A Rhetorical Analysis of Irish Parliamentary Speeches Advocating for the Palestinian Cause

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List of Abbreviations

DA: Discourse Analysis

PD : Political Discourse

PDA : Political Discourse Analysis

RA : Rhetorical Analysis

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Abstract

The outbreak of war in the Middle East since October 7th has prompted global political discourse, with speeches either supporting or opposing the Palestinian cause. Irish politicians have notably advocated for Palestine.A qualitative descriptive method is employed in this research to analyse, and interpret the 15 speeches that were selected to investigate the Aristotelian rhetorical appeals and the rhetorical devices employed by pro-Palestinian Irish politicians in their speeches advocating for the Palestinian cause, to garner support and persuade the Irish government to call for immediate action and an urgent ceasefire in Gaza. This rhetorical analysis revealed that the speakers make use of the five modes of persuasion (Ethos, Pathos, Logos, Kairos, and Telos), and they also managed to use other rhetorical devices such as: deictic expressions, metaphor, hyperbole, rhetorical questions, repetition, anaphora, and parallelism in order to persuade their audience of the validity and urgency of the Palestinian struggle and urge the Irish government for an immediate ceasefire. Some recommendations in the field of rhetorical analysis will also be presented.

Keywords: israeli occupation on Palestinian, 7th of October, Pro Palestinian Irish politicians, Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals, ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, telos, deictic expressions.

General Introduction

Background of the Study

Fatin Al Tamimi, a Plestinian-Irish photographer and human rights activist, once said: "Especially when they see the keffiyeh! Some of them will walk by me and say, 'Free, free Palestine!' as cited in Frayer and Al-Kassab (2024). Ireland is one of the European countries that have continuously called for the freedom for Palestine. It has always been supportive of Palestinian freedom, and it constantly calls for an end to the Israeli occupation. The strong support between Ireland and Palestine lies within mutual features, it is rooted in historical, political, and humanitarian ties. Both nations have experienced colonialism and occupation that led them to struggle for independence.

According to Frayer and Al-Kassab (2024), Ireland resonated deeply with Palestine because the former was oppressed under British rule. For centuries, it endured subjugation at the hands of the British Empire and suffered from partition of lands which resulted in the creation of Northern Ireland. On the other hand, Palestine also has been suffering from Israeli colonialism which has serious consequences, including the expulsion of one of Palestinians from their lands and other terrifying events like the Nakba or "The Catastrophe". The Nakba was a forced displacement of indigenous people that made them refugees in their homeland, Israel then took over the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem after the forced displacement. Events like the expulsion, the displacement and the theft of lands led to the emergence of Ireland's solidarity with Palestinian people (Darweish, 2023).

In the context of Palestine, Hamas, a Palestinian Islamist political and militant organization, first attacked Israel on the 7th of October 2023 (Federman & Adwan, 2023). Israel then responded by attacking innocent civilians framing them as members of Hamas, and broke the humanitarian rules. Israeli soldiers killed women, men, and children in the 7th of October event. They even used internationally prohibited weapons such as white

phosphorus and caused horrific unimaginable repercussions (Rose & Ayyub, 2023). Thus, when a lot of unbearable atrocities were committed against Palestinians, some Irish politicians, Sinn Féin party members to be specific, on their turn responded with strong speeches defending Gaza citizens and trying to reclaim their rights (Dáil Éireann debate, 2023). In this regard, this dissertation focuses on the world wide reactions of the public concerning Israel's atrocities towards Palestinians, specifically asserting the speeches delivered by Irish politicians who belong to the Sinn Fein party.

Persuasive communication has been highly valued since ancient times. Skilled orators use it seeking to sway audience and assert their influence. This tradition persists as political leaders recognize the power of language in shaping public perception and cementing their place in the public eye. Today's politicians are very sensitive to the subtleties of language, employing various techniques to not only convey their ideas effectively but also to cultivate a charismatic public persona.

This sensitivity of choosing words is attached to the strong influence that language holds. Language, as the primary tool of persuasion, is crucial for convincing others and plays a key role in political discussions. Politicians skillfully control the use of language, employing various rhetorical techniques to create convincing stories and promote their goals, from rhetorical strategies (ethos, pathos, logos, kairos and telos) to rhetorical devices that serve as strategic instruments for gaining traction in public debates and solidifying their standing as authoritative figures. In essence, mastering language and rhetoric is intrinsic for politicians to achieve success. Irish politicians are among the ones who use language skilfully to garner support regarding the Palestinian cause.

Ireland's Contributions to the Palestinian Plight

The longstanding solidarity between Ireland and Palestine is rooted in their shared experiences of British colonialism. Ireland's struggle against British rule resonates deeply

with Palestinians' fight for freedom and justice, leading to widespread support across Ireland, from murals and flags to political activism. This connection is further reinforced by historical parallels, such as the British partitions that fueled conflict in both regions and the deployment of British paramilitary forces to suppress independence movements in Ireland and Palestine (Koutteineh, 2023).

On May 28, 2024, Ireland formally recognized the State of Palestine, establishing full diplomatic relations and planning to open an embassy in Ramallah. This decision, made in coordination with Spain and Norway which aims to support the peace process. The Irish government emphasized that this move seeks to promote peace and security for Palestinians, urging for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza and better humanitarian access (Government of Ireland, 2024).

Furthermore, Ireland's support for Palestine has deep historical roots and significant political actions. In 1980, Ireland became the first European Union member state to endorse the establishment of a Palestinian state. This relationship was further solidified in 2000 with the opening of Ireland's representative office in Ramallah and Palestine's office in Dublin. Ireland's commitment continued with high-level visits and diplomatic recognition, culminating in Ireland's formal recognition of the State of Palestine in 2024, alongside Spain and Norway, reinforcing their support for Palestinian self-determination (Wikipedia, 2022, June 15).

Additionally, In October 2023, Ireland announced an additional €13 million in humanitarian aid to the Palestinian people, including €10 million to UNRWA and €3 million to the UNOCHA's Humanitarian Fund for the Occupied Palestinian Territories. This funding aims to provide essential services such as healthcare, education, and emergency relief, particularly for those in Gaza facing severe challenges. This contribution increases Ireland's

total support to Palestine in 2023 to €29 million, reinforcing Ireland's longstanding

commitment to Palestinian aid (Government of Ireland, 2023).

Moreover, Ireland's development and humanitarian assistance to Palestine focuses on

education, capacity-building, reducing humanitarian need, and human rights. Ireland supports

Palestinian refugees through significant funding to UNRWA and addresses immediate

humanitarian needs, particularly in Gaza. Efforts include projects like a solar energy plant to

support essential infrastructure. Ireland also promotes gender equality and provides

scholarships for Palestinian students to study in Ireland (Ireland, n.d. Palestine development

programme.)

In addition to that, the Irish Foreign Minister's recent visit to the Gaza Strip

underscored Ireland's ongoing commitment to addressing humanitarian needs in the region.

