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"OK guys, thank you for coming today": Indexicality, utterance events, and verbal rituals in political speeches in Sheikh Jarrah

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Abstract

This ethnography looks at the indexical function of several brief utterances, routinely employed by a Palestinian speechmaker, in the Sheikh Jarrah protest in East Jerusalem. Following Silverstein's contributions to the indexically based theory of (meta)pragmatics, "creative" and nonreferential utterances are examined at the utterance event level, in relation to the speech event level, and more generally to verbal rituals. The political speeches I study have been delivered weekly, in Hebrew, by a Sheikh Jarrah resident and activist, for over a decade. The ethnographic analysis depicts how the utterances create a physical and symbolic (rhetorical) space for the performance of the speeches, routinize and ritualize their recurrence, and secure their endurance in a hostile environment. This is accomplished by spatially disassembling and reassembling the protesters, modifying the participation structure, and establishing a host–guest relationship. The speaker is repositioned as a resident, activist, and political rhetor-in-the-becoming, and the protestors are repositioned as his audience.

KEYWORDS
ethnography, indexicality, Israel–Palestinian conflict, Michael Silverstein, political activism, political discourse analysis, ethnography of communication

1 | INTRODUCTION

In the memory of Michael Silverstein.

In recent decades, the indexical turn has become a theoretical and analytical cornerstone in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and proximate disciplines. Indexicality's prolific influence originates in Peirce's semiotic theory, where an indexical-based mode of meaning-making concerns a type of signification that is physical (Peirce, 1986, pp. 62–68; 1991). As such, indexicality is seen as the "most primitive of Peirce's three sign-types" (Wilce, 2017, p. 106), which in part accounts for the reason it has largely eluded foundational theories of signification and meaning-making in linguistics, especially Saussure's.

Jakobson—Peirce's "great interpreter" (Wilce, 2017, p. 63)—expanded the applications and implications of indexical-based meaning in actual communication events. In "Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb," and later in "Remarks on Peirce," Jakobson (1957/1990; 1977, respectively) highlights the ways Peirce's semiotic theory freshly addresses questions linguists and scholars in related fields have been tackling for decades (with an emphasis on deixis or shifters). As Silverstein (2017) reflects in hindsight, "here was the key to investigating communicational 'messages' as indexicals pointing to the circumstances of their occurrence in 'context'" (p. 109). Using the current terminology, Silverstein observes that indexicals supply common "interactional resources" and "affordances" for speakers in everyday interaction (p. 109. See also Inoue, 2022).

Much of the work on indexicality has expectedly revolved around deictic particles and pronouns, which serve as markers of context by establishing a "pointing-to relationship" (Silverstein, 2004, p. 626). In his earlier homage to Jakobson, Silverstein (1976) argued for the indexical nature of signs, of all signs, which both reflect ("presuppose") and constitute ("create") meaning interactionally. Silverstein's influential theorizing highlighted language's "irreducible context-dependence" (Levinson, 1988, p. 63), attesting to the "pervasive context-dependency of natural language utterances" (Hanks, 2000, p. 124), and serving to "point to what counts as meaning in a specific semiotic event" (Blommaert, 2015, p. 108). This view emerged during the 1960s–1970s, when the formative works of Garfinkel, Gumperz, Hymes, Labov, and others offered a paradigmatic reconsideration of the contextual-cum-cultural semiotics of language (Inoue, 2022, p. 3). Importantly, because of the physical-semiotic substratum of indexical meaning, much of the "meaning effects" (Blommaert, 2015) that indexicals help accomplish entails *nonreferential signification*, including accent, writing practices, and nonpropositional utterances (Noy, 2009, 2008, 2011; Blommaert, 2013; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008; Yoder & Johnstone, 2018. See also special issue of Journal of Linguistic Anthropology: Agha, 2005).[1]

This paper looks at the ritual employment of a few brief speech act utterances, as pursued by a Palestinian speechmaker in the context of the Sheikh Jarrah protest (SJP) in East Jerusalem. These utterances precede and conclude the speeches, repeatedly performing the activities of summoning the protesters, and marking the beginning of the speeches and their conclusion. Rather than addressing these utterances as speech acts, I see them more accurately as "utterance events," which is a concept Levinson (1988) promoted as part of his critique of Austin's (1962) speech act theory. Levinson argued that speech acts are often ambiguous and contextual, which are pragmatic qualities that Austin's theory could not address sufficiently. Relatedly, Levinson suggested that within the larger speech-event-centered view of language and communication, more attention should be paid to the level of the utterance event in relation to the level of the speech event.

I propose that by approaching these utterance events through an indexical viewpoint, the multiple roles they play in ensuring the speech event can be most richly appreciated. Specifically, I look at how they crucially enable a rhetorical arena of and for the political speeches, and sustain the speeches'

weekly performance in a hostile political climate throughout months and years. An indexical vantage point is advantageous in illuminating how these utterances serve in the capacity of multifunctional sociolinguistic resources, modifying participation roles, speaking rights, and repositioning the audience both symbolically and physically (spatially). Hence, one of the sociolinguistic contributions this paper offers concerns the relation between utterance events and speech events. The unabating repetition of these utterance events in key rhetorical moments suggests that they are part of the larger verbal ritual of the speech event. This leads to the second contribution this paper seeks to make, which concerns the relations between utterance events and verbal rituals, specifically in highly unstable and uncertain contexts of defiant political discourse and rhetoric.

Below, I supply background to the intricate political setting of the weekly speeches I study in East Jerusalem, followed by an analysis of several utterances. In the conclusion, I address the multifunctionality of these nonreferential utterances from an indexical viewpoint. I also address the politics of verbal ritual and perseverance in physically and symbolically enabling voice and communicative entitlement under a silencing regime.

2 | THE SHEIKH JARRAH PROTEST

The SJP takes place in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of that name. East Jerusalem and the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territories were taken by Israel in the 1967 war, at which time East Jerusalem was formally annexed to Israel, and its 90,000 Palestinian residents were given a temporary and revocable Residency status. East Jerusalem was later gradually isolated from the rest of the Occupied Territories, thus situating its Palestinian residents as a dually marginalized minority, who are removed physically from the West Bank and excluded from Israel (Suleiman, 2002). This included unceasing oppressive measures taken by Israeli authorities (Cohen, 2010). In the effort of enhancing Jewish presence (the so-called "demographic problem"), since 1967 Israel has been constantly "Judaizing" East Jerusalem by building new Jewish neighborhoods, while simultaneously exerting efforts to dislocate Palestinian populations. Sheikh Jarrah residents face a more convoluted condition, because the neighborhood is located strategically near the Holy Basin, and because historical ownership of much of its real estate is unclear (dating back to 1967, 1948, and the pre-World War I Ottoman era). This condition results in very lengthy and costly judicial procedures (the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem are twice as poor as that of West Jerusalem). Moreover, about a third of the neighborhood's residents were refugees before 1967 (10% more than the rest of East Jerusalem residents. Assaf-Shapira, 2022; Ramon, 2017).

