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## **The case of (mis)matched morphosyntactic features and changing political stances in Palestinian youth chats on WhatsApp**

### **Abstract**

This paper analyzes how morphosyntax is represented as a composite of fluid indexical signs that index transformations in sociopolitical stances adopted by Palestinian youth and circulated on Social Networking Sites (SNS). Based on a relatively small corpus collected from a WhatsApp chat group, the paper argues that Palestinian youth use morphosyntactic features of gender and number for two concomitant practices. The first is referential in nature: to refer denotationally to the oppressive activities of two hegemonic political actors in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) of the West Bank, namely the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian Authority (PA). The second practice underscores the metapragmatic nature of these features, where the WhatsApp group members mismatch gender and number features to index critical sociopolitical discourses and, therefore, express an anti-authoritarian stance against both the PA and the Israeli occupying forces in the West Bank. The WhatsApp mediated linguistic variants, then, work as a set of enregistered ingroup norms that establish a resistant virtual public and an alternative identity.

## I. Introduction

In regions tormented by war, occupation, and political corruption, the need for a safe and reliable space becomes urgent for vulnerable communities living in these critical conditions. Since the inception of the Internet, communicative technologies, and Social Networking Sites (SNS) in particular, have become a ‘valid’ space that allow disenfranchised groups to voice their personal and communal concerns as well as to virtually ‘gather up’ to protest against sociopolitical inequalities and injustices brought upon them. The way SNS (or as what Androutsopoulos (2013) calls “computer-mediated discourse sites” such as WhatsApp and YouTube) function to create anti-hegemonic discourses is through forming online participatory cultures that are accessible for these social groups (Jenkins, 2009a). A case in point is what young Russian audience share on anti-government Russian rap videos on YouTube to voice opponent attitudes and resistant ideologies against the wrongdoings of the Russian government (Denisova & Herasimenka, 2019). Similarly, the present study shows that the low entry requirements and accessible means of participation afforded by WhatsApp allow the Palestinian chat group members to engage “collectively and individually in creating a sense of social connection” (Androutsopoulos, p.48). Their participation in texting and recording voice messages about the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian Authority (PA) oppressive measures in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) mold them into a coherent organic (counter)public armed with new, alternative discourses. In his discussion of “anti-languages”, Halliday (1976) explains this notion of *alternativity*. The closed, secret conversations in closed groups as in prison language and children’s language allow its members to form a new social structure, an alternative social reality, and an alternative identity. Despite the fact that anti-languages are not easily accessible for new members as online discourse sites do, its linguistic variants, as Halliday notes, provide a mode of resistance against established discourses. In this sense, online participatory culture “weakens the power of mass media in defining social reality and truth” (Androutsopoulos, p.49).

The impact of settler-colonial policies, represented here by the Israeli occupation confiscation of land, home demolitions, arbitrary arrests and night raids, along with financial and administrative corruption on the part of the Palestinian Authority lead to emergent, defiant discourses by Palestinian youth that become increasingly noticeable on Social Networking Sites. Those recent sociopolitical agendas taking place in the OPT of the West Bank by these two state-forces make the Palestinian

youth on a WhatsApp chat group metalinguistically and metapragmatically aware of how to use micro linguistic features referentially and indexically. The linguistic references and political indexicalities of these linguistic features, mainly morphosyntactic features of gender and number, are not stable, and rather are undergoing changes parallel to the current status-quo and ‘everyday life occupation’. Where it seems that there is an already established register for talking about occupation among Palestinian youth, these morphosyntactic and other lexical elements, however, are considered indexical of shifting political stances and maybe a construction of a register defiant of hegemonic forces.

Androutsopoulos (2010a) cites *heteroglossia* as a defining characteristic of online participatory environments. This feature enables the “participatory spectacle” to negotiate multiple social voicings via the deployment of sociolinguistic differences in the online-mediated utterances. The beliefs of site discourse participants are encoded in particularized and recognized (i.e., enregistered) speech forms that have pragmatic effects. Enregistered forms function as indexicals of the characterological types associated with social groups’ ideologies (Agha, 2003) and emphasize their political stances, alternative identities, and group alignment. Those linguistic regularities are then materialized as a register competence acquired socially by its participants (Agha, *ibid*). Silva & Maia (2022) provide a similar context where black activists use *papo reto* register that encodes enregistered linguistic patterns in their political activism to defy necropolitics and capitalist inequities threatening the African diaspora in neighborhoods built by black residents in Rio de Janeiro. Computer-mediated discourse sites serve to explicate this intricate linkage between creative enregistered forms manifested in social groups’ discourse of resistance and digitalized practices afforded by these online platforms (Hilliard, 2023). This paper maintains that these circulated enregistered materials in the WhatsApp chat group partake in creating a metapragmatic sense of groupness and integration among the Palestinian youth; they work as a set of enregistered social voices that relate to the construction of rebellious community and selfhood.

In this paper, I address two main questions: (1) How can morphosyntactic features index changes in sociopolitical stances adopted by Palestinian youth and circulated in their digitalization practices on social networking platforms? (2) What are other linguistic tokens that buttress how Palestinian youth align themselves and their critique of the Palestinian Authority performance in the West Bank? More specifically, how do young Palestinians on social media platforms express their

political stances and ideologies via morphosyntactic features and broadening referentiality of some lexical words?

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 discusses the theoretical orientation while drawing particular attention on notions of linguistic ideology, indexicality, and enregisterment. Section 3 explains the methodology of the paper and its procedure. Section 4 identifies the most relevant discursive patterns of morphosyntax and other lexical items in the corpus. Section 5 discusses the importance and relevance of these results in light of the ethnometapragmatic frameworks adopted here. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the paper.

## **II. Indexicality, Enregisterment, and Linguistic Ideology**

I begin this section that describes the theoretical framework of this research by spelling out a point of order in the sociolinguistic and metapragmatic research. The paper follows the linguistic anthropological research that departs from the Saussurean tradition that emphasizes the dichotomy of signified/signifier detached from its socially situated circumstances. It rather adopts a metapragmatic approach that emphasizes the functional understanding of linguistic constructions, following Silverstein's (1976, 2003) and Bourdieu's (1984) analyses of language. Silverstein, for instance, contends that the problem with traditional linguistic analysis is that most of our speech events are defined in a non-referential way, implied and entailed.