During the visit, meetings with UNRWA officials highlighted the vital role of international

support in providing assistance to Palestinian refugees. Ireland's engagement with UNRWA

reflects its dedication to alleviating the suffering of Palestinians and contributing to stability

and development in the occupied Palestinian territories (Government of Ireland, 2024, June

23)

Thus, Ireland's support for the Palestinian plight is comprehensive and deeply rooted

in historical empathy and a commitment to justice. Through diplomatic advocacy, financial

aid, humanitarian projects, educational exchanges, and direct engagement, Ireland has

demonstrated unwavering support for Palestinian self-determination and human rights. This

multifaceted approach not only addresses immediate needs but also contributes to the long-

term development and peace in the region. Ireland's actions exemplify the power of

international solidarity and the impact of tangible support in the quest for justice and human

dignity.

In Ireland, authority is divided between the legislature, the executive , and the judiciary. The legislature, or the "Oireachtas", is the body that is responsible for making laws in Ireland. It consists of a bicameral chamber (two houses) and the president of the chamber. The first chamber is the upper house (Seanad Éireann) and the lower house (Dáil Éireann). The lower house includes the chairperson, known as the Ceann Comhairle, and the deputy chairperson, called the Leas Cheann Comhairle, along with the members of the house, who are referred to as Teachta Dála or TDs, meaning Deputies to the Dáil in English. These members, commonly called Deputies, are part of various Irish political parties such as Sinn Féin, the Green Party, and the Labour party though some are independent. TDs in Dáil Éireann, the lower house, are tasked with bringing up different issues from their constituents to the Dáil. They do this either through topical issues or parliamentary questions which are discussed and voted on during sessions typically held on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/visit-and-learn/

Statement of the Problem

The Israeli occupation on Palestine has long captivated global attention. Since October the 7th a lot of speeches are being delivered every day considering them an influential tool that can shape public perception, the understanding of the events that occurred on October 7th, and their broader implications. The majority of Irish politicians are among the pro-Palestinian politicians who delivered important speeches advocating for the Palestinian cause. This research is a rhetorical analysis of 15 selected Irish parliamentary speeches by Irish politicians who belong to the Sinn Fein party, advocating for the Palestinian cause. It aims to investigate the efficacy and impact of their persuasive techniques, focusing on the use of rhetorical devices and the Aristotelian appeals. The study aims to investigate how these politicians employ rhetorical devices and the Aristotle's appeals: ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, telos, and the deictic expressions "I, We, and Our" in their speeches to advance their

advocacy efforts and shape the Irish people's opinion regarding the Israeli occupation on Palestine and persuade the Irish government to call on for an immediate ceasefire in Palestine.

Research Questions

This research sought to answer the following questions:

1. How would the Irish politicians use Aristotle's five modes of persuasion in their speeches to inform the Irish government about the urgency of the situation in Gaza, and to persuade the parliament members to call for an immediate ceasefire in the Palestinian territory?

2. What rhetorical devices and deictic Expressions would the Irish politicians employ to inform the Irish government about the urgency of the situation in Gaza and, to persuade the the parliament members to call for an immediate ceasefire in the Palestinian territory?

Research Aims

This research aims to :

1. Investigate how ethos (credibility), pathos (emotional appeal), logos (logical appeal), kairos (the timing), and telos (the aim) are strategically employed by Irish politicians to call the Irish government for immediate action and garner support for the Palestinian cause.

2. Identify and examine specific rhetorical devices such as repetition, metaphors, deictic expressions, repetition, and hyperbole used by Irish politicians post the 7th of October incident to frame and reinforce their advocacy for the Palestinian struggle.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for the following reasons:

•	Examining the use of rhetorical strategies ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, and telos, and the rhetorical devices used by pro-Palestinian Irish politicians to advocate for the Palestinian cause.

•	Shedding light on the Irish discourse surrounding the israeli occupation on Palestinian and uncovering how language is used to mobilize support, shape public opinion, and influence policy decisions in the context of one of the most enduring and contentious situations of the time.

Methodology

A qualitative method is used in this study to qualitatively analyse and interpret the use of Aristotle's rhetorical appeals and rhetorical devices by pro-Palestinian Irish politicians. The sample encompasses 15 selected speeches delivered by 15 different Irish pro-Palestinian politicians from the "Sinn Fein" Party and retrieved from the Irish parliament's official site.

Structure of the Dissertation

This research is divided into two chapters: a theoretical chapter and a practical chapter. The first chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is an overview of discourse, discourse analysis, political discourse, and political discourse analysis. The second is an overview of rhetoric, rhetorical analysis, rhetorical strategies, and rhetorical devices. The second chapter contains two sections. The first one is a thorough explanation of the methodology used in this research and the data collection procedure while the second deals with the analysis, discussion and interpretations of the 15 speeches, and also the summary of the obtained results, along with the limitations the researchers faced throughout the research and some recommendations for further research.

Chapter One : Literature Review

Introduction

In this theoretical chapter, the researchers embark on a comprehensive exploration of discourse analysis and political discourse, delving into the foundational concepts and methodologies that underpin the study of rhetoric. It represents a theoretical background on the main concepts that will be discussed during the analysis. It will also discuss both the fields of discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis, which are going to be combined later during the analysis.

1.1 Section One : Discourse, Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse

This section aims to thoroughly discuss and provide insights concerning the notions of discourse, discourse analysis, political discourse, and political discourse analysis.

1.1.1 Discourse

Discourse is an interdisciplinary term that is used in various contexts and perspectives; it is defined differently by multiple scholars. Cook (1989) viewed discourse as "a stretch of language perceived to be meaningful, unified, and purposive" (p.156). Besides, Shiffrin (1994) introduced multiple definitions for the term discourse from various viewpoints. One of them is "discourse as utterance", which focuses on the idea that discourse is broader than other language units (p.39). On the other hand, discourse can also be defined in relation to communication, where people use language to communicate with each other in different social settings. Van Dijk (1997) claimed that discourse is "the use of language by people to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context " (p.2), while Fairclough (1993) referred to discourse as both spoken and written use of language and extended it more to include semiotic practices like non-verbal communication and photography.

Discourse has some key properties, and Shiffrin (1987) discussed the three main ones, which are: "discourse forms structure, discourse conveys meaning, and discourse

accomplishes actions"(p.6). The first two properties focus on language at the level of sentences, propositions, and utterances, looking at how they are structured and connected. The third property delves deeper into how language functions within social interactions, considering not just longer sequences but also individual units like utterances and how they contribute to communication within a social context (p.7).

1.1.2 Discourse and Society

Discourse and society are related to each other, discourse is influenced by societal factors, and it, in turn, shapes society. Fairclough (1992) associated discourse with social practice, which means that discourse is not fully related to individuals but has to do with society in general (p.63). He assumed that there is a reciprocal relationship between discourse and society, which makes discourse both socially constituted and constitutive (p.64). This highlights the idea that societal elements like classes, norms, and institutions shape discourse. Discourse represents social reality; it is a dynamic interplay where language reflects and influences the structures and dynamics of society, It involves the use of language to both reflect societal structures and dynamics and to influence and change them. Through discourse, people communicate and construct meaning, impacting how society functions and evolves. Fairclough (1992) suggested three key elements of the constructive nature of discourse, it plays a crucial role in shaping the formation of social identities and subjects positions within society. Also, it helps in constructing social connections among individuals and shaping knowledge and belief systems (p.64). Similarly, Hassen (2015) stated that there is a significant relationship shared between people and discourse, understanding discourse entails understanding its users, and understanding the underlying beliefs and value systems of people is made easier through their language (p.119). The understanding of discourse entails analyzing it, as shown bellow.