The SJP commenced in 2009, aiming to resist processes of eviction and dispossession of Palestinian families from their homes, and to raise public awareness. The specific historical circumstances concern accelerated activities of "Judaizing" East Jerusalem (Hercbergs & Noy, 2013; Noy, 2022; Reiter & Lehrs, 2010; Shlay & Rosen, 2010; Shulman, 2007), which resulted from regional and global ideological shifts of the 1990s and early 2000s. Regionally, the demise of the Israeli–Palestinian Oslo Peace Accords (1995) lead to disenchantment with the Two State Solution to the Conflict and more generally with the prospects of Peace (Hermann, 2009; Katriel, 2021). Thus viewed, the SJP is part of a post-Oslo/post-Second Intifada political wave of small-scale, grassroot peace activism in Israel and the Occupied Territories (Hallward, 2011; Shulman, 2007, 2018). Globally, the beginning of the SJP was a reaction to the spread of neoliberal ideologies and national conservatism (Benski & Langman, 2013; Hermann, 2009). Indeed, the protest coincided with the election of conservative Netanyahu to Prime-Ministry in 2009.[2]

In this context, the two peace activist NGOs that initiated the SJP (Ta'ayush and the local branch of the International Solidarity Movement) were not concerned with institutional political ideology

(political parties, social movements, etc.), but with extending symbolic and practical support through "on-the-ground" collaboration with the neighborhood's Palestinian population. Sometime after the protest began, the Solidarity Movement withdrew, and a handful of Ta'ayush activists have since been steadily coordinating the weekly protest on Friday afternoons, in collaboration with neighborhood residents, mainly Mr. Saleh Diab.

Around the time of its beginning (2009), the SJP included dozens of protesters and much fanfare (Rhythms of Resistance bands), and enjoyed wide local and global media coverage. It was said that what was happening in Sheikh Jarrah reached (then) United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Influential figures visited the protest and joined the protesters (Judith Butler, to mention one). Marches and walking protests in the neighborhood, police aggression, and multiple occasions of harassing, detaining, and arrests of protesters further fueled the demonstration and helped expand its media coverage and reach.

As time passed, however, participation has dwindled, and since around 2013, did not usually exceed 15–20 protesters.[3] The protesters are "regulars" who know each other, and are Hebrew-speaking Jewish–Israelis, veteran activists. Most are educated, middle-class residents of West Jerusalem, of Ashkenazi (East European) heritage (which is characteristic of Jewish–Israeli peace activists. Hermann, 2009, p. 248). They attend the protest consistently, sometimes alongside a few neighborhood residents and international peace activists and visitors. During the hour-long vigil, protesters stand on the sidewalk along the neighborhood's main thoroughfare, holding signs in English and/or Arabic and/or Hebrew which present political slogans, such as "Free Sheikh Jarrah" and "Sheikh Jarrah is Palestine." A larger and trilingual (English, Arabic, and Hebrew) banner reads: "No for Occupation" (*la'l'ihtilal* in Arabic, and *lo lakibush* in Hebrew) is held by two protesters, one of whom is usually Mr. Saleh Diab.

At the time attendance began decreasing (circa 2013), Mr. Saleh Diab began giving short speeches at the end of the protest. Saleh is a devoted Muslim in his 50s, who was born in the neighborhood, and has since been living there with his family.[4] He works in grocery stores in West Jerusalem, where he picked up some spoken Hebrew. No one recalls exactly when Saleh's speeches emerged or how they came to assume their current shape as routinized weekly speech events, or "organized stretch of discourse with some internal structure, performance conventions, and an overarching structure of participation" (Irvine, 1996, p. 141). It seems plausible that the speeches emerged spontaneously when the general enthusiasm and participation dwindled. Before that time, Saleh and other residents would be given the protest's floor to report and update the protesters about recent malevolent activities in the neighborhood (house evictions, arrests, police violence, and so on). When house eviction activities subsided and the SJP quietened, Saleh's "updates" nevertheless continued, perhaps—so the story goes—serving to fill a void or need for "something more." In any case, the updates gradually evolved, expanding to assume their shape and genre as complex, and with time also routinized and ritualized, speech events. The political speeches came to entail considerably more than informational updates about local events during the past week.

3 | SALEH'S WEEKLY SPEECHES: THE POLITICS OF THE POLITICAL

The speeches Saleh delivers on Friday afternoons immediately follow the weekly demonstration. They are typically 10–15 minutes long and are delivered in Hebrew to a small crowd of protesters who supply a quiet and supportive audience (unlike, for instance, the audience on Hyde Park Corner, whose participation is characterized by heckling comments. McIlvenny, 1996). During the speech event, participants

offer occasional supportive backchannel markers (nodding), and sometimes ask brief clarification questions or make short comments. These few interventions usually result from Saleh's lack of Hebrew fluency, occasional mispronunciation, and heavy Arabic accent. Still, attending the speeches steadily for nearly a decade now, supplies a crucial, if verbally unelaborate, "participation display" on behalf of the protesters (Goodwin, 2007, p. 30).

While the focus of this paper is on the indexical value of utterance events and the verbal ritual of the speeches, and not on their explicit political content, I want to briefly describe the latter. The speeches consist of a combination of, and a constant shift between, modes of referential and evaluative communication, in the shape of reporting and stance-taking segments. Saleh typically reports on coercive State, Municipal, and Jewish-settler activities, which occurred in the recent past in the neighborhood and elsewhere in East Jerusalem and the Occupied Territories: "during this week there was a complete chaos [balagan], even **today** was also [chaotic] in Isawiya, Mt. of Olives, [in] all the [Palestinian] places" and "today there are [Palestinian] demonstrations **everywhere** ah:: in Nablus, Hebron, Beit Lehem." These reports are intertwined with evaluative political commentary and moral rebuking. This serves to interpret the reported events by exposing the underlying oppressive ideologies of those in power and deem them corrupt and violent in nature. Addressing government agencies and security forces, Saleh says: "and look what **fools** they are [...] thinking themselves to be smart. They are not realizing that everything comes back to them" and "the Palestinian Authority, the Saudis, the Egyptians, the Jordanians, [they were thinking] that they can silence us [...] that they bought us with money."