This research conducts critical discourse analysis on the use of gender and number features in WhatsApp chat messages. The (mis)matched features imply an interaction between referential (i.e., semantic) and indexical (i.e., metapragmatic) interpretations. With the presentation of a functional mode of speech that has a non-propositional meaning, Silverstein (2003) emphasizes that speech is multifunctional and simultaneous: semantico-referential function and pragmatic-nonreferential communicative function “ride on” each other but they get assigned different meanings per the speech situation. In his prominent paper on shifters and linguistic categories, Silverstein (1976) alludes to the functional division of speech modes by focusing on “shifters” which have two modes of signification: referential and indexical. He uses this concept from Jakobson's (1957) “duplex sign” that operate simultaneously at semantic and pragmatic functions. For instance, spatial and temporal deictic expressions are indexical markers that point to macro categories of public and private spaces; they help us understand how participants in both spheres navigate and negotiate their ideologies, attitudes,

and semiotic signals in relation to these spheres (Gal, 2005). Parallel to Silverstein's division of the functional sign, Swinehart (2018) argues for two subtypes of indexicality: referential and non-referential. This research describes changes in the morphosyntactic features of gender and number in the WhatsApp chats of the Palestinian youth in terms of these subtypes of indexicality. The (mis)matched features, here sign vehicles, involve a sense of "immediate existence" with changing political events and oppressive measures in the OPT. These are then determined spatiotemporally.

The concept of *enregisterment* (Agha, 2003) indicates that language users are linguistically and culturally cognizant of the differences and similarities of the speech forms performed by particular social groups. Agha discusses this concept in detail in connection with RP register in Britain, "enregistered in cultural awareness as part of a system of stratified speech levels linked to an ideology of speaker rank" (p. 242). Agha's enregisterment is thought of as synonymous to Silverstein's third-order indexicality. In both of these concepts, the sociolinguistic choices/differences surfacing as linguistic forms, such as morphosyntactic features, are enregistered; the linguistic meaning is no longer propositional or denotational; rather it is socially situated and probably institutionally regulated. The creation and accumulation of these socially situated interpretations is then expressed through registers. Registers are dynamic formulations of social interactions that are established on 'register competence' that make its users use particularized and recognized (i.e., enregistered) speech forms that have some pragmatic effects, viz. social and indexical values. A similar argument could be made for the (mis)matched morphosyntactic features that implicitly establish a register acquired through socialization processes in the online participatory culture. Accordingly, over the course of some period of socialization, the WhatsApp chat members, for instance, have learned to align their self-image and alternative identities with social-indexical characterological figures of a counter-state register.

The discursive practices in the WhatsApp participatory culture, also, shift our attention to the hidden ideological agendas that those online participants make when they use (mis)matched morphosyntactic features as well as other metalinguistic comments. Rumsey (1990) defines language ideology as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world". That is, ideology functions as a mediating link between the worlds of language represented in the micro sociocultural conversation and its bigger encapsulating sociopolitical contexts. Androutsopoulos (2013) remarks that computer-mediated discourse (CMD) offers researchers a window into understanding the social and institutional values encoded onto the regulated linguistic practices. The

paper considers the WhatsApp written language practices as “discursive events that may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258); they provide a resource for negotiating hierarchical power relations enforced by occupation and a corrupt authority, and secondly for producing a resistant social knowledge. Moreover, the paper makes a distinction in types of language ideology used in the chat messages among group members; the online participants’ hidden ideologies may be implicit and/or explicit (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). The explicit language ideology appears in the comment threads where group members show metalinguistic awareness of using particular lexical tokens. On the other hand, the implicit language ideology is evident in the non-referential indexicality of (mis)matched morphosyntax.

### III. Data and Method

This paper conducts a qualitative analysis of data collected manually from a WhatsApp chat group, called “Following Jenin’s News”, and created March 2023 (see figure 3.1. below). The group has more than 400 members aged between 18-45. More than 85% of the chat group is male and most of them live in the northern region of the West Bank, including cities of Jenin, Nablus and Tukaram as well as refugee camps and villages. It is run by 4 admins, males in their mid-20s and 30s, and is only designed to report ‘important, urgent, or/and useful’ updates in the northern region and maybe other parts of Occupied Palestine, that might have an effect on the lives of the area residents. 90% of these chats shared in these multimodal forms report on the Israeli occupation ‘activity’ – as the group members describe it – in the region. Palestinians coded all Israeli actions, such as arrests, executions, and night raids, onto this one word ‘activity’ or ‘a security activity’ [*nashat*<sup>6</sup>, in Arabic].

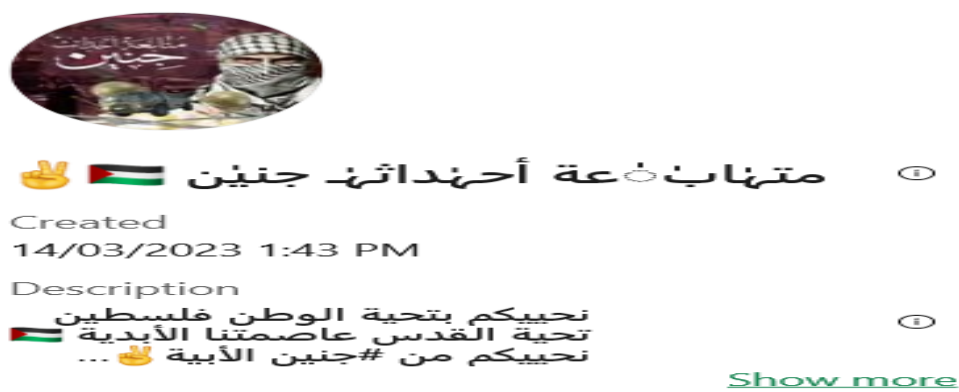


Figure 3.1. shows the WhatsApp group biographic information.

As what Androutsopoulos (2013) calls “computer-mediated discourse”, WhatsApp, founded in 2009, serves as one important computer-mediated discourse site that helps examine naturally occurring linguistic data. More pertinent to the research goals of this paper, I follow Henry Jenkins’ (2009a) framework for what defines online participatory culture, of which I consider WhatsApp an example. The characteristics of an online participatory culture include: relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement; support for creating and sharing one’s projects; informal mentorship; a belief that contributions matter; and a sense of social connection (Cited in Androutsopoulos, *ibid*). WhatsApp has an immense popularity due to its free and accessible services, and easy-to-use communicative structure. Its users are able to send text, voice messages and video messages. It also has a multimodal and multimedia structure that enables image, document, user locations sharing – not to mention the affordance of making free voice and video calls<sup>1</sup>. The members of the chat group make use of all the means that WhatsApp provides. They share live reports and personal experiences from the ground in the area where they live via texting and other multimodal modes such as photos, voice recordings, video recordings, and of course commenting in threads.