1.1.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) is a field that examines language use in social contexts. Its main purpose is to decipher communication and peel the latter's layers to reach the meaning behind it all while investigating both spoken or written communication.

The field of DA has developed quickly, and because of the diversity of disciplines, the term " discourse analysis" has been defined differently by various scholars based on their perspectives (Tannen, D. et al., 2015). For instance, according to Fosold (1990) : "the study of discourse is the study of language use" (p.65). Other writers defined DA as the study of anything that goes beyond a sentence. Trying to define DA and put it in one frame can be an intricate assignment and a challenging process since it's polysemic. Hogan (2016) explained that: "Discourse analysis is a term which has no single stable definition and is therefore used differently by different theorists" (p.2). The former pointed out the versatility and the multiple facets that discourse analysis has, and this was agreed upon by many linguists such as Schiffin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2000) when they stood by a particular facet of discourse analysis, as Hogan (2016) mentioned in her research paper. They claimed that the word "discourse" has "generally been defined as anything beyond the sentence", in which a person scratches the superficial level of any communication and makes his way through the profound level, the level beyond the sentence. While for other linguists, such as Fasold (1990) discourse analysis is "primarily a study of language use", this definition only explores the facet of language use; it focuses on unraveling the subtleties in linguistic interactions and how language operates in daily conversations.

Gee (2014) on the other hand, claimed that DA is: "the study of language-in-use". He then used the example of Yu-Gi-Oh cards to explain how discourse analysis is related to practice, his example evolved around the idea that the meaning and analysis of the language in Yu- Gi-Oh cards is derived from the game itself, which is the practice:

The language on Yu-Gi-Oh! cards do not get their meaning first and foremost from definitions or verbal explanations, that is, from other words. It gets its meaning from what it is used to do, in this case, play a game. This is language as doing (p.4).

In addition to practice, context plays an important role within the field of DA. Song (2010) shed light on the fact that context is essential for the analysis of discourse, he claimed that:" the discourse elaborates its context and the context helps interpret the meaning of utterances in the discourse" (p.878). Similarly, Yang and Hu (2022) have agreed with Song (2010) on the importance of context within DA; they stated that: "context plays a vital role in discourse analysis" (p.218).

1.1.4 Definition of Politics

According to Chilton (2005): "politics varies according to one's situation and purposes" (p.3). He discussed two perspectives on the definition of politics. The first perspective regards politics as a battle between those seeking to assert power and those resisting it, while the second is considered cooperation, which refers to a set of practices and institutions for resolving conflicts of interest within society. While Bayley (2005) mentioned that politics in its simple definition is:" limited to the activity of institutions such as government, parliament, and parties fulfilling their role of distributing resources", he extended this definition to include:" the struggle for power among the members of these institutions" (p.3). This struggle appears through various means such as elections, parties, parliamentary procedures, and propaganda. These members communicate using a discourse that is called the political discourse.

1.1.5 History and Definition of Political Discourse

Wilson (2001) and Dunmire (2013) agreed that the growing interest in political discourse (PD) arose in the early 1980's. However, the field of political discourse dates to the existence of politics itself, where the Greeks, especially figures such as Aristotle and Cicero

highlighted rhetoric to explore the power of social and political methods in achieving particular goals.

Van Dijk (1997) stated that PD encompasses the communication, both written and spoken, of professional politicians and political institutions at various levels of governance, from local to international. It includes speeches, statements, debates, and other forms of communication by individuals such as presidents, prime ministers, members of government, parliament, or other political parties (p.12). While Wison (2001) assumed that the notion of PD stands for two different meanings, to make the difference clearer firstly, it can refer to political discourse, secondly, it can refer to: "an analysis of political discourse as simply an example course type, without explicit reference to political content or political context" (p.398). Wilson stated that the study of PD is similar to other fields of discourse analysis, encompasses a diverse range of topics and utilizes a variety of analytical methods. It may involve an even broader scope compared to other areas of discourse (p.398). He added that PD is in danger of over-generalization due to the broad definition of all kinds of discourse as political. This issue arises due to defining the term PD in relation to notions like power, conflict, control, or domination, Wilson has exemplified this by Diamond's (1995) study, where she used the term PD to refer to a staff meeting where issues of power and control are resolved. Additionally, Wilson regarded the main objective of PD is to analyse language choice to achieve certain political goals.

PD is a field that can be used in different contexts, Bayley (2005) assumed that PD takes place not only in the public but also in the private context. He added that rather than political language, multiple forms of discourses, genres, and registers exist, he claimed that other types of PD include: media discourse, discourse of administrative bodies that could be considered forms of intermediate political discourse, as well as the so-called (grassroots political discourse), which refers to a type of discourse where people discuss political matters

in the private context (p.3). He further explained that the media also contribute to the political realm where we can find discourses about various topics like politics or social conflicts. In addition to that, non-political institutions for instance, schools and hospitals, are also other types of institutions where politics appears since these institutions have their own form of public discourse.

1.1.6 Language and Politics

Aristotle's view of man as a Political animal (politikon zoon) who lives in (polis) or community, can be considered the starting point of the idea that language and politics are interconnected (Chilton, 2005, p.5), he claimed that: " there is a view that language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level" (p.4). Similarly, Wilson (2001) focused on the interrelation between language and politics, he mentioned that Orwell was the first scholar to think of the connection between politics and language, where language can be used to change people's opinions, which was highlighted in his article (Politics and the English Language). He stated: "While language is always clearly central to political discourse, what shifts is the balance between linguistic analysis and political comment" (p.400). This suggests that language always plays a crucial role in political discourse. However, the focus on either analyzing the language itself or commenting on political issues can vary. Lastly, Ng (2010) said: "The power behind language refers to a language's symbolic roles in signifying or reflecting the already existent power relationships. In these passive roles, language serves as a conduit of power but otherwise has no power of its own". The quote examined how the idea of the "power behind language" pertains to how language reflects or represents established power dynamics, which refer to how power is distributed and exercised in social interactions. For instance, in a workplace, terms like "boss" and "employee" reflect the power hierarchy. Similarly, language used to describe different social groups (e.g., "leader" vs. "follower")

shows who holds power and who doesn't. In this capacity, language acts as a channel for the expression or reinforcement of power.

1.1.7 Political Discourse Analysis

Political discourse analysis (PDA) is a procedure in political science that involves studying different techniques and frameworks within political occurrences and situations. It focuses on the surrounding purposes of these tactics inside text messages and dialogues that show their effect on political happenings and activities. Additionally, PDA aims to present how various elements hone and shape political dynamics and outcomes. It is essential to intricately explore in detail the contextual roles played by diverse textual and verbal tools used by politicians to evaluate the political relevance of discourse (Van Djik, 1997, p.28).