In the speeches, the actors who pursue coercive actions are portrayed as greedy and merciless villains. Contrariwise, those opposing them, those who "speak truth to power," are moral heroes whose brave actions will be eventually rewarded (Noy, 2022). From a political communication perspective, the speeches mediate local and global events to the audience, exposing their interconnectedness. Thus, the eviction of families from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah is framed not as a local dispute, but as a manifestation or implication of larger indexically linked concentric circles that spiral through local, regional, and global oppressive coalitions and ideologies. At times, Saleh addresses East Jerusalem neighborhoods and nearby towns ("Isawiya, Mt. of Olives [...] Nablus, Hebron, Beit Lehem," see above), at other times, he addresses regional actors ("the Palestinian Authority, the Saudis, the Egyptians, the Jordanians," see above), and yet, at other times, he focuses on global actors (the United States/Trump, Russia/Putin, India, and Iran. Noy, 2022). In this way, Saleh stresses the interdependence of the villains and their actions ("the Saudi occupation and the Israeli occupation and the occupation of the Arab countries is the same **occupation**").

By shifting between the activities of reporting and evaluating, Saleh positions himself not only as a local resident, but also as a local political actor and rhetor-in-the-becoming. He does so also by employing framing and positioning devices within the speeches, including shifts between voices (through multiple reported talk segments), rhetorical questions, and metadiscursive expressions ("listen up" or "listen to me well," which are common in verbal rituals, see Katriel, 1991, p. 36. Cf. Extract 3 line 4 below).

Saleh's speeches should be appreciated within the severely oppressive context of East Jerusalem Palestinians, whose presence under Jewish "urban technocracy" is problematic, and whose ability to voice issues in the public sphere is harshly penalized (Hercbergs & Noy, 2013; Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003). Under Jewish–Israeli ethnonationalism, non-Jews are perceived as a threatening "Other," and their voice is either misrepresented or altogether absent. Reviewing interactions in Israeli political radio and television programs, Dori-Hacohen (2020) observes that "the 'Arab' and particularly the 'Palestinian' are seen as a problem that needs to be resolved" (p. 243). In Israeli public spheres, Palestinians are commonly addressed with unconcealed hostility and are framed as enemies of the state. Palestinians' voice, Dori-Hacohen (2020) concludes, "is illegitimate and does not require response"

(p. 254, my translation). In fact, calling someone an "Arab" is a way of silencing her/him. I note that one way some East Jerusalem Palestinians tackle censorship is to turn to online activism (De Vries et al., 2015). Saleh and the Israeli activists took the opposite course, one that is political in that it essentially entails visible and audible physical presence at the contested public site. Not to mention the enduring Palestinian–Israeli collaboration. Indeed, settlers and security forces occasionally assault Saleh, ribs and legs fractured, his house has been invaded and ransacked, and dozens of protesters have been beaten and detained.[5]

4 | METHODS AND DATA

My participant ethnography in the SJP began around 2017. It is hard to pinpoint the exact time, because I had been participating in the protest since around 2010, and the process of adding an ethnographic perspective to my earlier naïve participation was gradual. This was in part because I initially did not see Saleh's speeches as "researchable," and in part because I was hesitant to turn a routine political activity into a research site. I was concerned with how my commitments would shift if I were to add to my political participation a research engagement. The latter would require ethnographic work and constant reflexivity, with which I was not concerned earlier, and which I feared might distance me from "pure" or naïve participation (despite my earlier studies in similar contexts in East Jerusalem. Noy, 2012b, 2013).

I began recording Saleh's speeches audiovisually during 2018–2019, initially obtaining 18 recordings at the time. I used a simple hand-held camera, which was easy to handle, and which proved advantageous in terms of usability, affordability, and its nonintrusive quality (cf Noy, 2012a). The recordings focused on Saleh, while also capturing some of the surroundings, including the audience and some of the background activity in the neighborhood. Because the speeches take place on a side-walk of a busy thoroughfare, the background is sometimes very noisy with traffic and with drivers honking and calling to signal agreement with the protest (sometimes also signaling acquaintanceship with Saleh), or alternatively swearing ("you should all be hanged, traitors"). Weather too is variable, and wind and rain sometimes reduce audibility. Lastly, police forces, which are constantly present, also supply interruptions to protest and speeches. The transcribed recordings of the 18 speeches are complemented by observations, recollections, reflections, and informal conversations which take place during the weekly protest.

I discussed the study with Saleh and the Ta'ayush activists, and when I began recording, I informed the protesters. There were no objections, likely because journalists constantly interview Saleh and other activists, and video recordings and pictures of the SJP are constantly taken, uploaded, and shared in the media and in social media outlets. My relationship with Saleh, the Ta'ayush activists, and the other protesters has surely also played a helpful role.

5 | INDEXICALITY AND UTTERANCE EVENTS IN SALEH'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

I now turn to examine indexical dimensions that underlie the utterances that Saleh regularly performs before and after the speeches. The focus of the analysis is on the level of the utterance event (Irvine, 1996; Levinson, 1988), illuminating how the symbolic and spatial-physical enabling qualities of these "short verbal routines of a culturally salient kind," are vital for sustaining more elaborate speech events, or "cultural activities in which speech plays a crucial role"—presently, Saleh's political

speeches (Levinson, 1988, p. 193). These utterances serve in creating the very possibility of the occurrence and recurrence of the speeches, literally making room for them by affording a rhetorical and physical political arena. They are crucial (mini-)procedures that facilitate the public performance of the speeches and stabilize (secure) them, whuch are actions they accomplish, as they must, from "outside" the actual speech events.

