hadith:

"من أحيا أرضا ميتة فهي له وعلى اليد ما أخذت حتى تؤديه"

"Whoever revives a dead land, it is his, and the hand is responsible for what it takes until it is returned" (Al-Bukhari, 139).

- Conditional-like expressions: Such as "متى" (when) for time, "أين" (where) for place, as in the phrases:

"متى جئت أكرمك" (Whenever you come, I will honor you),

"أينما كنت أتيتك" (Wherever you are, I will come to you).

- Indefinite nouns in a negation context: As in the phrases:

"ما جاءني أحد" (No one came to me),

"لم أكلم أحداً" (I did not speak to anyone),

"لا رجل في الدار" (There is no man in the house).

- Words confirming generality: Such as "كل" (every) and "جميع" (all) (Al-'Ubaydan, 2002, p. 121).

- Interrogative pronouns: Such as "من" (who), "ما" (what), "من" (whom), "أين" (where) (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 77).

As for the specific, it is defined as "a single word that does not refer to multiple entities" (Al-Sayyid, 1996, p. 83), meaning "a word that refers to a single entity" (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 77), as in the phrase: "رأيت أسداً في قفص" (I saw a lion in a cage). In addition to the dichotomy of general/specific, Usuli scholars propose a referential transfer between "the absolute" and "the restricted," where the absolute refers to an expression that points to something unknown to the listener, while the restricted refers to an expression that points to something the listener comprehends and knows (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 77).

The restricted category includes proper nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, relative pronouns, definite nouns with "Al," and vocatives referring to specific individuals, as well as any word that is added to one of these categories.

Generality can be found in a single word, and it can also be embedded in a sentence or even in an entire text. Usuli scholars also distinguish between two types of ambiguity: semantic ambiguity and referential ambiguity.

- Semantic ambiguity arises when a statement contains an expression that could have more than one meaning, making the statement open to multiple interpretations or "ambiguous."

- Referential ambiguity occurs when a statement contains a phrase that refers in a general or absolute manner (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 77).

Having discussed referentiality in the context of classical Arabic linguistic thought in detail, we now attempt to draw a comparison between the approach of grammarians and Usuli scholars, as previously mentioned, and the functional discourse grammar approach, to extract the key similarities and differences between the two approaches (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, pp. 86-88). The most significant reason that justifies comparing the old Arabic approach with the functional discourse grammar model is the convergence in the following aspects:

a. The concept of referentiality in the classical tradition takes on a discourse-oriented (pragmatic) nature, as it is linked to the relationship between the expression and its

referent, as well as the communicative situation between the participants in the discourse. Therefore, the phenomenon of referentiality is more comprehensively and accurately addressed in rhetoric and Usul al-Fiqh (jurisprudence principles) than in strict grammar books.

b. The convergence is also evident in the categorization of referential features into three dichotomies: definite/indefinite, absolute/restricted, and general/specific. The first and second dichotomies pertain to the relationship between the speaker and the listener, while the third concerns the nature of the referent itself in terms of its generality or specificity and its inclusion in a category or its uniqueness within that category.

c. The old Arabic approach aligns with the modern functional approach in distinguishing between referentiality to an entity outside the discourse and referentiality to an entity within the discourse itself.

Based on this convergence, comparing the proposals of Arab grammarians and Usuli scholars with those of the functional discourse grammar model suggests the possibility of integrating the former into the latter. However, some differences remain between the two sets of proposals, the most notable of which include:

Arab grammarians, as is well known, isolated the discussion of referentiality to an entity within the discourse (anaphoric reference), limiting it to one direction, that is, referring a pronoun or demonstrative to a previously mentioned noun, which they termed "return," illustrated by structures like:

"رأيت زيدًا" و "سلمت عليه" -

("I saw Zaid" and "I greeted him").

It is known that referentiality can operate in the opposite direction, that is, between a pronoun and a subsequent noun phrase, which can be termed "forward reference" (as opposed to backward reference) or "anticipatory reference" (as opposed to anaphoric reference).