Moreover, Van Djik (1997) highlighted that while discourse analysis provides valuable insights into political discourse, it doesn't fully cover political analysis; in other words, it is not similar to conducting a political analysis. He confirmed that for PDA to be embraced by political scientists, it must offer unique contributions that other methods such as direct observation, participant observation, or content analysis do not provide as efficiently (Van Djik, 1997, p.27).

To comprehend the operational mechanisms of PDA, it is crucial to consider the insights provided by Isabela and Norman Fairclough (2012). They clarified that politics unfolds within contexts characterized not only by conflict and disagreement but also by uncertainty, incomplete information, and risk, often requiring immediate decisions in response to exigent circumstances. This exigency can compromise the rationality of such decisions, as underscored by the assertion that these constraints can affect decision-making rationality.

Political leaders sometimes encounter situations that demand prompt and quick decision-making, even amidst a lack of information or uncertainty and ambiguity. Addressing

this dilemma lies in prioritizing deliberation, as outlined by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). Deliberation entails careful consideration of relevant factors, especially in collaboration with others in democratic settings within democratic frameworks where diverse viewpoints are valued. Deliberation not only ensures procedural legitimacy but also approves of the credibility of the choices made by politicians and their reasonableness (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012)

PDA is the systematic examination and interpretation of the language in which processes and practices involved in governance dwell, where the public decides on matters of public concern (Eden et al., 2019). Within this framework, political discourse analysis examines the language and communication strategies deployed to not only shape and modify perceptions but also to exert influence on public opinions, which will therefore impact political outcomes.

Within the realm of PDA, Eden et al. (2019) discussed the distinction between "power to" and "power over" to better understand how power operates and is negotiated in political interactions, which allows for a more nuanced analysis of political discourse. While "power to" signifies the capacity to act, which may pertain to groups or individuals, "power over" denotes dominance or control unleashed by one entity over another. This difference is apparent in the dynamic political exchanges between political authorities and youth delegates (Li et al., 2019). When studying PDA, experts observe how politicians employ language to either uphold existing power structures or question them. For instance, those in positions of power may use language to solidify their control, whereas marginalized communities might use it to express their independence and seek acknowledgment. PDA will study how language is used in discussions to either support existing power dynamics or challenge them. This examination includes looking at word choices, tools, rhetorical devices, framing methods,

and communication patterns to grasp how language influences and mirrors power dynamics within society.

1.2 Section Two: an overview About Rhetoric, Rhetorical Strategies, and Devices

in this section an extensive explanation of rhetoric, rhetorical analysis, rhetorical strategies, and rhetorical devices is going to be provided.

1.2.1 History and Definition of Rhetoric

Despite its ancient origins, the field of rhetoric remains relevant today as a theoretical framework to analyse the persuasive use of language until nowadays (Amaireh, 2023, p.313). Moreover, rhetoric traces back its roots to the Greeks in the fifth century BCE in Manga Graecia in Sicily, when citizens needed such an art of persuasion in trials to take back their lands and goods (Bitonti & Trupia 2022, p.1176).

According to the American Heritage Dictionary, the term rhetoric stands for four different definitions: rhetoric is the art and skill of using language effectively to persuade others. Secondly, it can also refer to written works discussing this art, as well as the style of speaking or writing on a particular subject. Additionally, it encompasses verbal communication and discourse but can sometimes be perceived as elaborate, insincere, or vacuous language. Bitonti and Trupia (2022) have defined rhetoric as: "the art of effective speaking, or persuasion through words. The word "rhetoric" can also refer to the study of the various techniques of such art, and that is why it can be described both as an art and a science" (p.1176). They added that the notion of rhetoric has been attributed to two different connotations. The first one regards rhetoric as a neutral tool of persuasion, and the other as "a harmful tool used by ill-intended speakers aiming at manipulating and hiding some truth" (p.1181).

Kenedy (2007) mentioned that Aristotle was the first scholar to acknowledge that rhetoric is a neutral art of communication, capable of being used for both the good and the

bad. Likewise, Keith and Lundberg (2008) said that rhetoric can be considered a type of communication. However, they provided two key aspects that always make rhetoric different from communication: the first is the contingent nature of rhetoric, which has to do with the consequence of the rhetoric on the audience's reaction, and the second is the strategic nature of rhetoric, which deals with the strategies the speaker follows to deliver his message (p.12).

Rhetoric is a flexible field that can be used in different contexts. Bitonti and Trupia (2022) stressed the importance of rhetoric in both political and non-political realms like political communication, lobbying, and, public affairs, which were the main interests of their book. They focused on the various contexts where rhetoric used and assumed that rhetoric plays a significant role in political communication, lobbying, and public affairs, as it's employed by leaders, candidates, and lobbyists to persuade their audiences through speeches. They added that: "rhetoric is generally used in all forms of communication and in many different contexts (political and non-political), such as parliamentary debates, rallies, hearings, trials, public events of a different kind and social media communication" (p.1176).

There is an essential connection that can relate discourse, persuasion, and rhetoric to each other. Keith and Lundberg (2008) stated that Discourse encompasses any form of communication, whether spoken or written, and includes various mediums like books, movies, and social media, while persuasion involves convincing someone of something. They added that: "it encompasses the dramatic experience of being moved to rage, tears, or action by a speech, as well as more subtle processes such as being influenced by advertising or political ideology"(p.4). Rhetoric, on the other hand, deals with studying how different kinds of discourses persuade and influence in social contexts. In other words, rhetoric is the bridge that relates both notions "discourse"and "persuasion". It serves as the study of how discourses are produced and interpreted to understand their persuasive power and impact on

society, and the way rhetoric examines how communication shapes social interactions and outcomes.

Furthermore, Keith and Lundburg (2008) asserted that the audience is a crucial element in rhetoric, and focused on the importance of considering the audience when analyzing the persuasiveness of the discourse. They claimed that to understand whether a discourse is persuasive or not, one will have to focus not only on the speaker or the discourse itself, but instead on the addressee of the message or the audience (p.11).

1.2.2 Rhetorical Analysis

According to Roberts (2004) rhetorical analysis (RA) involves analyzing and assessing the methods and approaches utilized in forms of communication, like speeches, essays, or advertisements, to grasp how language organization and tone are utilized to convince or sway an audience. Aristotle defined rhetoric as: "the counterpart of logic". He then proceeded to say:" All men are rhetoricians and logicians, all being ready, on occasion, to provoke or to sustain an argument, to praise or to blame, to accuse or to defend" (Roberts, 2004). The quote explained that all people, regardless of their background or education, possess the inherent ability to engage in rhetoric and logic. When circumstances arise, they can argue a point, commend or criticize something, and either accuse others or defend themselves. It implied that the skills of persuasion and reasoning are universal human traits used in everyday interactions.

Selzer (2003) agreed with Aristotle in addressing the fact that rhetoric traditionally aligns with crafting persuasive communications. However, Selzer noted a modern shift in rhetoric, where it now encompasses an interpretive function. This expanded the views where rhetoric was only referred to as a tool for self-expression and presented a new facet of its interpretative role that helps in deciphering the intricacies of communication interactions. Furthermore, this is the part of rhetoric that makes its application appropriate for the analysis

of the numerous structures of communication that influence our lives. Whether it is political speeches, promotional campaigns, media coverages, or everyday interactions, it is this perspective that allows us to understand the role of language in the context of persuading, arguing, and influencing within societies.