Both utterance events and speech events are recurrent and patterned speech activities, and indeed, Saleh employs the former with great ritualized persistence every single week. Both he and his audience of "regulars" (regularly attending protestors) are naturally aware of this, and in this way, he establishes a verbal ritual which consists of the speeches and their preceding and concluding utterances. Verbal ritual, according to Katriel's (2004) theorizing, is "a distinct type of speech event with a sequential and motivational structure of its own" (p. 172), whose function is to "reaffirm participants' relationship to a culturally sanctioned 'sacred object'" (Katriel, 1991, pp. 35–36). Yet, what presently amounts to the culturally sanctioned "sacred object"? Taking an indexical viewpoint to the analysis of the level of the utterance event supplies a promising lead in the direction of answering this question, to which I will return in the conclusion.

It is also worthwhile emphasizing that while indexical-based meaning-making processes are abundant in everyday interaction and communication, their role is accentuated in ritual contexts and performances. Yet, as Yoder and Johnstone (2018) note, only scarce research in the area of political discourse and rhetoric has made use of the concept of indexicality.

The three subsections below focus on the employment of precisely such key cultural utterances, examined in the sequential order of their performance: summoning and assembling the audience, marking the beginnings of the speeches, and marking their closure.

5.1 | Summoning and assembling the audience: "yallah" and "hevre"

After exactly an hour has passed since the onset of the weekly protest, Saleh starts folding the large banner he usually holds with another protestor ("No for Occupation"), while calling out "*yallah, yallah*" several times. Protesters recognize this signal and the protest quickly dissolves: the protesters lower the signs they were holding and return them to a large and ragged burlap bag.

The word Saleh repeats—"*yallah*," is a compound Arabic address term, initially directed at god (*ya Allah*). It is used frequently in everyday Arabic and Hebrew, where it has come to serve as a hastening and motivating call: "c'mon," "hurry up," "let's do it." Its use here is not an instance of code-switching as it is of translanguaging: a native Arabic speaker is using an originally Arabic address and hastening term when speaking in Hebrew to a Jewish–Israeli audience. The term *yallah* has also come to serve as a precedent for action, not merely hastening, such as in the common expression "*yallah bye,*" which serves as a leave-taking token (Miller, 2007, p. 161); a verbal expression that anticipates action. Calling "*yallah, yallah*" comprises the first *public utterance* that Saleh performs. As such, it is not part of the protest's routine verbal activity (such as shouting slogans) or of the small-talk type of communication between protesters that takes place when holding signs. The motivational call is directed more broadly and collectively, if not explicitly, at the protesters, and serves to perform—to index—the ending of this form of political gathering.

In Hymesian terminology, *yallah* is a multifunctional signal that serves also as a "key," in the capacity it "provides for the tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is done" (Hymes, 1972, p. 62). As indicated, "*yallah, yallah*" serves not only to end the weekly protest, but also to mark—a reminder and an urging—the immediately following event of the speech. In this capacity, the utterance indexes tone: a practical, down-to-earth "let's get on with it" manner. This practical or no-nonsense type of talk is

a kind of metadiscursive leitmotif that runs throughout the speeches themselves and typifies them (it is characteristic of activist discourse, typically geared toward "hands on" type of action. See Katriel, 2020, 2021). The utterances "*yallah yallah*" serve as markers that initiate a frame-shift (footing), which entails a change in participation structure.

At this point, Saleh is standing near the large and ragged bag, a few feet away from the edge of the sidewalk, where he and the protesters were lined up a few seconds ago. He now addresses the protesters directly, summoning them to *re*congregate and *re*assemble near him: "ok, guys, guys" ("*ok, hevre, hevre*"), and "guys, approach please" ("*hevre, titkadmu bevakasha*." See also Extract 1). In the efforts of *re*assembling the protesters, Saleh sometimes takes a few steps southward on the sidewalk to draw in protesters who are still engaged in casual talk and have not responded to his call. At other times, he whistles with his fingers loudly to draw protesters' attention and encourage them to approach him, and/or calls individual protesters by their name (demonstrating familiarity): "**guys**, Michal, Michal" ["**hevre**, Michal, Michal"] and "ok guys. guys. ((claps hands)) stay with me please. **come**:: [pl.] [7] **Vered**. come:: [pl.]" ["ok hevre. hevre. ((claps hands)) tiyu iti bevakasha. **bo'oo**:: [7] **Vered**. bo'oo::"].[6]

Saleh invariably uses the Hebrew term "hevre" (literally, "guys" or "pals"), which is a familiar Israeli key cultural term (Katriel, 1991, 2004). It stems from the Hebrew root h,v,r, meaning friend, and is used frequently to indicate closeness and positive inner-group relations. In 2013, the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz chose "hevre" as "word of the day," defining it as a "slang Hebrew term which translates as something between 'buddies', 'friends', and 'the gang' [...] One's hevre is the close-knit bunch of pals whom you've probably known for years, have accumulated many memories with and with whom you spend weekends at the bar/beach/poker game."[7] Saleh employs this address term not only as a familiar cultural token, but also in the capacity of *summoning* the "guys" ("approach please" and "**come**")— *his* guys. It is used, that is, precisely to call for and to index the social activity by which "the gang" emerges as a social entity in a specific context. Saleh's "gang" is not amorphous, but materializes through action, that is by attending his speeches regularly. In Silverstein's (1976) terms, this address term is used creatively.

By employing the term "hevre" to address and summon the protesters, Saleh also indexes a close and informal sociolinguistic register, establishing both his knowledge of some colloquial Hebrew and the framing of the small and routine gathering that enables the ensuing speech. Furthermore, the address term establishes the rhetorical setting where an individual speaker is addressing a group of familiar individuals ("the gang").[8] In its explicitness, it completes the shift in participation format that the preceding call "*yallah, yallah*" begun. The heavily accented Arabic pronunciation of the distinctly Hebrew–Israeli cultural term captures some of the tension in Saleh's orientation to his Jewish audience—he needs to speak to them in their own language and through their own culture. The address also establishes positive social relations between participants and a degree of not only familiarity, but importantly also trust. Recall that the participants are "regulars," who have been participating in the protest *and* attending the speeches steadily for years. They know each other (a question of trust) and share similar political orientations (a question of ideology).

Within a couple of minutes from the unfolding of the protest, the protesters *re*assemble a few feet to the north of where they were standing on the sidewalk and holding signs. They have now recongregated in a loose half-circle shape around Saleh, who is standing facing them, with his back to the road (Image 1). They have done so in what is a summons-answer sequence (yet with no verbal response on behalf of the protesters. Saleh: "guys, approach please," protesters: assembling). Participation in the speeches is noticeably informal, with a low degree of demonstrable involvement: a few protesters are talking quitely with each other, others are checking their mobile phones and sending messages, some do not attend the speeches yet remain on the sidewalk, and others are listening.