The aim of the study is to investigate two morphosyntactic features: gender (feminine and masculine) and number (singular, dual, and plural), and then examine a handful of lexical variables that have undergone some referential broadening; the latter forms were used to refer solely to Israeli occupation activities, but recently participants use them to refer to the PA oppressive measures in the OPT. In this study, I examine all data available on this group, regardless of modality; however, my focus is to log only ‘text chatting’, where I store this data in an excel sheet, and sort them in chunks per date of collecting the data. The data can be seen in the appendices section. The group texts are anonymized. The span of the data collection is relatively short around three months – mid-September to mid-November. The currently collected corpus is small in size roughly about 300 text messages. Only 65 utterances were considered. The methodology of analyzing the examples from the small corpus proceeds with glossing the examples from Arabic, showing the morphosyntactic features for the subject and predicate. The next lines following the English and morphosyntactic glossing, I lay out what the expected morphology would be and what is different. Interpretation and further contextualization of each example are also offered, where possible.

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<sup>1</sup> As stated on the WhatsApp website, <https://www.whatsapp.com/>

## IV. Analysis

The analysis is organized into two parts with a focus on the analysis of morphosyntactic features, on the one hand, and on the small-in-size metalinguistic comments and other lexical tokens that are presumed to have undergone referential, semantic broadening. This division of labor helps illustrate how young Palestinians on the WhatsApp group express their political stances and ideological positioning via morphosyntactic features and broadening referentiality of some lexical tokens.

### 4.1 When are morphosyntactic features (mis)matched?

Agreement<sup>2</sup> is treated as a redundant, feature-matching relation, i.e., some kind of identity function between subject and predicate (Barlow, 1999). In formal grammatical frameworks, feature agreement analyses focused on the preservation of identity function that links the morphosyntactic agreement features of the noun Controller onto a target such as the agreeing verb. For instance, number matching has solely been understood as being constrained by the subject number. Barlow mentions a number of formal mechanisms that were proposed to explain forms of identity function, including: feature-copying transformation, coindexing relation, or checking procedure. More recently, the Minimalist approach explains feature agreement via checking and erasing of features on predicates while semantically uninterpretable features are removed at LF -- so that only the noun shows interpretable features — person/ number/gender — at LF. If the features on the subject and predicate do not match, then the uninterpretable features will not be erased and the sentence will crash at LF (Adger & Smith, 2005). However, this is not always the case; agreement failure (i.e., feature discord) is a common phenomenon appearing cross-linguistically, and is well documented in the morphosyntax literature. Furthermore, not all micro features tend to mismatch; feature discord in person marking seems to be rare cross-linguistically and rather occur in a limited number of situations (Barlow, *ibid*). For instance, Cann (1984, cited in Barlow p. 191) notes that while gender and number feature discord are common in Classical Greek, disagreement in person is fairly infrequent. This is also attested in

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<sup>2</sup> Here I focus on *subject-verb agreement*.



Modern Standard Arabic and its varieties. The present study reports similar findings about the saliency of number and gender mismatch in PA.

Several attempts have been put forward to find mechanisms that could formally explain feature disagreement. The paper refers to Reid's (2011) work for a thorough discussion on formal solutions for agreement failure and why they are empirically or methodologically problematic. However, one particular mechanism that is of relevance to this paper's theoretical orientation comes from the Columbia School practice on feature mismatch. The latter does not consider feature mismatch an agreement failure; rather it is understood via a *functional* lens. For instance, Reid (2011) and Stern (2019) argue that number in English verb (i.e., *eats* & *eat*) and in *-self* pronouns (i.e., *ourself* & *themselves*), constitute evidence that number shows expressive choices the speaker is communicating for some intended meanings. That is, number, and other morphosyntactic features, are not formal features of grammatical agreement, but each feature is "a separate communicative choice governed by discourse-based principles of semantic coherence" (Reid, p. 1088). What is relevant to the present paper is the notion of *expressive choices* that those linguistic features index, i.e., the different ways of expressing discourse-based messages. The paper, therefore, argues that mismatching the subject number and gender adds a level of textual cohesion in the appropriate communication.

In the first part, I outline the analysis of the morphosyntactic features into two subparts based on feature (mis)matching. The present study observes that the WhatsApp chat group members tend to use gender (feminine and masculine) and number (singular, dual, and plural) features to refer denotationally to the oppressive activities of both Israeli occupation and PA in the West Bank areas of the OPT. In this subsection, I focus on those examples that show this referential indexicality, understood as the use of indexical shifters such as pronouns and morphosyntactic features to refer semantically to a social activity performed by a social group or an institutional force (Swinehart 2018). Pertinent to this type of indexicality is the fact that the chat group participants used matched gender and number features between the subjects and predicates.

The examples below show the use of matched morphosyntactic features of gender and number to index referentially which political force is doing its oppressive activities in the OPT. The reference is placed between square brackets since it is not overtly stated.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> I made sure that the examples are not detached from the context where they were taken. Thus, they are represented in this paper as they appeared in the original context in the chat group.



members towards PA's coordination policy with Israeli forces when breaking into areas under the control of PA.

4. 

هس	هس	بصطه	من	***	خطفت	السلطة
hass	hass	basta	min	***	xatfa-t	al-sulta
now	now	small-shop	from	***	kidnap-[3.SG. F. PST.A]	authority [SG. F.]

'PA kidnapped \*\*\* from a small shop just now.'

5. السلطة شكلها اشتبكت
- |                       |                |                        |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| ʃtabk-at              | ʃakıl-ha       | al-sulta               |
| clash[3.SG. F. PST.A] | seem[3.SG. F.] | the authority [SG. F.] |
- 'Sulta [PA] seems to have started a clash [with Israeli forces].'

6. السلطة اقتحمت حارة الجرادات وهناك اشتباكات
- |         |          |                 |              |                            |               |
|---------|----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| ʃtabkat | hunak wa | al-dʒaradat     | hara         | qtaħm-at                   | al-sulta      |
| clashes | there    | and the-Jaradat | neighborhood | break-into[3.SG. F. PST.A] | the authority |
- 'Sulta [PA] broke into al-Jaradat Neighborhood. There are clashes.'