1.2.3 The Relationship Between Discourse Analysis and Rhetoric

DA and rhetoric are two interconnected areas of research that led to the emergence of a field called " Rhetorical Discourse Analysis", according to Andrus (2012) Discourse analysis and rhetoric are based on the belief that language, whether spoken or written, serves a purpose beyond simply reflecting reality. They also share a fundamental interest in the specific details of communication and discourse. This connection between discourse analysis and rhetoric fosters collaboration, leading to the emergence of a new theory of discursive action. Andrus (2012) shed light on the relationship between DA and rhetoric and the common notions they share. However, they are studied and analyzed differently. He stated that: "rhetoric and DA share a common object, discourse, and some of the same concerns and concepts, such as interaction, context, style, and effect. The overlapping concerns create spaces where theories and methods can be brought together to add depth and nuance to analysis" and added that: "the two fields have similar interests, but different ways of analyzing and talking about those interests".

1.2.4 The Importance of Rhetorical Analysis in Understanding Communication

Rhetorical analysis holds significance as it deepens comprehension of communication, fosters thinking abilities, uncovers persuasive methods, and offers insights into cultural and historical backgrounds. It helps in deciphering linguistic devices, and the overall language is used to convey messages, persuade audiences, and shape perceptions. By embarking on this analysis, the intentions, effectiveness, and impact of various types of communication will be more understandable.

When it comes to the significance of RA, Selzer (2003) said that it lies in its ability to uncover the underlying strategies employed in communication. By observing an exchange between a communicator and their audience, rhetorical analysis enables individuals to move beyond the mere reception of a message and instead examines its creation and presentation.

1.2.5 Rhetorical strategies

Rhetorical strategies are crucial tools for effective communication, persuasion, and influence. They help speakers or writers craft their messages in a way that engages, convinces, and resonates with their audience. Kennedy (2007) mentioned that for Aristotle persuasion relies on three main factors: the accuracy and logical soundness of the argument, the speaker's ability to establish trust with the audience, and the emotions evoked by the speaker to encourage acceptance of the proposed views and prompt action. Similarly, Keith and Lundberg (2008) stated that Aristotle created three types of rhetorical proofs, which he called: "the ways of making speech persuasive" (p.7). These appeals are divided into three main types: logos (logic), ethos (credibility of the speaker), and pathos (emotional appeal). They stated that: "the three elements play a role in persuasion: a good persuasive speech needs to be attentive to the audience by applying logic, demonstrating the speaker's credibility, and appealing to the audience's emotions" (p.7). Additionally, there are systematic ways that work on persuading and changing people's minds. They assumed that the most effective way to persuade people is to appeal based on their standards. They further explained that rhetoric takes place more in political contexts and that rhetoric is exclusively concerned with argumentation, which they defined as: "ways of finding and providing reasons for audiences" (p.35).

According to Keith and Lundberg (2008), Logos, Ethos, and Pathos are the three main persuasion appeals suggested by Aristotle:

1.2.5.1 Logos: according to Aristotle, Logos in Greek is used to refer to: "what is said, a speech, a word, but often also the reason or argument inherent in speech" (Kenedy, 2007, p.38). Keith and Lundberg (2008) related Logos to logic and reason, they asserted that Aristotle provided two types of reasoning which are formal reasoning that works with an argument that is called "syllogism" in which two true premises entail a conclusion for the argument. The second type is non-formal reasoning, which is called "enthymemes", which is similar to syllogism but simpler (pp.36-37). They also shed light on the fact that logic and rhetoric are complementary to each other, they claimed that logic entails persuasion and persuasion entails logic (p.6). Isai et al. (2020) stated that in a rhetorical analysis, the appeal to logos involves the use of logical reasoning and evidence to support an argument. This can include presenting data, citing credible sources, making clear claims, and providing solid reasoning to persuade the audience. Essentially, it's about using logic and facts to make a convincing case (p.22).

1.2.5.2 Ethos: ethos is the second method of persuasion, which Aristotle refers to as the credibility of the speakers. Keith and Lundberg (2008) mentioned that ethos is a Greek term that means both "character" and "habit". They also stressed the fact that audiences, when hearing someone's argument, always question whether that speaker is credible and trustworthy, and this is where ethos appears. According to Jansen (2024) ethos involves establishing credibility or trustworthiness with the audience, this is done by highlighting one's expertise, achievements, qualifications, accreditations, personal and professional associations, and connections. By showcasing these attributes, the speaker aims to demonstrate competence in the subject matter, thereby making the audience more inclined to trust his words as factual and reliable.

1.2.5.3 Pathos: Schick and Schubert (2016) addressed the fact that pathos is the root of the words "sympathy" and "empathy." They stressed how emotion can be a powerful and a

dangerous tool, and how some advertisers and politicians resort to tactics to influence their audiences' decisions, leading them to act or conform without solid evidence or sound reasoning (p.130). Aristotle defined it as the "consideration of emotions of people in the audience". In rhetoric, it was defined as "the emotions of members of an audience as moved by a speaker" which draws attention to the power held by speakers in influencing their audience (Kennedy, 2007, pp.153-317). Al-Momani (2014) identified persuasive techniques like confessing, regretting, making pleas, promising, praising, and thanking, which appeal to emotions. Confession taps into sympathy, while praising and thanking manipulate feelings to form rapport. These techniques aim to evoke emotional responses from the audience.

Additionally, metaphors are used to further engage the audience's emotions. Additionally, Jansen (2024) assumed that the main objective behind employing pathos is to build a kind of relationship with the audience either toward oneself or toward the issue being presented. In practical terms, pathos frequently employs storytelling, expressive language, and personal anecdotes to evoke emotional responses from the audience. There are two other appeals that Aristotle suggested, which are:

1.2.5.4 Kairos: Leston (2013) stated that Aristotle's examination of kairos, in his work "Rhetoric" focused on the importance of timing and appropriate methods, Kairos was defined as the "right timing and proper means" (p.29). He delved into the aspects of timing and strategic manoeuvring in communication. While at first glance, kairos may seem like seizing opportunities and using methods, Aristotle's explanation revealed a deeper complexity. Kairos not only involves knowing when to speak but also understanding the contextual elements surrounding communication. It requires an awareness of the nuances of the moment, a discerning ability to choose the right setting and timing, and a deep comprehension of the broader circumstances influencing the conversation. Essentially, Kairos challenges rhetoricians to navigate through time, place, and context while crafting their

messages with precision and finesse to connect deeply with their audience. Therefore, Aristotle's concept of Kairos goes beyond opportunism; it emerges as a framework that enables speakers to create compelling rhetoric aligned with the complex dynamics of human interaction.

1.2.5.5 Telos: According to Taylor (2022) telos is a Greek notion that was proposed by Aristotle which he defined as "Something's end" or "what it is for". For example,"If you ask a builder what his chair is for, he will tell you that it is to provide a place for someone to sit" (p.2). He further added that Aristotle's discussion on telos suggests that living beings will inevitably reach their purpose unless obstructed by external factors. Likewise, Clayton (n.d.) highlighted Aristotle's focus on telos as crucial for comprehending the essence of something; without considering its final purpose, one cannot fully grasp what something is.