FIGURE 1 Protesters reassembled in a loose half-circle facing Saleh (Sheikh Jarrah, Summer 2019. Image by the author).

In terms of the socio-spatial arrangement, Kendon's (1990) concepts are helpful. Kendon (1990) proposes that the basic form of the spatial arrangement of group interaction is an F-formation (*f*acing formations). According to this model, in transitioning from the protest to the speech, protesters have reshaped the formation: from standing by each other along the edge of the sidewalk—indexically "facing" the neighborhood and the public sphere (L-formation, or side-by-side formation), they have reformed to make a half-circle facing Saleh and each other (F-formation or facing formation). This socio-spatial rearrangement also entails a shift in participation, which in turn, establishes a different type of social encounter (Goffman, 1961). In terms of participation and roles, protesters have shifted from utterers (chanting and sign-holding during the L-formation protest) to a quiet audience (Image 1).

5.2 | "Thank you for coming": Extending gratitude and commencing the speeches

Once the protesters have regrouped to form a half-circle facing Saleh, he adds an element of gratitude to the verbal ritual that precedes the speeches. He does so by repeating a formula that consists of expressions of politeness, specifically of gratitude, and which segues into political speech.

Extract 1
(December 28, 2018; cold and rainy afternoon)

guys [1.3] move forward please [1.1]. first of all thank you very much for coming [in] this cold [weather] [1.3]

hevre [1.3] titkadmu bevakasha [1.1] kodem kol toda raba shebatem bakor haz'e [1.3]

Extract 2
(February 16, 2018)

ok guys, first of all thank you very much for coming today a::m:: [1.6]

ok hevre, kodem kol toda raba shebatem hayom a::m:: [1.6]

In Extract 1, the use of three different types of utterances accomplishes a shift in the speaker's actions: Saleh is transitioning from addressing ("guys") to summoning ("move forward please"), to the routinized greeting of the protesters who are now his audience. Here, the gratitude token is presented as the first order of business: "first of all thank you very much for coming." The routinized beginning includes the familiar address term "hevre," followed by thanking the protesters-turning-audience for attending the protest *and* the speech. This is a typical opening formula, perhaps besides the mention of the weather. Again, note Saleh's practical tone, suggesting that the ensuing political speech is structured around "workables" or items that need to "get done." Extract 2 is likewise straightforward. The temporal indexical "today" serves here, as did the mention of the weather in Extract 1, to contextualize the gratitude that the speaker is extending. Gratitude is not offered schematically but is made to be unique at every specific speech. The nonverbal exclamation and the pause at the end of the opening formula ("a::m:: [1.6]" also in Extract 3), suggest that it is not part of the ensuing speech.

Extract 3

(January 26, 2018; cold and windy; protesters are slow to gather)

01	guys ((claps hands)), please just pay attention ah:: a few things it- we'll do it short
	hevreh ((claps hands)), bevakasha rak tasimu lev ah:: kama dvarim ze- katsar nase et ze,
02	ah:: [addresses four protesters who are leaving] alaikum salaam thank you very much[9].
	ah:: [address four protesters who are leaving] alaikum salaam toda raba.
03	first of all, thank you very much for coming aah a:: h:: guys ((claps hands several times))
	kodem kol toda raba shebatem aah a:: h:: hevre ((claps hands several times)),
04	just there [are] a few important things to hear, listen closely [1.8] first of all thank you
	rak yesh kama dvarim hashuvim lishmo'a, tishme'u tov [1.8] kodem kol toda
05	very much for coming in this hot [weather] ah::
	raba shebatem ba'hom haze ah::

Extract 3 is longer and more complex and includes repeated expressions of gratitude. After signaling the ensuing beginning of the speech and characterizing it as "short" (line 1), Saleh greets four protesters who are leaving ("alaikum salaam thank you very much"). He then resumes the speech-opening verbal ritual, now addressing his weekly audience, evoking the routine thank you formula twice (lines 3–4). It is likely that due to the weather, and in consideration of his audience, Saleh repeats informing us that hi speech will be short today ("just" in lines 1 and 3). Moreover, it seems that the wintery conditions may have propelled him to commence the speech a bit prematurely, that is, before his audience has fully reassembled and before the half-circle facing him has stabilized (the protesters are slower than usual to regather around him and reorient to him). Hence, several protesters are leaving the place *after* Saleh has commenced his opening routine, which becomes an interruption. The interruption might also explain the repetition of the thankyou token ("alaikum salaam thank you very much" is addressed to the leavers). Interruptions in Saleh's speeches are common and have multiple causes, such as police intrusions, which draw protesters' attention and disrupt the stability of the half-circle formation. On such occasions, Saleh needs to invest additional effort in terms of establishing and securing the parameters of the speech (if he himself is not obstructed by the police), that is, calling, summoning, and regathering the protesters. Regardless of the changing circumstances, the utterance events he employs remain unaffected, and need to accomplish the same goals.

The ritual extension of gratitude serves interestingly in *bridging* between the activity of summoning, which takes place prior to the speech, and the event of the speech itself ("thank you" tokens sometimes serve both to initiate and to conclude interactions, see Pérez, 2005). The third thankyou token is

explicitly associated with the weather conditions, and is stated ironically (line 5: "coming in this hot [weather]"). Irony is a common rhetorical device in his speeches, and its employment here is also a matter of setting the tone for the speech. In repeating expressions of gratitude, Saleh's rhetoric echoes politicians' rhetorical practices (see Bull & Feldman, 2011, p. 167: "Today was a hot day. I am really thankful to so many of you for joining me here"), and may also serve to reassure audienceship in light of the voluntary nature of protesters' participation. Also, repeated expressions of gratitude and extended greeting sequences are typical in Arabic and index the speaker's ethnicity (Griefat & Katriel, 1989). Repetition has been shown to be characteristic of specifically Arabic rhetoric or persuasive discourse (Johnstone, 1991).