In all examples above 4, 5 & 6, participants systematically used singular and feminine markers, encoded in the [t] suffix, when the event describes a PA activity and that does not target Palestinian resistance fighters. 4 uses a matched case in [xataf-t] 'kidnapped': the singular and feminine features encoded in the [-t] suffix. It describes PA forces carrying out a task to detain a wanted criminal. Example 5 describes a situation where chat group participants are in doubt about whether PA forces 'might' have clashed with Israeli occupying forces, which seems unlikely to happen. This is why participants used the evidential marker [ʃakılha] 'seem' with [ʃtabk-at] 'clashed'; thus, the suffix [ha] in [ʃakılha] has similar features (i.e., singular and feminine) and semantically indexes a PA activity. The PA's activity [qtaħm-at] 'broke into', in 6, is seen legitimate by the group members. The act of breaking into the neighborhood is justified since it targets an outlaw group in Al-Jaradat Neighborhood which has been a problematic area in the recent years. The Neighborhood has a high rate of crime and regular clashes among competing families; PA has been working to maintain safety of uninvolved people and to force security in the area. In general, no gender or number mismatching is involved in all examples reporting on PA activities when the intervention is viewed as legitimate. Singular and feminine features have a feature matching property with their subject PA, and plural and masculine features matched with Israeli occupation covert subject.

In the following subsection, I evaluate those examples that illustrate two observations relevant to the discussion of the research hypothesis about articulating ideological positions and counter-hegemonic discourse via particular linguistic variables/choices. First, participants tend to mismatch the gender and number features between subjects and predicates. Secondly, this type of mismatching reveals non-referential indexicality, which devalues the propositional or denotational meaning of the linguistic difference and rather emphasizes the social meaning of resistance, making it an integral part of an emergent register among the youth.

The following examples show the use of particularly mismatched morphosyntactic markers of gender and number to index non-referentially the group members' sociopolitical alignment, negative attitudes, and opposing stance towards both forces, primarily towards the PA.

7.	بلد	مسكرين	جندي	اكن	
	balad	mesakr-in	gdundi	akmman	
	town	close-[3.PL.M.PST.A]	soldier[3.SG. M]	one	
	بتصورو	و	بيت	ميخدين	و
	bitsawar-u	wa	beit	mexd-in	wa
	take-photo-[3.PL. M. PST.A]	and	house	take-[3.PL. M. PST.A]	and
	'One [Israeli] soldier is shutting down an entire town, taking a house, and taking photos.'				

Example 7 describes a situation where group members shared photos of one Israeli soldier who was taking selfies on the rooftop of a Palestinian house in the West Bank while locking up all the house residents in one room. This example was among many angry comments by the chat group participants against the aggressive and inhumane behavior of this soldier. All verbs show masculine and plural features while mismatching the number feature (i.e., singular) on the subject [gdundi] 'soldier'. Here the plural number marker seems to be more salient – perhaps to emphasize the fact that the soldier's oppressive behavior is not random, but rather the nature of oppression and aggression extends to the Israeli occupation. Barlow (1999) argues that speakers in different languages tend to mismatch the number feature (preferring a plural marker) in case the identity of the referent is unknown or not specific.

8.	الحسبه	من	شب	خطفو	السلطه
	al-hissbi	min	shab	xataf-u	al-sulta
	the-grand-market	from	guy	kidnap-[3.PL. M. PST.A]	authority [3.SG. F.]
	'PA kidnapped a guy from the grand market.'				

9. السلطة حملو حالهم وانسحبو برجعو بعد طلعة الجيش انشالله 😊

(laugh) inshallah al-dʒeɪʃ tʰalʃat baʃɪd brdʒaʃ-u

nsaħab-u

Inshallah the-army<sub>i</sub> leave<sub>i</sub> after come-back[3.PL. M. PST.A] withdraw[3.PL. M. PST.A]

wa ħalhom ħiml-u al-sulta

and themselves take [3.PL. M. PST.A] the authority.

‘Sulta [PA] collected their stuff and withdrew from the place. They [PA] will come back when the [Israeli] army leaves, Inshallah lol.’

10. السلطة كلاب

kla:b al-sulta

dogs[3.PL. M.] the authority[3.SG. F.]

‘Sulta [PA] are dogs.’

In all examples above 8, 9 & 10, participants systematically mismatched PA’s features [SG. F.] with predicates [xataf-u] ‘kidnapped’, [nsaħab-u] ‘withdrew’, and [kla:b] ‘dogs’, respectively. Instead, they use masculine and plural markers, encoded in the [u] suffix on verbs. This is the case of non-referential indexicality that is not supposing a denotational meaning; it stresses the sociopolitical meaning when the event describes a PA activity that targets Palestinian resistance fighters. The feature mismatching expresses the group disalignment with what PA does to Palestinian resistance members, and also views the group members as a counterpublic that has an alternative reality and truth. Below, I provide a mismatch case from Iranian, where speakers tend to disagree number on verbs. They use plural on the verb [mi:gu:jæñd] ‘say’ while the subject [peɪdər] ‘father’ is singular. This is a non-referential indexical situation that shows respect and indexes a non-equalitarian relationship.

peɪdər=əm

mi:gu:jæñd

father.SUBJ=1.SG.POSS

say.PL.PRS

"My father says."

(Based on personal communication with an Iranian friend)

Examples 4 & 8 (repeated below) make an exceptional case when compared. Both examples talk about an act of kidnapping by PA. 4 is a matched case [xataf-t] ‘kidnapped’, i.e., singular and feminine features encoded in the [-t] suffix, while 8 [xataf-u] ‘kidnapped’ is not, i.e., plural and masculine features encoded in the [-u] suffix. 4 describes PA forces carrying out a task to detain a wanted criminal, while in 8 the kidnapping by PA targeted a Palestinian armed resistance fighter. Obviously, the act of kidnapping is only legitimate and justified in the eyes of the group participants

in 4 but not in 8. By mismatching the features, PA's oppressive activity becomes synonymous to Israeli occupation against Palestinian resistance.

4. 

هس	هس	بسطه	من	***	خطفت	السلطة
hass	hass	basta	min	***	xatfa-t	al-sulta
now	now	small-shop	from	***	kidnap-[3.SG. F. PST.A]	authority [3.SG. F.]

'PA kidnapped \*\*\* from a small shop just now.'

8. 