An example of this type of reference is the following structure, where the referential structure can be mapped as follows:

"بعد أن صفت شعرها، خرجت هند إلى العمل" -

("After she arranged her hair, Hind went to work").

"بعد أن صفت شعرها، خرجت هند إلى العمل" -

("After she arranged her hair, Hind went to work").

Henckfeld and McKenzie (2008) discussed anticipatory reference, defining it in contrast to anaphoric reference as "the relationship established between a preceding and following element, between two events within the same communicative act."

On the other hand, when comparing the proposals of Arab grammarians with those of functional discourse grammar, one notices that there are categories present in the former that are absent in the latter. These categories include the specific/intentional indefinite, the relative pronoun, and the noun modified by a definite article.

3. Referential Specification:

In line with the principle that all types of reference—in functional grammar theory—are pragmatic verbs, they are represented at the relational (pragmatic) level (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 32). Referential specifications, in terms of their scope, are of two types: one that applies to the referential verb within the layer of discourse content and one that applies to the entire layer.

3.1. Specification of the Referential verb:

- The Common Noun:

The term "common noun" here refers to what is contrasted with a proper noun, whether definite or indefinite, as seen in the following examples:

- قرأتُ قصيدةً -

(I read a poem.)

- قرأتُ قصيدةً فأعجبته القصيدةُ -

(I read a poem, and I liked the poem.)

- أنظر إلى القادم علينا -

(Look at the one approaching us.)

The two referential features that a common noun can possess are definiteness and indefiniteness, considering them as pragmatic features determined by the relationship between the addressee and the referent in terms of their familiarity with it.

The addressee's familiarity with the referent may be either textual or situational. For instance, in example 2, the reference is anaphoric (referring to something mentioned earlier), while in example 3, it is situational (referring to something present in the context).

"The features of definiteness and indefiniteness are indicated by 'the specification of the referential verb as one of the components of the discourse content layer.'" Thus, the structures of the two components "قصيدةً" (a poem) and "القصيدةُ" (the poem) as referential verbs are represented as follows:

- (...(Content Layer 1: (Carrier Verb 1) قرأتُ (Indefinite Referential Verb 1) قصيدة (Content Layer 1)....

- (...(Content Layer 1: (Carrier Verb 1) قرأتُ (Definite Referential Verb 1) القصيدة (Content Layer 1)....

The common noun is followed by the subsequent suffix (nunation) when it carries the feature of indefiniteness and preceded by the definite article (alif and lam) if it refers definitively. Based on this, the two noun phrases "قصيدةً" (a poem) and "القصيدةُ" (the poem) are represented as follows (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 91):

- (... (Noun Phrase 1: (ن - قصيدةً) (Noun Phrase 1)....)

- (... (Noun Phrase 1: (أل - قصيدة) (Noun Phrase 1)....)

- The Proper Noun:

As is well known, the proper noun refers to the names mentioned in the following sentences:

- قدم خالدٌ.

(Khalid has arrived.)

- رأيت محمد بن عبد الله.

(I saw Muhammad ibn Abdullah.)

- رأيت صالحاً/الصالحُ.

(I saw Salih/ Al-Salih.)

The distinction between the proper noun and the common noun lies in several characteristics, which can be categorized into three types: referential, semantic, and morphological-syntactic characteristics (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 101).

- In terms of reference: The proper noun is characterized by referring to a specific entity, while the common noun applies to a group of entities sharing certain attributes.

It can be said that the remaining referential features are optional for the common noun, while they are obligatory for the proper noun. The details are as follows:

The common noun can be either definite or indefinite, whereas the proper noun must be definite.

- The common noun can be either general or specific, while the proper noun is necessarily specific, as it refers to a particular entity that the speaker intends to refer to.

- In terms of the nature of the referent's generality or specificity: The common noun can be either general or specific, whether it is known or unknown, while the proper noun is necessarily specific.