Three broader comments are due. First, while serving as an opening signal for the ensuing speech, it is worth stressing that the gratitude tokens that Saleh extends do not refer to the commencing social occasion of the speech. Instead, they indexically reference the *preceding* occasion that has just been concluded, namely, the weekly demonstration. Saleh is thanking protesters for *coming to and partaking in the SJP*, thus establishing a semiotic link between the two separate—if spatiotemporally adjacent and politically correlated—dissent events. Consider that the signals that mark the conclusion of the weekly protest (the utterance event "yallah" and the folding of the banner) are at the same time also the first utterances of the verbal ritual that leads to the speech event. This is clear also from the combination of verbal action, which is future-oriented, and nonverbal action (folding the protest's centerpiece sign), which initiates the closing of the protest. In this way, through weekly repetition and routinization, the closing of the protest has come to serve also as a lead to the commencing speeches. "yallah," and also "thank you for coming," are simultaneously acts of *dis*assembling *and re*assembling the protesters.

Second, extending gratitude on weekly basis, as Saleh does, entails a speech (communication) entitlement, which in turn indexes his positionality vis-à-vis the protesters. Recall that Saleh is not the initiator or the organizer of the SJP, and that his audience consists solely of protesters who have arrived to participate in the weekly SJP. Indeed, on rare occasions when the weekly protest does not take place, neither do the speeches, but not the other way around. Still, it is Saleh and no one else who assumes the speech role and right of extending gratitude and thanking the protesters for attending the SJP. The authority behind the entitlement for this speech role is situational, and builds—implicitly and indexically—on the fact that Saleh's participation in the events is pursued in the capacity of his identity as a local resident. This is the knowledge that "regular" protesters share. In fact, when the protest is larger and there are newcomers in the audience, Saleh explicitly introduces himself as a neighborhood resident.

By thanking the protesters, Saleh assumes a communicative entitlement that dually *indexes his roles as resident and host*. Therefore, the recurring expressions of gratitude serve both as a thankyou token *and* as a welcoming greeting. The brief expressions of gratitude have been routinized, and serve as a fixed verbal formula, for which reason Saleh insists on adding a personal tenor. As a result, his gratitude expressions serve as "thanks that imply indebtedness" (Coulmas, 1981, p. 74). Indeed, the protesters arrive at SJP precisely to support the neighborhood's Palestinian residents and resist its Occupation, and here is a resident who is heartily thanking them every week for supporting him, the local families, and the larger cause.[10] To employ Goffman's (1981) production format terminology, Saleh positions himself in both the capacities of the speaker of, and the character in, the speeches. Of course, assuming a speech entitlement to deliver a speech is performative: it rests both on the demographic fact that Saleh is a Palestinian resident *and* on his indexical performance of the same—his situated and demonstrable incumbency of that role (Levinson, 1988). In Silverstein's (1976) terms, Saleh's repeated expressions of gratitude both reflect and constitute—interactionally presuppose and reestablish—his role.

Third, while the speeches have been recurring for nearly a decade now, there is no designated term by which participants address them or their genre. In an atypical instance (Extract 1, line 1), Saleh

addresses his speech reflexively, using the pronoun "it" (again, probably due to the weather conditions). The only information that the commissive metadiscursive utterance "we'll do it short" conveys is that the speeches are presented as a *collaborative project*. When I inquired with protesters as to how they refer to the speeches, multiple terms were offered: "speeches" (ne'umim), "reviews" (skirot), "bulletins" (bulitin), "sermons" (drashot), and even, humorously, "weekly Torah portion" (Parashat Hashavu'a).[11] One of the activists once commented that "it's really like Hyde Park [Corner]." The lack of a shared metadiscursive term can suggest that while the ritual of the speeches has routinized and ritualized, the speeches they have not been formalized. This might result from a certain language ideology, whereby political activism is viewed as embodied nonverbal action—rather than not as talk/words (Katriel, 2020, 2021). The lack of a common designation might also result from, and index, the fraught context and the deep marginalization of events of communication whereby non-Israeli Palestinians politically address Israeli audiences.

5.3 | "We'll see each other god willing": Concluding the speeches

The closing of the speeches, too, is characterized by verbal rituals that evoke gratitude. This creates a parallelism between the earlier expressions of gratitude, which served as utterances that marked the ending of the protest (and the shift to the speech), and the expressions of gratitude at the end of the weekly speeches, which serve to mark the end of the compound Friday afternoon SJP: the demonstration and the speech. After this, the half-circle surrounding Saleh dissolves and participants leave the premises, to return next week.

The closing verbal ritual often includes two more elements: a Shabbat Shalom (peaceful Saturday) blessing, and a reference to next week's protest. The Jewish Shabbat blessing is timely, because the SJP takes place on Friday afternoons, only a few hours before the Shabbat begins.

Extract 4
(January 26, 2018; cold and windy)

01	and we'll see [each other/what happens][12] next week, and thank you very much,
	ve'anahnu nir'e ad shavu'a haba, vetoda raba lahem
02	may you have a Shabbat Shalom
	sheyi'ye lahem shabbat shalom

Extract 5
(January 4, 2019)

Saleh:	a::h:: thank you very much once again. may you have a Shabbat Shalom [1.4]
	a::h:: toda raba lahem od pa'am. sheyih'ye lahem shabbat shalom [1.4]
Protestor:	thank you, thank you Saleh
	toda, toda Saleh

Extract 6
(January 11, 2019)

01   and:: thanks very much, for you and next week we'll see each other god willing
        veh:: toda raba, bishvelhem veshavu'a haba nitra'e inshallah

02   ((moves away from the center of the circle and talks with a protestor))
        ((moves from the center of the circle and talks with a protestor))

Extract 7
(November 23, 2018)

01   so ah:: thank you very much, and:: dress well in the coming weeks [because]
        As eh:: toda raba lahem, veh:: titlabshu tov bashavu'ot hakrovot [ki]

02   there's plenty of rain, and it's a blessing from god. **god willing god willing**
        yesh harbe geshem, veze braha me'elohim. **inshallah inshallah**

As mentioned, Saleh signals the closure of his speeches by expressing gratitude to his audience, as he has done before. The protest and the speeches are separate or semi-separate events, and seem to require separate acts of closure. In both cases, the greetings and the actions they perform are mostly accomplished "unilaterally" (Bolden, 2017, p. 261), which is how the speeches themselves are conducted. This again is a matter of speech entitlement and specifically entitlement to perform speech act utterances in certain contexts (Sbisà, 2006).