Figure 1:

Aristotle's Five Types of Appeals
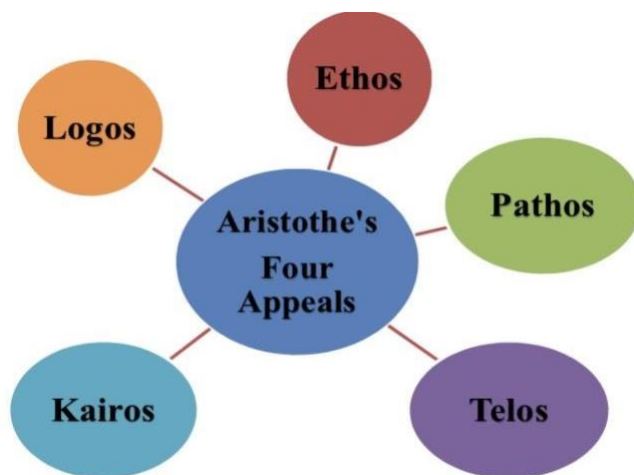
1.2.6 Other rhetorical strategies

In addition to the Aristotelian modes of persuasion, politicians tend to use other

elements for the sake of persuading their audience, among which are deictic expressions

1.2.6.1 Deictic Expressions

Ivanova (2016) highlighted the role of using deictic expressions in rhetoric, she

claimed that deictic expressions play an essential role, especially in the political context.

According to Dawood (2019): "the notion of deixis can be used to link the uses of language

to the context in which they occur"(p.4). He stressed the fact that deictic expressions are used

in political speeches "to show how more is communicated than is said" (p.13).

George Yule (1996) suggested different types of deictic expressions: person deixis (I,

you, we, they...), spatial deixis (here, there, this, that...), and temporal deixis (now, then,

today...). Dawood (2019) focused on the use of these three types in a speech delivered by

Obama, where he concluded that he made use of all of them to convey his thoughts,

messages, and identities to the audience. Additionally, he found that person deixis is used by

politicians for various aims, like expressing sympathy and solidarity, indicating group

membership, or for accepting and denying responsibility; spatial deixis is used to indicate the

physical and psychological distance between the speaker and the audience; and temporal

deixis demonstrates the physical and psychological distance between events, people, and the

speaker (p.13).

1.2.6.2 Rhetorical Questions

A rhetorical question is a question that is asked not to elicit a response but to make a

point or to create an effect. It's often used for rhetorical effect in speech or writing to

accentuate a particular idea or provoke deeper thought in the audience. Rhetorical questions

are typically obvious or imply their answers, so they are not meant to be answered directly.

Furthermore, Media and Aveen (2017) stated that a rhetorical question is a type of utterance

that takes the form of a question but does not require an explicit answer, so when a question is rhetorical, its effectiveness lies in the fact that the answer is implied or obvious within the question itself. This means that the speaker does not expect or require an explicit response from the listener because the answer is already clear or understood. For example, if someone asks: "Can birds fly?" The answer is implied within the question itself, as it's common knowledge that birds can indeed fly. Therefore, the purpose of asking such a question is not to seek information but to underline a point or to engage the audience in a thought-provoking manner (Hall, 2022). According to Spago (2016) rhetorical questions are an effective tool that is used in various contexts and situations, like daily communication, journalism, politics, and literature. While Abioye (2009) has classified the different functions of rhetorical questions, among which is the rhetorical function, he assumed that: "rhetorical questions are used basically to charge emotions, to express strong feelings of outrage, vehement indignation, jolt readers or listeners out of a state of complacency or stupor, etc" (p.3). Additionally, rhetorical questions are often used to provoke thoughts and stimulate discussion, they are frequently used in political debates to inspire and lead to further debate without needing a definitive answer.

1.2.7 Rhetorical Devices

Politicians tend to use political language as a technique to convince their audience, one of these techniques is the use of rhetorical devices (Hanim & Dewi, 2018). They argued that rhetorical devices like parallelism, metaphors, rhetorical questions, repetition, hyperbole.....etc, are a set of techniques used by the speaker for several reasons, such as: persuading and evoking emotions (p.299). Different types of devices can be employed rhetorically; among them are :

1.2.7.1 Alliteration

Alliteration involves repeating identical sounds at the beginning of consecutive words, aiming to create an audible rhythm that imparts a soothing, musical, or emotional quality to written work, as expressed by Bude (2021). Thus, alliteration is a writing technique that involves using words in a phrase or sentence that start with a sound. For instance, the well-known example "Sally sells seashells by the seashore" showcases this device by repeating the (s) sound. Thus, the rhetorical analysis of alliteration is an assessment of the way in which the use of alliteration enhances the impact of the message, contributes to exaggeration, or affects the overall style and mood (Bude, 2021).

1.2.7.2 Anaphora

Malewitz (2020) provided the following definition:" Anaphora is the repetition of words or phrases in a group of sentences, clauses, or poetic lines". So, anaphora is a technique that involves repeating the word or phrase at the start of consecutive clauses or sentences. It is commonly utilized to highlight points or establish a flow, in both written works and speeches. For instance, in Martin Luther King's speech "I Have a Dream", he repeats the phrase "I have a dream" to underscore his aspirations for equality and justice. In the rhetorical analysis of anaphora, it is important to look at how it supports the speaker's argumentation, evokes emotional reactions, and keeps the audience involved by highlighting certain narratives or ideas (Malewitz, 2020)

1.2.7.3 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a figure of speech that involves exaggerated claims or statements that are not meant to be taken literally. It's often used for bringing attention or to create a vivid effect or image. For instance, saying "I'm so hungry I could eat a horse" is a hyperbole, as it exaggerates the level of hunger to showcase the intensity of the feeling. It was defined by Christodoulidou (2011) as a "kind of 'structuring' of reality where there are competing

realities; it can enable sharp focus on one account of reality and downplay rival accounts, and it brings the listeners into the perspective of the speaker in a powerful way". While rhetorically analyzing hyperbole, it is important to think about how exaggeration not only influences the reader but also how it creates a stronger message, spotlights the most important information, or is part of the writer's rhetorical strategy (Christodoulidou, 2011).

1.2.7.4 Metaphor

Metaphors are commonly used in literature, poetry, and everyday language to create imagery and evoke emotions. Hussein (2020) addressed how "Metaphors are linguistic symbols which give concrete labels to abstract ideas." So, a metaphor is a type of figure of speech that links two things by declaring that one thing is the other. Unlike similes, which rely on "like" or ", "as", for comparisons, metaphors directly identify one thing as another. For instance, when someone says "Time is a thief " it's a metaphor comparing time to a thief to express how time takes away moments or chances. When analyzing metaphors rhetorically, it's important to study their role in shifting the audience's perspective and changing it, and also examine how they enhance persuasiveness and convey the audience (Hussein, 2020).