- In terms of morphological-syntactic characteristics: The common noun can be either definite or indefinite, whereas the proper noun, being inherently definite, does not take

an indefinite tanween. It also does not take a definite article, although it can take an alif and lam, which do not indicate definiteness. These can be of three types: obligatory alif and lam attached to the proper noun as in (اللات) and (العزى) and (السموأل), optional alif and lam that can be dropped as in names derived from adjectives (صالح/الصالح) or from nouns (فضل/الفضل), or alif and lam that convert the noun from common to proper, as in (الكتاب) when it refers to Sibawayh's work.

C - Demonstratives (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 105)

Arab grammarians have explored the morphological and syntactic characteristics of demonstrative words, considering them as nouns. However, this only addresses one aspect of the multifaceted phenomenon of demonstratives.

C-1 - Demonstrative as a Noun:

The analysis dedicated to demonstratives in the books of Arabic grammar can be traced back to the following primary principles:

- A demonstrative word is considered a noun, meaning that, in terms of its syntactic behavior, it either functions as an independent noun phrase referring to an entity or location:

قابلت هذا -

(I met this one.)

قابلت خالدًا هذا -

(I met this Khalid.)

Or it functions as the head of a noun phrase, where it is either an attribute or an apposition:

عاتبت هذا الرجل -

(I reproached this man.)

عاتبت هذا، الرجل -

(I reproached this, the man.)

Or it serves as an attribute in a noun phrase headed by a definite noun:

عاتبت الرجل هذا -

(I reproached the man, this one.)

The demonstrative word consists of the demonstrative pronoun itself ("ذا", "أولى", "هنا") which may be preceded by an alert particle ("هنا", "هؤلاء", "هاهنا") and may be followed by a suffix, such as a "lam" between the pronoun and the second person pronoun ("ذلك", "هناك").

Most grammarians agree that the referent, whether an entity or a location, falls into three ranks with respect to the point of communication: proximal ("...ذا", "هنا"), medial ("...هناك", "هناك"), and distal ("...هناك", "هناك").

C-2 - Demonstrative as a Specifier:

The phrase "هذا الرجل" in the previously mentioned example, repeated here for reference: عاتبت هذا الرجل (I reproached this man), forms a noun phrase that, at the morphological-syntactic level, performs a referential verb in which the demonstrative word "هذا" functions as a referential specifier with the value "proximal," as shown in the following underlying relational structure:

- (...Content Layer 1: ...(<Proximal> Referential Verb) (Content Layer 1)...))

This approach raises two fundamental issues: co-occurrence and rank. Raykov (1992) developed a classification of natural languages based on a study of fifty languages. He concluded that, regarding the co-occurrence of demonstrative and definite specifiers, languages fall into two categories: languages that combine both specifiers, and languages where the two specifiers compete—where the presence of definiteness negates the demonstrative, and the presence of the demonstrative negates definiteness. The first group of languages is further divided into two subgroups: languages that place both specifiers before the head noun, and languages that spatially separate them, placing one before and the other after the head noun.

C-3 - Demonstrative as a Referential Verb:

One of the uses of the demonstrative word is when it acts as an independent referential verb, thus assuming the role of a demonstrative pronoun. Examples of demonstrative words functioning as pronouns include (A-B), repeated here for reference:

- قابلت هذا -

(I met this one.)

- قابلت خالدًا هنا -

(I met Khalid here.)

The difference between the use of the demonstrative word as a pronoun and as a specifier becomes clear when comparing the previously mentioned underlying relational structures:

- (... (Content Layer 1: ...(< Proximal> Referential Verb 1: هذا)) (Content Layer 1) ...)

- (... (Content Layer 1: ...(< Proximal> Referential Verb 1: هنا)) (Content Layer 1) ...)

In terms of referential characteristics, the demonstrative pronoun (like other pronouns) refers to something present in the context, as in examples (A-B), or refers anaphorically or anticipatorily, as in the following examples:

- لا تعادي من لا يعاديك". هذا ما قلته لهند" -

(Do not oppose those who do not oppose you. This is what I said to Hind.)

- "ما قلته لهند هذا: " لا تعادي من لا يعاديك" -

(What I said to Hind was this: "Do not oppose those who do not oppose you.")