الحسبه	من	شب	خطفو	السلطة
al-hissbi	min	shab	xataf-u	al-sulta
the-grand-market	from	guy	kidnap-[3.PL. M. PST.A]	authority [3.SG. F.]

'PA kidnapped a guy from the grand market.'

Example 11, however, shows a mixed-feature case, where group participants use matched and mismatched features simultaneously to report a PA activity: singular and feminine [msakr-I] 'shutdown'; plural and masculine features in [ʃamlin] 'make', respectively. The context of the example comes when PA forces made checkpoints to prevent Palestinians in the northern region, especially Jenin city, from participating in protests against the Israeli occupation. The use of both tactics could be seen as a mild criticism of PA since it does not inflict a direct threat on Palestinians' lives.

11. 

السلطة مسكرة كل مداخل جنين وهاي مخصوم عاملين
ʃaml-in                      maxsʕum    haj wa dʒin in    madaxil    kol    msakr-I
make[3.PL. M. PRS.A] checkpoint this and Jenin    entries    every    shut-down[3.SG. F. PST.A]
al-sulta
the-authority [3.SG. F.]

'Sulta [PA] has blocked all the entrances to Jenin, and has made a checkpoint.'

In examples 12 & 13 below, an ambiguous case arises in the chat group messages. In both examples there is unified usage of masculine and plural features while overt subjects are absent; thus, how group participants are capable of disambiguating the subject reference correctly seems intriguing. The group members who associated masculine and plural features with occupation are also associating them with PA -- in the same oppressive category. However, they seem to be able to detect the source

referentiality of the oppressive activity, mostly, via accompanying multimodal items such as recordings or photos.

12. انسحبوا واعتقلوهم

ʕtaqal-u-hom wa nsahab-u  
detained-[3.PL.M.PST.A]-them and withdraw[3.PL.M.PST.A].  
'They [Israeli forces] withdrew and detained them.'

13. واقفين بفتشو

bɪfatʃ-u waqf-in wa  
search[3.PL. M. PRS.A] stand[3.PL. M. PRS.A] and  
'They [PA] are making a checkpoint and they are searching people.'

## 4.2 Other metalinguistic comments and lexical items

The second part in this analysis discusses a small set of utterances that appear with particular words/phrases that are predominantly used or have been associated with the Israeli occupying forces in the past, but they are now used to refer to PA forces as well. They seem to have undergone a process of semantic broadening, particularly in their semantic reference/denotation over the past 30 years since PA signed the Oslo Accords with Israel.

The following excerpt is taken from a thread in the chat group. One group member (coded here as “A” to protect their identity) reported an incident where PA ‘arrested’ and ‘kidnapped’ a number of resistance fighters in Jenin city. “A” also used mismatched gender (masculine) and number (plural) features between the two verbs and subject PA. The use of these two verbs overtly expresses “A”’s negative attitudes towards PA’s activities and triggered the following argument with the admin of the group.

**A:**

السلطة كمان بطلعو سيارات وبعثقو وبخطفو

bɪ-xtʃ-u wa bɪ-ʕtaqal-u wa sayar-at bɪ-tʃlaʕ-u kaman  
kidnap-[3.PL. M. PRS.A] and detain-[3.PL. M. PRS.A] and car-[PL. F.] go-[3.PL. M. PRS.A] too  
al-sultʃa

the-authority

'PA uses civilian cars to arrest and kidnap people, too'.

**Admin:**

اخي القاء قبض ومش اعتقال

ɪʃtɪqal mɪʃ wa qabdɪ ɪlqɑ?  
 arrest not and detain  
 'Brother, detain not arrest.'

كلمه اعتقال لليهود فقط  
 faqatɪ lil-jahud ɪʃtɪqal kɪlmi  
 only for-Jews arrest word  
 'The word 'arrest' can only be described as something that Jews [Israelis] do.'

وفش اشي اسمو خطف  
 xatɪʃ ɪsmu ɪʃi ʃɪʃ wa  
 kidnap name thing not and  
 'There is nothing exists such as kidnapping [done by PA]'.  
 الخطف بنقال عنه خطف لما ينخطف واحد من جهه غير معروفه ومكان مجهول

maʒhul makan wa maʃrufi ʔir ʒɪha min wahad jɪnxatɪʃ lamma xatɪʃ ʃanu bɪnqal  
 unknown place and known not destination from one kidnapped when kidnap that said  
 alxatɪʃ  
 kidnap  
 'Kidnapping is described only when someone is kidnapped from an unknown group and to an unknown destination.'

**A:**

كنت بحكي بشكل عام انه مش بس قوات خاصه في سلطه بلباس مدني بالبلد سيارات مدنيه  
 madinja sayar-at bi-balad madani bi-libas sulta fi xas'a quw-at bas mɪʃ ɪnu ʃam  
 civilian car-[Pl.F.] in-town civilian uniform authority in special force-[Pl. F.] but not that general  
 bɪʃakal baħki kunt  
 way say was  
 'I was talking in a general sense that it is not just [Israeli] special forces but also PA forces that cover in casual civilian outfits and use civilian cars.'

اصلا البلد عوامه بطل حدا يعرف مين يشتغل مع مين  
 min maʃ bɪʃtɪl min jɪʃrɪʃ həda batʃal ʃawami al-balad asʃlan  
 who with work who know one can't sweets the-country actually  
 'Actually, the situation in this country is so vague and no-one knows who's working with whom these days.'

الله يجيب الي فيه الخير  
 alxir fih ɪli jɪʒɪb Allah  
 good there that bring Allah  
 'May Allah bring all that's good'

The admin intervened, and provided metalinguistic explanations on A's 'misuse' of "arrest" and "kidnap". The admin started his comment with [أخي] 'brother' to establish a close rapport with the group member. He then mentioned that "A" 'should' have used [ɪlqɑ? al-qabd] 'detain a criminal'



not [ʔtɪqal] ‘arrest’, and that there is no word such as [xatɪf] ‘kidnap’ in the Palestinian context. Instead, as the admin continued, [ʔtɪqal] and [xatɪf] ‘should’ exclusively be used to refer to Israeli occupation activities when targeting Palestinians. Finally, “A” seemed to reluctantly agree with the admin’s explanation, and went on to explain that the reason that made him use these words to refer to PA is due to personal confusion about which force is taking control of the OPT. “A” uses the word [ʕwame] ‘a sweet doughnut ball dessert’ which is a metaphor used among Palestinians to indicate how fuzzy and unclear things have become.