1.2.7.5 Parallelism

Parallelism is a rhetorical device where parts of a sentence or multiple sentences are grammatically similar in sound, structure, or meaning. It involves using consistent patterns, clauses, phrases, or even words to create a balance and rhythm in writing or speech. Parallelism is often used as a tool to spotlight ideas, create clarity, or add symmetry to a piece of writing. For example, in the phrase "Easy come, easy go," the repetition of the word "easy" creates parallelism in both structure and meaning. According to Bruno (2014) parallelism is the practice of grammatical equilibrium, where two or more concepts are aligned for clearer comprehension. This means matching single words with single words, phrases with phrases,

and clauses with clauses. Additionally, every sentence must maintain this equilibrium within its components; for instance, nouns go with nouns and verbs are aligned with verbs. In rhetorical analysis, it is a must to see to what extent the parallel structure supports the writer's argument and makes a coherent and readable text/speech, and conveys the reader through the repetition of a word, a phrase, or grammatical constructions (Bruno, 2014).

1.2.7.6 Allusion

Allusion has been a widely recognized concept for a long time, not something new. In Ancient Greece, it was considered a rhetorical tool used to indirectly reference literature, particularly poetry, and the skill of public speaking, as provided by Naciscione (2022). She explained how an allusion is a writing technique where an author or speaker mentions a person, event, or piece of literature either directly or indirectly. Allusions are often short; they rely on the reader's or listener's knowledge of the reference to grasp its meaning. They can enhance the depth and complexity of a piece by linking it to historical or literary contexts. For instance, describing someone as having a "Midas touch" refers to King Midas from mythology, who could transform everything he touched into gold. This suggests that the person has a talent for achieving success in all their endeavors. When it comes to the rhetorical analysis of allusion, it should consider the cultural, historical, or literary references to which they relate, and how they support the speaker's argument, add ethos, or appeal to the audience's beliefs and values (Naciscione, 2022).

1.2.7.7 Repetition

According to Al Mukharriq (1993) repetition in persuasion involves consciously repeating key points or phrases to reinforce their significance. When executed thoughtfully, it can enhance the impact of your message by making it more memorable and compelling to the audience (p.26). Similarly, Hartin and Hendricks (2023) presented the same idea and mentioned that repetition is frequently employed to underscore and magnify a specific

viewpoint or storyline. When you repeat a word, phrase, or slogan, it tends to become more memorable and attention-grabbing. It's akin to embedding a catchy tune in someone's mind; the repeated elements stick, making your message more resonant and likely to be recalled. Rhetorical analysis of repetition encompasses the examination of its role in reinforcing the message of the speaker, which enhances the impact of the speech on its readers/listeners (Al Mukharriq, 1993).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this theoretical chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of discourse analysis, political discourse analysis, the concept of rhetoric, and rhetorical strategies within the context of political communication. By exploring these foundational concepts and methodologies, the researchers have laid the groundwork for understanding the intricate interplay between language, power, and persuasion in the realm of political discourse.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology, Data Analysis, and Discussion.

Introduction

      The following chapter is divided into two sections. The first section aims to detail and elucidate the chosen research sampling technique, study design, and procedures employed for data analysis and interpretation. While the second section is devoted to the analysis, discussion, and interpretation of the 15 speeches from three angles: the use of the Aristotelian modes of persuasion (ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, and telos), the use of deictic expressions (I, We, and Our), and the use of rhetorical devices, the summary of the obtained results, limitations, and recommendations.

2.1 Section One : Research Methodology

2.1.1 Research Method and Study Design

      For this rhetorical analysis exploring how Pro-Palestinian Irish politicians employ rhetorical strategies, rhetorical devices, and deictic expressions in the selected speeches advocating for the Palestinian cause, a descriptive study design was deemed appropriate, according to Omair (2015): "descriptive study designs are useful for simply describing the desired characteristics of the sample that is being studied" (p.153). This design ensures that the researchers achieve their objectives by accurately describing the rhetorical strategies, devices, and deictic expressions employed in the sample. Furthermore, a purely qualitative method was chosen for the analysis. This study is "descriptive", " subjective" and "interpretive" as Chenail (2011) stated: "qualitative studies are most likely exploratory, naturalistic, subjective, inductive, ideographic, and descriptive/ interpretive" (p. 1713). It is subjective and interpretive because it is based on the personal interpretations of the researchers. The following table provides detailed information about the speakers and the timing of the speeches:

Table1:

Indicative Timing of the Speeches.

Speakers	Indicative Timing
1.Mary LouMcdonld	8 :47 :20
2. Matt Carthy	8:53:46
3. Mark ward	8:58:34
4. Imenda Munster	9:00:50
5. Paul Donnelly	9:03:20
6. Mac Lauclainn	9:05:24
7. John Brady	9:07:38
8. Mairéad Farrell	9:33:37
9. Chris Andrews	9:36:31
10. Eoin Ó Broin	10:00:57
11. Ruairí Ó Murchú	10:03:39
12. Pa Daly	10:30:02
13. Martin Browne	10:32:54
14. Denise Mitchell	11 :00 :50
15. Réada Cronin	11:03:24

2.1.2 Research Subjects and Sampling

The subjects of this study is the speeches delivered on October 18th by all parties in the lower

house of the Irish parliament, where they discussed the situation in the Middle East and the

Occupied Palestinian territories. The researchers selected 15 speeches delivered by 15

different pro-Palestinian Irish politicians from the "Sinn Féin" party in the lower house of the

Irish Parliament, "Dáil Éireann". This research uses a purposive sampling technique, according to Daniel (2012): "purposive sampling technique is a nonprobability sampling procedure in which elements are selected from the targeted subjects on the basis of their fit with the purposes of the study and specific inclusion and exclusion criteria. It is also referred to as purposeful sampling" (p.7). The researchers chose the speeches purposefully. These speeches were selected from the official website of the Irish Parliament "The House of Oireachtas". https://www.oireachtas.ie.

2.1.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedures

After collecting the data, and reading the written versions of these 15 speeches (see appendices from A to O) the researchers started the analysis. They focused on identifying and interpreting the use of Aristotelian appeals: Ethos, Pathos, Logos, Kairos, and Telos in the speeches, subsequently extracting the rhetorical devices employed in the speeches, and analyzing the use of the deictic expressions I, we, and our looking for the techniques used by the speakers that were explained in section two of chapter one. (See pp. 20-29).

2.2 Section Two: Data Analysis and interpretation

2.2.1 Analysis of Kairos and Telos of the Speeches

This section presents data analysis and discussion to answer the previously mentioned research questions to investigate the use of Aristotle's appeals, rhetorical devices, and the deictic expressions (I, we, and our). Kairos, or what Aristotle has explained as the right time for action. It is about recognizing and seizing the perfect moment for something, often accentuating the qualitative nature of time rather than its quantitative measurement. In rhetoric, it's used to persuade by appealing to the timing or appropriateness of an argument. Kairos in these 15 parliamentary speeches delivered by distinct Irish politicians, is the 18th October, 2023. This speeches took place after the events of 7th October in Palestine. It was

the first day where the Irish parliament discussed the Palestinian cause in the parliament publicly.