C-4 - Demonstrative as a Discourse Act:

One of the fundamental aspects of grammarians' analysis of demonstratives is the notion that a demonstrative word independently refers to a particular entity, with the following definite noun acting as a substitute for it. Al-Mutawakkil proposes an approach that aligns with the grammarians' analysis in the same direction of substitution but restricts it to constructions like (B) rather than those like (A). The essence of this approach is as follows (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, pp. 111-113):

In the process of producing constructions like the example (B), reiterated here for reference:

- عاتبت هذا، الرجل -

(I reproached this one, the man.)

The speaker initially refers to an entity using the demonstrative "هذا" and then adds the information conveyed by the noun "الرجل" (the man) after sensing that the listener needs this additional information to identify the intended entity.

The two components of the referential verb are reflected in the intonational structure of the discourse, where a pause (indicated by a comma) separates the demonstrative from the following noun.

In this type of construction, the demonstrative word functions as a demonstrative pronoun, performing a referential verb on its own, while the noun that follows verbs as an independent discourse act, separate from the discourse verb that contains the demonstrative pronoun.

This situation is evident in the following underlying relational structure:

- (... (Discourse Verb 1: Predicate(K)(T)

- (... (Content Layer 1: ...(< Proximal> Referential Verb 1: هذا)) (Content Layer 1) ...)

- (... (Discourse Verb 2: Predicate(K)(T)

- (... (Content Layer 2: ...(< Definite> Referential Verb 2) (Content Layer 2) ...)(Discourse Verb 2)))

The second discourse verb is independent of the first (which contains the demonstrative pronoun) and may either be subordinate, carrying a rhetorical function such as clarification, modification, or specification, or be co-equal.

In the first case, the noun takes a subordinate case marking, such as the accusative, while in the second case, it takes the independent nominative case, as shown in the following examples: عاتبت هذا، الرجلُ (I reproached this one, the man).

It is possible to reverse the order of the demonstrative pronoun and the definite noun, with the former following the latter, as in the example:

- عاتبت الرجل، هذا -

(I reproached the man, this one.)

Here, the demonstrative pronoun is treated as performing an independent discourse verb separate from the discourse verb that contains the noun "الرجل" (the man). The same underlying relational structure applies, with the difference of shifting the demonstrative pronoun to the second discourse verb and embedding the noun within the first discourse act.

Notably, this discourse independence allows for the relaxation of the definiteness condition, making it possible for the noun to appear in an indefinite form without compromising the grammatical integrity of the construction:

- عاتبت رجلا هذا -

(I reproached a man, this one.)

D - The Pronoun (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 113)

In the preceding sections, we have addressed the main characteristics of pronouns regarding their referential functions, whether as a deictic reference, anaphoric reference, or anticipatory reference, whether the pronoun is a personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun. Here, we will focus on two specific issues to avoid repetition:

1. The underlying relational structure of personal pronouns.
2. The relationships within relative clauses.

D-1 - Personal Pronouns as Referential Verbs

Hengfeld and Mackenzie (Hengfeld & Mackenzie, 2008) classify personal pronouns into two categories: pronouns that refer to interlocutors (the speaker and the addressee) and pronouns that perform anaphoric or anticipatory reference to non-interlocutors.

Regarding the first category, the authors consider these pronouns as substitutes for proper names, citing languages in which the speaker refers to themselves or their addressee by name or the name of the addressee.

For representing the underlying structure of personal pronouns, they propose that it be achieved through abstract features that combine according to the following general schemas:

- Relational Level - Representational Level.

- A - Singular Speaker: (M F H1: +K, -T)

(S1)

- B - Plural Inclusive Speaker: (M F H1: +K, +T)

(N S1)

- C - Plural Exclusive Speaker: (M F H1: +K, -T)

(N S1)

- D - Singular Addressee: (M F H1: -K, +T)

(1S1)

- E - Plural Addressee: (M F H1: -K, +T)

(N S1)

Where K = Speaker, T = Addressee, M = Definite, F H = Referential Verb, S = Singular/Plural, 1 = Singular, N = Plural.