The dialogic nature of this thread between one group member and the admin, who has more power in this setting, illustrates that negotiation over sociolinguistic variants of some lexical items is deeply connected to self-expression and ideological positioning among Palestinian youth. Labov (1969) defines a set of sociolinguistic variants as “alternative ways of ‘saying the same thing’ (his quotation marks) (Cited in Halliday, p.577). The admin’s metapragmatic comments illustrates a linguistic ideology about which linguistic choice ‘should’ be used. They aimed to provide a “correct” political reality or discourse that A’s words seemed to challenge. These words have closely been associated with a fixed register to talk about occupation and which has been restricted to index occupation activities– to index socio-politically locatable types in the imagination of Palestinians.

The following table shows some utterances with words (in bold) that are predominantly used or have been associated with the Israeli occupation, but have undergone a process of semantic broadening in terms of referentiality. The chat group members now use them interchangeably to refer to both PA and Israeli occupation. For instance, the word [mɪxɒm] ‘checkpoint’ is a loanword from Israeli Hebrew and was used exclusively for Israeli occupation in the OPT; however, it is now used with PA as well despite many other neutral linguistic affordances that Arabic could provide such as [nɪqɒtə ʔmɪn] ‘security point’ or [nɪqɒtə tɪftɪʃ] ‘search point’. As Halliday (1976) argued, anti-language forms provide a conscious alternative view of established reality and enables the group members to consider themselves a counterpublic with an alternative resistant identity. Thus, the group members are doing so via the referential relexicalization of these old words.

WhatsApp utterances	Lexical item	English Translation
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اعتقلو *** وضاربينو براسو كل راسو دم	اعتقلو	[PA] <b>arrested</b> *** and beat him .. blood all over his head.
السلطة نسحبو من المكان	نسحبو	Sulta <b>retreated</b> from the area.
مخصص حرس رئيس بعد عروس الشمال للي طالع تلا الضاحيه	مخصص	A <b>checkpoint</b> by the [PA] presidential guard after Aros al-Shamal [town] for those who coming towards the neighborhood.'
اختطاف شاب من قبل الامن الوقائي شارع ابو بكر	اختطاف	A young man was <b>kidnapped</b> in Abu-Bakr Street by Preventive Security [of PA].
هس جب شرطة مرق طائر لجهة الحمامة ولاحقو تندر	جب	Now [PA] police <b>Jeep</b> went so fast followed by another one.
اشتباكات عنيفة بمخيم نور شمس بين السلطة والشباب	اشتباكات	Heavy <b>clashes</b> in Nour Shams refugee camp between Sulta [PA] and [resistance] guys.

## V. Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that Palestinian youth in the WhatsApp group, and probably in the offline space by extension, use certain (mis)matched morphosyntactic features, when participating in a discourse of resistance against Israeli occupation and PA. In so doing, they associate matched masculine and plural features with Israeli occupation regardless of subject presence and matched singular and feminine features with PA. This is a propositional and denotational meaning understood as referential indexicality. However, in cases where PA's oppressive behaviors are targeting Palestinian resistance fighters and collaborating with the occupation, the group members mismatch the PA feminine and singular features, using masculine and plural features instead. In so doing, the group members who associate masculine and plural features with occupation thus associated PA in the same oppressive category. The paper uses the term non-referential indexicality for this situation.

The use of mismatched linguistic features, therefore, represents a case of motivated feature manipulation; they index contextual information about the coherent discourse referents in an

utterance, namely, to refer to PA or Israeli occupation. The mismatched linguistic features are expressive choices the WhatsApp group members render to show their evaluative negative attitudes against the two state powers; they express the users' ideological positioning against and disalignment to both oppressive actors. Jensen (2015) looks at a similar case where seven morphosyntactic variables in Tyneside English, such as sentential negation with *do* and first and second person pronouns, become indexically loaded with social meanings. Jensen mentions that it was thought these morphosyntactic features have undergone dialect leveling as it was the case with its phonology. Their results, however, did not show that the variables were levelling; rather the changes in these seven morphosyntactic features were due to social factors. The use of morphosyntactic features was socially constructed and indexed the speakers' geographical identity and affiliation with the local area they live in. In this sense, the present paper advocates for a functional understanding of morphosyntax as a composite of fluid indexical signs that are socially situated.

Furthermore, saliency plays a major role in the deliberate choice of the linguistic variants in the WhatsApp chat group. The linguistic choices the WhatsApp participants made via morphosyntax is more salient when compared to other metalinguistic comments and other lexical items. Moreover, the masculine gender feature is more salient than the number features when referring semantically to occupation activities in the OPT, while the plural number feature tends to be more dominant when referring metapragmatically to PA. Saliency, thus, serves as an indication of a strategic tactic on behalf of those participants to protect themselves from any serious consequences that might affect them when describing the oppressive activities of Israeli occupation and PA, in particular.

The paper also considered Jenkins' concept of *online participatory culture*, where each participant is involved in an intertwined network that shares intertextual utterances loaded with ideological and social meanings. The group participants' WhatsApp messages, multimodal in nature, are *intertextual* challenges to the established ideology put forward by the two-state apparatuses. Textual interconnectedness appears globally in the chat group messages. One main feature of this group is the use of the PA vernacular that is written orthographically as its speakers' pronunciation. There is no monitoring of language mistakes, formal rules of writing or shaming of "bad" to the standard speech/written form. Palestinian youth see the formal TV of PA which only speaks the official language (i.e., MSA) and spreads the political agendas of PA as irrelevant to the ongoing catastrophic conditions in the OPT. Secondly, the group participants are *organic* in a sense they organize themselves around a shared set of social norms, expectations, roles, equal participation, and social responsibilities.

Those members established their own code of social ethics and norms, as an alternative to the established reality imposed by PA and occupation. For instance, the paper shows that profanity is hardly found. Participants are aligned in their moral stances. Thirdly, their language practices, including all sociolinguistic variants discussed so far, in their chats are inherently *heteroglossic* and *dialogic*; they present a conscious alternative to established social structures that essentially negotiate power relations, group identity and alignment. In a sense, cyberspace, such as WhatsApp, provides a participatory structure that enables those young Palestinians to voice their stances and index their sociopolitical alignments in a relatively safe space.