In Extracts 4 and 5, Saleh's Shabbat Shalom blessing signals the ending of the weekly speech. Wishing a peaceful Shabbat to Jewish Israelis is yet another sociolinguistic resource that Saleh employs. He manifests his awareness of the special time at which the SJP ends, addressing it explicitly: the end of the speeches touches on holiness. Wishing his audience a peaceful weekend accomplishes two more conjoined semiotic tasks: it shifts the temporal calibration from the past to the future, and relatedly also establishes a positive tone to the speeches' endings, the content of which consists of multiple reports of coercive events of oppression, aggression, and dispossession. The optimistic tone is a leitmotiv in the speeches, as also in activist discourse more broadly (Katriel, 2021; Lempert, 2018; Noy, Forthcoming). We can see that in Extract 5, Saleh's blessing is followed by a protestor's response, which suggests that Saleh's thank you utterances "imply indebtedness" (Coulmas, 1981, p. 74), while also confirming the closing function it serves.

Extracts 6 and 7 present another element in the concluding verbal ritual or formula, namely, referencing next week's protest and speech. This aligns with the future-oriented closure that the wish for a peaceful weekend/Shabbat accomplishes. On the one hand, it is part of the closing formula, on the other hand, it is part of the speaker's efforts to ensure consistent attendance and participation on the part of his audience. Referencing next week's events anticipates—and complements—the demonstrable efforts Saleh exerts every week when assembling his audience for the speeches. It also accords with the pragmatic tone of the other utterances, as here too he employs recognizable speech acts: "we'll see each other" (commissive) and "dress well" (directive).

In Extract 6, Saleh references next week's speech specifically, while in Extract 7, he does so broadly with regard to the "coming weeks" (the former formula is more common). Weather conditions at the present and the future supply a deployable semiotic resource, and more than indexing the outdoor location and nature of the protest and the speeches, they supply Saleh with the opportunity to reference future events, express care, and supply a positive tone to the speech's closing formula (with a touch of providence). This is a matter of speech entitlement, as exclaiming collective (plural) greetings and blessings repositions Saleh as the rhetor of the Friday SJP. Note in Extract 6, how after completing the closing verbal formula, Saleh's body movement reinforces the verbal message. At the end of his

speeches, he typically moves *away* from the center of the half-circle, thus *dis*assembling the socio-spatial participant arrangement that is enabled by the half-circle, which physically indexes the end of the speech (the end of the settings of/for the speech). He simultaneously engages in talk with individual protesters, which similarly indexes the end of the speaker's "public" mode of communication when addressing the "gang."

6 | CONCLUSIONS

The paper takes an indexical approach to speech act utterances or "utterance events" (Levinson, 1988), as sociolinguistic resources that serve to secure the level of the speech event, and are part of a verbal ritual of political defiant discourse. These resources are routinely employed by a Palestinian resident, activist, and participant in the SJP in East Jerusalem. Performed in pivotal moments, they function in a creative capacity (Silverstein, 1976), enabling the speeches both symbolically and physically, and sustaining or securing them as enduring defiant political speech events. Their performative "meaning effects" (Blommaert, 2015) are richly illuminated when approached through the prism of indexicality theory.

In light of this, the first contribution this ethnographic analysis offers to current sociolinguistic understanding concerns the multifunctionality of utterance events when viewed indexically. Specifically, at stake is the contribution that the analysis of the level of the utterance event can make to our understanding of the level of the speech event (Irvine, 1996; Levinson, 1988). Briefly, addressing the protesters, summoning them, and then hasting them ("hevre" and "yallah, yallah") are actions that commence the participants' metamorphosis from protesters to audience, and particularly Saleh's audience or "gang." Coupled with embodied action (such as folding of the large banner), they signal the closure of the event of the demonstration. Through these actions, Saleh both symbolically *and* physically *dis*assembles and *re*assembles the protesters to a new political-spatial configuration, which becomes the rhetorical arena of the speech events.

The emergent assemblage entails a shift in participation structure, which is concretized in a spatial realignment, where the open and linear arrangement along the sidewalk, which faces the neighborhood, is replaced by a half-circle arrangement facing the speaker (an F-formation replacing an L-formation). Thanking and greeting the audience ("thank you very much for coming") are also routinized actions, that initially serve the speechmaker in transitioning from the demonstration to the speech event, and later in signaling the conclusion of the weekly speech and with it the end of the Sheikh Jarrah Friday afternoon protest. Wishes and blessings ("Shabbat Shalom") establish a hopeful, peaceful, and positive future orientation, as well as an attempt to secure audience attendance next Friday ("next week we'll see each other god willing"). In sum, viewed at the utterance level, these utterances serve as crutches that sustain the speech event level—those "cultural activities in which speech plays a crucial role" (Levinson, 1988, p. 193).

Since indexicality entails concerns a physical type of signification (Peirce, 1986, pp. 62–68; 1991), it is especially productive in highlighting the enmeshment of physical and symbolic dimensions of discourse and interaction, presently at the level of the utterance event. The goals that Saleh's utterances achieve are best viewed as bearing combined symbolic, embodied, and physical-spatial effects. It should not be surprising that indexicality so richly underlies the context of Saleh's speeches. After all, the SJP takes place near (physically) the Palestinian houses that have been, or might be, forcefully evicted of their residents, indexing political contestation and the politicization of the space of the neighborhood. This is the immediate context of the spatio-political actions that the weekly protest and the speeches seek to accomplish. Because the political speeches have been taking place (literally) for

over a decade now, and since participants at the time of the ethnography are mostly "regulars," the verbal rituals do not explicitly verbalize it. Yet, these political conditions are both the context and the raison d'être of the public events of the protests and the speeches.

Relatedly, the ethnographic analysis avoided searching for indexical meaning in referential utterances. Rather, it contributes to the sociolinguistic study of the nonreferential utterances of the type Silverstein called creative or pure indexicals, which are "independent of reference and entirely dependent on the context" (Inoue, 2022, p. 3). So, while utterances, such as "*Yallah*" and "guys," are seemingly devoid of political value in and of themselves, they are in effect highly charged political mechanisms, serving as crutches on which the political speech event—itself replete with explicit references to oppressive leaders, ideologies, policies, and activities—is mobilized. Political discourse and rhetoric are usually researched as stable and familiar genres (politicians' speeches, interviews, and so on). In Sheikh Jarrah, the "local" speech genre needed to be invented, and then constantly secured. This includes ensuring the personal and public/political space of and for everyone involved, especially Saleh and the other Palestinian neighborhood residents, which the speech events serve to afford and secure. This and similar contexts are illuminating in terms of the light they shed on the functions of verbal rituals.