Schemas (A-E) constitute a complete inventory from which languages select what fits their morphology and syntax. In Arabic, the underlying structure for referential indicators is manifested in separate or connected pronouns governed by person, number, gender, and case markings, as is well known. In the case of accusative case, the pronoun may reflect its pragmatic function, especially in the case of accusative when it is focused, as shown by the contrast between the following examples:

- A - *هندٌ، عشقتُها*. (Hind, I loved her.)

- B - *هندٌ إياها عشقتُ*. (Hind, her, I loved.)

Hengfeld and Mackenzie suggest that there is a hierarchy governing the ordering of pronouns which can be formulated as follows:

Speaker < Addressee < Others

They provide an example from French where the addressee pronoun precedes the noun:

- *Toi et Jacques, quand allez-vous vous marier ?* (You and Jacques, when are you going to marry?)

A similar idea is found among Arabic grammarians discussing the concept of "specificity." Ibn Aqil, in his commentary on *Alfiyeh*, explains this as follows:

"The speaker's pronoun is more specific than the third-person pronoun, and the addressee's pronoun is more specific than the third-person pronoun. When two accusative pronouns are present, one more specific than the other, and they are

connected, the more specific one must be placed first, e.g., 'I gave you the dirham' should be used instead of 'I gave you it' or 'I gave it to you.'"

D-2 - Referential Verbs in Relative Clauses

Al-Mutawakkil, in his book on Arabic syntax, dedicates a special section to relative clauses, detailing their key pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic features and how these features are identified in functional discourse models. Here, we briefly outline the major aspects of the approach he proposed, focusing particularly on the characteristics of relative pronouns (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 116).

- The grammarians' term "relative pronoun" is considered a "pronoun" like other pronouns, whether from the "الذي" (who/which) or "من، ما" (who/what) group.

- Contrary to what grammarians might suggest, the relative pronoun with the relative clause forms a single unit, evidenced by the fact that the relative pronoun cannot occur without a relative clause:

- قدم الذي/ من (The one who came)

- قابلت صديقاً كان غائباً عن البلد. (I met a friend who was absent from the country.)

In this example, the relative clause is "حرّة" (free) without a preceding or following head, as in the following cases:

- A - قدم الذي/ من كنا ننتظره. (The guest who/whom we were waiting for.)

- B - قدم الضيف الذي كنا ننتظره. (The guest whom we were waiting for.)

Notice that the free relative clause accepts both types of relative pronouns ("الذي"/"من"), while the headed relative clause excludes the "من" type.

- The free relative clause (pronoun and relative clause) refers to an external entity, while the headed relative clause refers anaphorically to its head noun.

- In the headed relative clause, the relative pronoun matches the head noun in terms of case features (as well as gender and number).

In this regard, Arabic differs from other languages (e.g., French), where the relative pronoun is case-marked based on its function within the relative clause independently of the head noun, as demonstrated by comparing:

- صافحت الفتاتين اللتين نجحتا. (I shook hands with the two girls who succeeded.)

- صافحت الفتاتين اللتان نجحتا. (I shook hands with the two girls who succeeded.)

- J'ai rencontré les jeunes filles qui ont réussi. (I met the girls who succeeded.)

- J'ai rencontré les jeunes filles qu'ont réussi. (I met the girls who succeeded.)

Relative clauses are classified into two types based on their connection to the head noun: "restrictive" and "non-restrictive" relative clauses. This distinction is reflected in the characteristics of the relative pronouns in several key aspects:

A - The non-restrictive relative clause is introduced by a pronoun from either group:

- قدم الضيف، من/ الذي كنا ننتظره. (The guest, who/whom we were waiting for.)

However, the restrictive relative clause is only introduced by a pronoun from the "الذي" group, as indicated by the grammatical error in:

- قدم الضيف من كنا ننتظره. (The guest whom we were waiting for.)

B - In a restrictive relative clause, the relative pronoun must match the head noun in terms of case marking, as seen in the comparison:

- صافحت الفتاتين، اللتين نجحتا. (I shook hands with the two girls who succeeded.)

- صافحت الفتاتين، اللتان نجحتا. (I shook hands with the two girls who succeeded.)