The study also reported on a semantic shift of a list of words that are traditionally used to refer to the Israeli occupation and its activities in the OPT. Palestinians have established a complex lexicon that speaks about their sociopolitical situation under occupation since 1948 and later in 1993 after signing the Oslo Accords when the Palestinian Authority was granted access to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In a similar vein, this lexicon has been in flux -- omitting, broadening meanings, and adding new words. This followed the sociopolitical and economic changes in their lives. The occupation lexicon, therefore, mirrored the experiences of those Palestinian users. The shift in the 'reference/denotation' of these words indicates a shift and consequently positioning of Palestinians in these areas towards more resentment and disappointment of the PA activities and that in favor of the Palestinian resistance in the West Bank.

An understanding of this broadening process and feature mismatching linked with the related concepts of social indexicality (Silverstein, 2003) and enregisterment (Agha, 2003) lends further support to the argument that the Palestinian youth on the WhatsApp group make use of particular local linguistic resources to express a defiant stance and youth alignment as well as to seek empowerment that they lack in the offline spaces diminished by the oppressive actions of these forces. Syntactic constructions of masculinity or femininity and plurality or singularity, as this study argues, are all interrelated in one discourse and are ideologically tied to various assumptions. That is, they evoke a growing register of resistance opponent to authority and occupation and express the participants' alternative voices accompanied with many contrasting voices that reflect the sociopolitical and ideological contest with PA. This ideological clash expresses stance-making toward political and social issues, and develops through the participant's lexical choices and metalinguistic comments.

## VI. Conclusion

This research argued that the Palestinian chat group members (sub)consciously construct their group identities based on mismatching minimal linguistic features enregistered in their chat performances that index their defiant political attitudes. This research developed an analysis of metapragmatic discourse that is functionally capable of explicating the functional modes of (mis)matched gender and number features, including referential indexing and social indexing. The first type of indexicality is referential in nature: to refer denotatively to the oppressive activities of the two hegemonic political actors in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) of the West Bank, namely the Israeli Occupation and the Palestinian Authority (PA). Here I used the notion of referential indexicality (Agha 2003, Swinehart 2018) to describe this sociopolitical event. The second underscores the metapragmatic nature of these features, where the WhatsApp group members tend to mismatch some of the features between the predicates and their subjects to index critical sociopolitical discourses and, therefore, express their sociopolitical alignments and ideological positioning against these two hegemonic players. This type of event is analyzed under the non-referential indexicality. Furthermore, the paper revealed that WhatsApp is an online participatory culture -- one such online platform that provides an easy entry into a community that is mainly is masculine but still everyone has the chance to participate and be involved in actions. The WhatsApp group members engaged in the production and distribution of these features which indexed the resources for civic engagement, protest, and activism against the occupation and PA. The chat group represents a counterpublic resisting dominant discourses.

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## Appendix

Table (1) shows all collected utterances that report activities of Israeli Occupation forces in the West Bank. Translation is provided in the second column.

مسكو شب	'They [Israeli forces] detained a guy'
جبين جيش دخلو ع عرابه	'Two army Jeeps [Israeli forces] broke into Araaba [town].'
ثلث جبات طلعو من الجلمه	'Three Jeeps [Israeli forces] came out from al-Jalameh [checkpoint].'
بحكو الجيش عامل كمين ع الجلمة وماسكين شباب	'Some people report that the [Israeli] army is making an ambush near al-Jalameh [checkpoint]. They detained some young people.'
الطرف الاخر وقفو ع شارع نابلس بعد المحطه	'The other side [Israeli forces] are at Nablus street after the gas station.'
عملو مخصص	'They [Israeli forces] made a checkpoint.'
خلص طلعو شباب لاحقين شباب سكرانين	'Done! They [Israeli forces] went out, guys. They were after some drunk people.'
الجيش فات وانطخ عليهم	'The [Israeli] army went in and [some people] shot at them.'
عدد من الجبات طلعو من الفتحة مقابل السيلة دخلو على السهل	'A number of [Israeli] Jeeps came out from the hole [a small hole in the Isolation wall] near al-Siila [town], and entered the fields.'
وصلو شارع حيفا 3 دوريات طلعا	'They [Israeli forces] arrived at Haifa Street. Three [Israeli] patrols went out.'
خلص هيهم بمنزله حيفا	'Done! Here they [Israeli forces] are in Haifa Park.'
اخدو تسجيل كمرات	'They [Israeli forces] confiscated surveillance recordings.'
اا بسحبو كمرات	'They [Israeli forces] are taking surveillance cameras.'
طلعو من الجلمه وهس فاتو راحو ع بيت قاد	'They [Israeli forces] went out from al-Jalameh. Now, they have just entered and broken into Beit Qad [town].'
شباب الجيش انسحب من جلبون...بس سيطر ع منزل مقابل مدرسة ذكور جلبون يرجى الحذر	'Guys, the [Israeli] army retreated from Jalbun [town] ... but they took a house near the school there. Be careful!'





كبسو ع شب مع بارودة وهرب ولحقوه وشكلو نفذ	'They [PA] seized a guy with a rifle; he escaped; they [PA] went after him, but he seemed he made it.'
السلطة خطفت *** من بصلطه هس هس	'Sulta [PA] kidnapped [a guy] from a small shop now now'
السلطة نسحبت عن شارع نابلس بشكل مفاجئ	'Sulta [PA] retreated from Nablus street all of a sudden.'
الشب ضرب الشرطي وشرد لحقوا طخو على بس نفذ	'The guy hit the policeman [PA]. He [guy] ran away. They [PA] went after him. They shot at him, but he got away.'
الشرطه واقفين على دوار الحمامه	'[PA] police are at al-Hamama Square.'
السلطه خطفو شب من الحسبه	'Sulta [PA] kidnapped a guy from the grand market.'
فاتو واعتقلو مواطن وطلعو	'They [PA] broke into, arrested a citizen, and left.'
السلطه اقتحمت حارة الجرادات وهناك اشتباكات	'Sulta [PA] broke into al-Jaradat Neighbourhood. There are clashes.'
اجت السلطه توخذها منو حرقها عشان ما يوخذوها	'Sulta [PA] came to confiscate [the car] from him, but he burnt it so they [PA] do not take it.'
واقفين بفتشو	'They [PA] making a checkpoint and they are searching people.'
كبسو ملثمين عال مستشفى شباب	'They [PA] broke into the hospital covering their face, guys.'
كان في مشكلة في الحكومي وتم استدعاء القوات وسيطرت على المعتدي	'There was a problem in the government office, and the [PA] forces were called in and took control of the attacker.'
إذاعة الجيش: الأجهزة الأمنية الفلسطينية "تعتقل" خمسة مستوطنين حاولوا دخول "قبر يوسف" بنابلس، بدون تنسيق.	'[Israeli] Army Radio: Palestinian security services "arrest" five settlers who tried to enter "Joseph's Tomb" in Nablus, without coordination.'
السلطة حملو حالهم وانسحبو برجعو بعد طلعة الجيش انشالله 😊	'Sulta [PA] collected their stuff and withdrew from the place. They will come back when the [Israeli] army leaves, Inshallah lol.'
مخصوم حرس رئيس بعد عروس الشمال للي طالع تلا الضاحيه	'A checkpoint by the [PA] presidential guard after Aros al-Shamal [town] for those who coming towards the Neighbourhood.'
ومخصوم باب دخلة عروس الشمال	'A checkpoint [by the PA] near the entrance Aros al-Shamal.'
نقطة أمن وطني علي طالع من جنين	'A [PA] national guard checkpoint for those leaving Jenin [city].'
السلطه مسكرة كل مداخل جنين وهاي مخصوم عاملين	'Sulta [PA] has blocked all the entrances to Jenin, and has made a checkpoint.'
حاجز ع شارع نابلس بوقفو سيارات	'A checkpoint on Nablus Street, [PA] stopping cars.'
مخصوم سلطه	'A Sulta [PA] checkpoint.'
بفحصو سياره سياره	'They [PA] are searching car by car.'