The second and related main contribution to sociolinguistic knowledge that the paper offers, concerns political voice and communicative entitlements. These are examined in the context of the harsh oppressive and silencing conditions of Palestinian lives in East Jerusalem. Indeed, it is hard to overstate the singularity of the political achievement of the decade-long recurrence of Saleh's defiant speeches in this context. There is nothing obvious about anyone thanking everyone heartily every week "for coming in this cold weather," not to mention hastening protesters or addressing them with an engaging colloquial label. Nor is it obvious that Saleh, specifically him, would be the one assuming the speech role, right, and risk of doing so. Over and above the mountainous labor involved.

Writing about voice, power, and globalization in relation to asylum seekers' discourse, Blommaert (2004, 2005) observes these seekers' ability to effectively communicate. He observes that in such uneven political contexts, voice "becomes a matter of the capacity to *accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally*, across different physical and social spaces" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 69). This is where, he continues, the "*presupposability of functions* for linguistic resources becomes increasingly problematic, because the linguistic resources travel across time, space, and different orders of indexicality" (pp. 71–72. See also Johnstone et al., 2006). Blommaert's observation powerfully resonates with issues concerning voice in Saleh's case, yet *reversely*: Saleh is *not* physically traveling elsewhere, and his oratory does not take place on foreign lands. It instead takes place in the very neighborhood where he, his family, and his neighbors have been living their entire lives, or have found their refuge in the aftermath of the 1967 or 1948 wars. This is the core political issue underlining Palestinians' struggle against displacement and dispossession: at home in East Jerusalem, Palestinian physical and symbolic/linguistic presence is threatened. While various forms of money, documents, and policing forces *travel to* the neighborhood—as do the Israeli activists—Saleh and the other residents have not traveled anywhere. Yet not unlike Blommaert's asylum seekers, they still need to recover their voice on their own land, and to politically repeatedly reoccupy Sheikh Jarrah. That is why Saleh's political discourse must be able to effectively "travel"—*not physically but socioculturally and sociopolitically*. This is done by addressing Jewish–Israeli protesters in Hebrew, turning them into audiences, and mobilizing them weekly as a small "community of protest."

What is radical about Saleh's political speeches lies not only in their referential and evaluative/stance-taking qualities, but in their persistence. The quality of recurrence is both established and can be fruitfully appreciated by studying the weekly labor Saleh invests in these routinized verbal routines. These embody the "politics of resilience," because, as Katriel (2021) observes in relation to

the protracted Israeli–Palestinian conflict, "repetitiveness [...] may also signal the persistence of *ritualized gesture* through which an unacceptable present may be chipped away" (p. 130, emphasis added). Against the ebb and flow of the oppressive events on which Saleh reports weekly, the persistence of the ritualized political speeches offers a steady structure. It endows Saleh the speaker, if momentarily, with a sense of ownership, agency, and stability in an otherwise violent and chaotic situation. Here, the "discursive activist practice, paradoxically, takes on the quality of ritualized performances," serving in "signaling tenacity and perseverance—well regarded activist values" (Katriel, 2021, p. 191). Through the employment of these utterances, and through repeatedly regaining the communicative entitlement to summon, label, thank, greet, and eventually to deliver political speeches, Saleh emerges not only as a resident or even as an activist, but as bona fide political rhetor-in-the-becoming.

This is wherein lies the verbal ritual's sanctioned "sacred object" (Katriel, 1991, p. 36). The sacred object at the heart of Saleh's weekly performance is best appreciated indexically. It reflexively concerns the speeches he gives, or more accurately, the possibility of their occurrence and recurrence. This accomplishment is not limited in time or space to the speech event; it instead unfolds indexically like rippling circles that range from the level of the neighborhood to that of East Jerusalem, through the whole of the Palestinian Occupied Territories, to the region, and globally. This is what Saleh's speeches are about: resisting the occupation and retaining the Palestinian families' homes here-and-now is tantamount to, and is part of, the resistance to oppression and injustice elsewhere and everywhere.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Several fruitful studies explored Silverstein's "indexical order," shedding light on the indexical connection between concrete and immediate action (first order of indexicality), and more abstract, cultural, and global layers of added meanings and orders of indexicality (Goebel et al., 2016, p. 6). That said, this study focuses on the first order of indexicality.

[2] In the background is also the Palestinian uprising of 2000–2005 ("Second Intifada" or "Al-Aqsa Intifada"), which occurred at the aftermath of the break-up of the Oslo Peace Accords (1993–1995). Among its consequences is the deepening of Israel's regime in the Occupied Territories (Junka-Aikio, 2016), which gave rise to different forms of nonviolent and noninstitutional political activism.

[3] Media coverage shrank as well. All this changed dramatically since the May 2021 events. See https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/world/middleeast/evictions-jerusalem-israeli-palestinian-conflict-protest.html

[4] See https://www.972mag.com/to-prison-and-back-palestinian-popular-struggle-leader-returns-to-the-neighborhood/

[5] Note that the contested and political nature of Israeli–Palestinian joint efforts is so framed also from the Palestinian perspective, where some view it as collaboration with the Occupation (tatbi'a in Arabic, or "normalization").

[6] Transcription notation: Commas and periods mark pauses and end of sentence intonation; [square brackets] indicate transcriber's additions, including emissions of a few words [...] and pauses of over 1 s [1.4]; ((double round brackets)) indicate nonverbal behaviors; *italicized words* are transliterated Hebrew utterances; **bold words** indicate louder voice; colon: indicates prolonged vowel or consonant. Saleh is the speaker unless indicated otherwise.

[7] https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-word-of-the-day-hevre-1.5296076

[8] As an address term, hevre resonates with the Arabic term *jamma*, meaning community or fellows, which Saleh uses infrequently with Arabic speaking audiences.

[9] Arabic greeting, literally "peace on you [pl.]"

[10] The shift Saleh performs from resident to host is not unproblematic, and does not go unnoticed by a few protesters (who remain quiet about this). In conversations, a few expressed disdain from this move (from resident to host), as well as, relatedly, from the assumption that they, as protesters, need to be thanked by residents for their participation in the SJP. I currently avoid expanding on this subject.

[11] Parashat Hashavu'a (Weekly Torah portion) is a Jewish liturgical practice of reading a different section of the Torah every week.

[12] This ungrammatical utterance is ambiguous and can be translated literally as "and we'll see [what happens] until next week."

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