It is permissible for the relative pronoun to differ in case marking in a non-restrictive relative clause, as illustrated by:

- صافحت الفتاتين، اللتان نجحتا. (I shook hands with the two girls who succeeded.)

C - For the relative pronoun to co-occur with the head noun, the head noun must be definite, as shown in:

- A - قابلت الفتاة التي كانت تدرس معي. (I met the girl who was studying with me.)

- B - قابلت فتاة التي كانت تدرس معي. (I met a girl who was studying with me.)

It is possible for the relative pronoun to co-occur with an indefinite head noun in non-restrictive relative clauses:

- قابلت فتاة، التي كانت تدرس معي. (I met a girl, who was studying with me.)

These characteristics can be explained by the fact that a restrictive relative clause is part of the discourse verb containing the head noun, while a non-restrictive relative clause constitutes an independent discourse act, whether as a substitution (as an alternative) or co-equal.

3-2 - Layer-Specific Modifiers (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, p. 118)

Certain referential features, as previously indicated, verb as referential modifiers that focus on a specific referential act, and they encompass an entire layer within the relational level. Among these referential features are the general/specific and absolute/restrictive distinctions.

- General or absolute in the view of legal theorists is a term that can be applied to a segment of discourse or to an entire discourse. They distinguished between "verbal generality" and "pragmatic generality," as previously mentioned.

Based on this, generality and absoluteness can be considered as modifiers within the functional discourse model, affecting the layer of discourse content, the layer of speech act, the layer of transition, or the layer of the utterance. The general schemata in this context are:

- A - (...General/Absolute Discourse Content 1)...

- B - (...General/Absolute Discourse Content 1)...

- C - (...General/Absolute Transition 1)...

- D - (...General/Absolute Utterance 1)...

It can be said that the features of generality and absoluteness are generally associated with different types of discourse. They are most commonly found in what is known as "discourse of established facts," scientific discourse, and religious discourse, particularly concerning rulings, commands, prohibitions, and the like.

- The features of generality and absoluteness manifest in specific phrases and in morphology and syntax:

- A: In general discourse, phrases such as "generally" and "in general" are used. Also, interrogative pronouns like "who," "what," "where," and "when" are useful for indicating generality. Phrases indicating absoluteness include "absolutely" and "without exception."

- B: The features of generality and absoluteness contribute to defining the temporal and spatial aspects of the predicate; where the predicate in general or absolute discourse assumes an incomplete or non-temporal form rather than a complete or temporal form:

- A - الجوُّ حارٌّ في الصيف. (The weather is hot in summer.)

- B - يكون الجوُّ حارًّا في الصيف. (The weather will be hot in summer.)

- A - كان الجوُّ حارًّا في الصيف. (The weather was hot in summer.)

- B - سيكون الجوُّ حارًّا في الصيف. (The weather will be hot in summer.)

In the morphological characteristics governed by the feature of restriction (in contrast to absoluteness), we can include what Arab grammarians refer to as "specific indefinite" and "intended indefinite," which determine the case of the vocative in certain contexts of address.

Among the syntactic characteristics governed by the feature of generality, it is noted that negation implies generality when it is applied to an indefinite noun, as shown in the following example:

- لن أقرأ كتاباً. (I will not read a book.)

Conclusion:

In conclusion, referential verbs in the functional grammar theory are considered pragmatic verbs, similar to other "linguistic verbs," intended to mark an entity either externally or within the discourse itself in terms of its definiteness or indefiniteness, generality or specificity, and absoluteness or restriction.

Referential verbs may assume one of three positions: as a referential verb itself, a modifier focusing on a specific referential verb or an entire layer, or as an independent discourse verb either substitutive (in place of) or co-equal.

Referential features govern the lexical properties of discourse and contribute to defining its morphological and syntactic characteristics. Integrating the analysis of ancient Arabic grammarians with the functional discourse model allows for a more precise definition of referential concepts and an examination of the specific referential features and their interrelations. It also facilitates a re-evaluation of the morphology and syntax of different discourse sections and their various sub-categories based on their referential characteristics (Al-Mutawakkil, 2010, pp. 120-121).

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