على دوار عصفور واقفين	'They [PA] are on Asfour square.'
وعالجسر واقفين بوقفو كل السيارات	'And they [PA] are on the Bridge stopping all cars.'
ولاووو مخلوش مكان الا وعملو مخصصوم	'Wow they [PA] made checkpoints all over the city.'
بدهمش الشباب تطلع عمهرجان طول كرم	'They [PA] do not want the people to go the 'festival [organized by resistance] in Tulkarm [city].'
ومعهم قائمة مطالب	'They [PA] have a wanted list.'
اي واحد بشكو فيه بوخدو	'Anyone they [PA] suspect they arrest him.'
اشتباكات عنيفة بمخيم نور شمس بين السلطة والشباب	'Clashes between Sulta [PA] and [resistance] guys.'
لشو فايئين همى السلطة منشان الله حدا يجاوبني	'Why would they, Sulta, [PA] get into the [refugee camp]? Oh God! Someone explains this for me!'
السلطة شكلها اشتبكت	'Sulta [PA] seems to have started a clash [with Israeli forces].'
السلطة كلاب	'Sulta [PA] are dogs.'

Table (3) shows morphosyntactic features in utterances that report activities of Israeli Occupation forces in the West Bank. Predicates are in bold and subjects are highlighted in yellow if they are overtly expressed in the context of the utterance.

WhatsApp utterances	Morphosyntactic Features on Verbs	Morphosyntactic Features on Overt Subjects	English Translation
مسكو شب	encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A]		'They [Israeli forces] <b>detained</b> a guy'
جبين جيش دخلو ع عرابه	encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A]	[3.DU.M.]	' <b>Two army Jeeps</b> [Israeli forces] <b>broke into</b> Araaba [town].'
بحكو الجيش عامل (1) كمين ع الجلمة وماسكين (2) شباب	No morphological content in 1-[3.SG.M.PST.A] & encoded in the [i:n] suffix = 2-[3.PL.M.PST.A]	[3.SG/PL. M]	'People report that the [Israeli] <b>army is making</b> (1) an ambush near al-Jalameh [checkpoint]. They <b>detained</b> (2) some young people.'
عملو مخصصوم	encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A]		'They [Israeli forces] <b>made</b> a checkpoint.'



السلطة خطفو شب من الحسيه	encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A]	[3.SG. F.]	'Sulta [PA] kidnapped a guy from the grand market.'
لشو فايئين هي (1) السلطة (2) منشان الله حدا يجاوبني	encoded in the [i:n] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A]	1- [3.PL. M.] & 2- [3.SG. F.]	'Why would they (1), Sulta (2), get into [the refugee camp]? Oh God! Someone explains this for me!'
السلطة مسكرة (1) كل مداخل جنين وهاي مخصص عاملين (2)	1- encoded in the [a] suffix = [3.SG. F. PST.A] & 2- encoded in the [i:n] suffix = [3.PL. M. PRS.A]	[3.SG. F.]	'Sulta [PA] has blocked (1) all the entrances to Jenin, and has made (2) a checkpoint.'
السلطة شكلها (1) اشتبكت (2)	1- encoded in the [=ha] clitic = [3.SG. F.] & 2- encoded in the [t] suffix = [3.SG. F. PST.A]	[3.SG. F.]	'Sulta [PA] seems (1) to have started a clash (2) [with Israeli forces].'
السلطة كلاب	Predicate is Noun [3.PL. M.]	[3.SG. F.]	'Sulta [PA] are dogs.'
فاتو (1) واعتقلو (1) مواطن وطلعو (2)	(All verbs are morphologically marked the same)  encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A]		'They [PA] broke into (1), arrested (2) a citizen, and left (3) .'
السلطة اقتحمت حارة الجرادات وهناك اشتباكات	encoded in the [t] suffix = [3.SG. F.]	[3.SG. F.]	'Sulta [PA] broke into al-Jaradat Neighbourhood. There are clashes.'
السلطة حملو (1) حالهم (2) وانسحبو (3) يرجعو (4) بعد طلعة الجيش انشالله 😊	1, 3, & 4 encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M. PST.A] & 2- encoded in the [=hom] clitic = [3.PL. M.]	[3.SG. F.]	'Sulat [PA] collected (2) their stuff (1) and withdrew (3) from the place. They will come back (4) when the [Israeli] army leaves, Inshallah lol.'
واقفين (1) بفتشو (2)	1- encoded in the [i:n] suffix = [3.PL. M. PRS.A] &		'They [PA] are making a checkpoint (1) and they are searching (2) people.'

	2- encoded in the [u] suffix = [3.PL. M.PRS.A]		
اجت (1) السلطة توخذاها (2) منو حرقها عشان ما يوخذوها (3)		[3.SG. F.]	'Sulta [PA] <b>came</b> (1) to <b>confiscate</b> (2) [the car] from him, but he burnt it so they [PA] do not <b>take</b> (3) it.'