Telos on the other hand or what Aristotle has defined as the final end or the purpose of the delivered message, in the 15 speeches likely revolves around advocating for Palestine,aiming to influence the Irish government and parliament members to call for immediate action and a ceasefire in Palestine. For example, in the speech of Matt Carthy, he stated: "immediate, full and unequivocal ceasefires and a decisive international intervention that leads to negotiations, a lasting and just peace settlement and, at long last, to a free, sovereign and independent Palestine" (see appendix B). Also in Mark Ward affirmed: "We must stand by the Palestinian people at this time and call for a ceasefire" (see appendix C). Additionally, Luclainn asserted that: "For once and for all, take the opportunity provided for a ceasefire, and for justice and peace for the Palestinian people" (see appendix F).

2.2.2 The First Speech by Mary Lou McDonald

2.2.2.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

In her speech addressing the Irish Parliament, calling for immediate action to end the humanitarian crisis in Gaza and to support the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and freedom, Mary Lou McDonald, the leader of the Sinn Fein party, made use of the three Aristotelian appeals. Ethos is established through references to Ireland's own history of colonization, occupation, and dispossession. By drawing parallels between the experiences of the Irish and the Palestinians, McDonald positioned herself and her party as having a deep understanding of the playbook of the colonizer, the occupier, and the oppressor which builds her credibility as a spokesperson for the Palestinian cause when saying:

> We in Ireland know all too well the pain and tragedy of colonization, occupation, and
> dispossession. We have known conflict and suffering. We have known war. We know
> peace. There is no excuse and no pretence that we do not understand the playbook of

the colonizer, occupier, and the oppressor. We carried that weight and trauma for centuries. (see appendix A)

McDonald's use of pathos, or emotional appeals, is evident in painting a heart-wrenching picture of the suffering endured by the Palestinian people highlighting the human cost of the conflict. She taped into the audience's empathy and moral outrage in phrases such as "Entire families are being wiped out," "their lives ravaged by apartheid", and the people of Gaza "clinging to their very existence" to evoke a powerful emotional response from the listeners.

Alongside the emotional appeals, the speech also employed logos, or logical reasoning, to strengthen the argument, she systematically outlined the actions of the Israeli government, describing them as "acts of impunity and violation of international law". McDonald then logically argued that the international community's tolerance, acceptance, and facilitation of Israel's violation of Palestinian basic human rights is unacceptable. For example: "Gaza cannot become the graveyard of international law. Decimated Gazan neighborhoods cannot become monuments to the international community's tolerance, acceptance, and facilitation of Israel's violation of Palestinian basic human rights".This logical progression, grounded in facts and international law, and adds credibility to McDonald's call for action.

2.2.2.2 Analysis of the use of deictic expressions (I, We and Our)

The TD employed them to convey solidarity, responsibility, and collective action. These expressions serve not only to engage the parliament but also to underscore the shared responsibility and empathy toward the suffering of the people of Gaza. The pronoun "I" is sparingly used throughout the speech, primarily to pinpoint the personal perspective and convictions of the TD. For instance, when she declared: "I remind our Government that the recitation of all our interventions and charitable acts for the Palestinian people does not

relieve it of its primary responsibility..." Here, "I" highlights McDonald's individual commitment to holding the government accountable for its actions, asserting personal agency and conviction.

On the other hand, the deictic expressions "we" and "our" were employed extensively to foster a sense of collective responsibility and solidarity among the speaker, the audience, and potentially other stakeholders. By stating, "Our hearts break for the loss of Israeli lives..." Mary Lou included both herself and the Irish people in the expression of empathy, highlighting a shared emotional response to the tragedy. Similarly, phrases like "We in Ireland know all too well..." and "Our history now speaks powerfully to us..." asserted the shared experiences and history of her community, which reinforced a sense of unity and common purpose. Furthermore, the deictic expressions "we" and "our" were used to stress collective action and advocacy for change. For example, when she asserted: "We must call for immediate and full lasting ceasefires..." This use of "we" showcased the collective responsibility to demand action and highlights the power of unified voices in effecting change.

2.2.2.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

In a passionate address on the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza, Mary Lou McDonald employed a variety of rhetorical devices to show the urgency of the situation and call for international action. Through the strategic use of rhetorical devices, she captured the attention of the Irish government and conveyed the gravity of the plight faced by the people of Gaza.

One of the most prominent rhetorical devices utilized in the speech is parallelism, by repeating grammatical structures, such as "We know" in the phrases "We know peace", " We in Ireland know all too well the pain", "We have known conflict and suffering", " We have known war", Mary Lou stressed the assertion of understanding and experience. This

repetition not only adds rhythm to the speech but also underscores Mary Lou's credibility and authority on the subject matter.

Anaphora is another device employed to show some key points. For instance, when she declared, "We must call for immediate and full-lasting ceasefires. Unified, we must call on Israel to end its bombardment of Gaza..." This repetition of "We must call" at the beginning of the sentences shows the urgency and importance of the actions being advocated, compelling the Irish government to act accordingly.

Metaphor was skillfully utilized to evoke vivid imagery and concisely convey complex ideas. By stating, "Gaza cannot become the graveyard of international law," she metaphorically compared Gaza to a graveyard, highlighting the widespread death and destruction wrought by the crisis. This metaphor serves to evoke empathy and evoke a sense of urgency among the audience.

The use of exaggeration or hyperbole is employed to underscore the scale of the suffering endured by the people of Gaza. By stating: "Entire families are being wiped out, hundreds of thousands are being displaced," the Td exaggerates the magnitude of the crisis, compelling the government to confront the gravity of the situation and take immediate action.

2.2.3 The Second Speech by Paule Donnelly

2.2.3.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Paul Donnelly in his speech utilized ethos, pathos, and logos to build credibility, evoke emotional responses, and present logical arguments in support of the people of Gaza. Ethos is established through the use of specific details and information. He cited truths about the difficult situation in Gaza, noting the hundreds of innocent civilians, including men, women, and children who are dying by saying "These are men, women and children, innocent civilians, who have no connection with Hamas which perpetrated brutal, violent and

unjustifiable acts last weekend. There is no justification for the killing of civilians on either side".

The speech also relied on pathos, or emotional appeals, to evoke a sense of urgency and moral obligation in the audience. The deputy made use of emotive language, such as describing the forced displacement of one million Palestinians, half of them children and the cutting off of water, food and medical supplies. He also appealed to the government's sense of justice and fairness, highlighting that "there is no justification for the killing of civilians on either side" and that "all acts of violence must end immediately". These emotional appeals aim to inspire the Irish government to take immediate action to address the humanitarian crisis.

Finally, the speech employed logos, or logical reasoning, to present a clear and compelling argument for intervention. Donnelly provided historical context, noting the "sustained intensification of the Israeli state's occupation and apartheid and the massive expansion of illegal settlements over the past decade, by using this contextual information the deputy is seeking to help the parliament members and the Irish government to understand the broader geopolitical factors contributing to the crisis.

2.2.3.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We and Our)

Deictic expressions were used to establish a sense of unity and shared responsibility among the audience. In his speech Donnelly didn't make use of the pronoun "I". However he used the deictic expressions "We" and "Our" For instance, when he stated:"We need to act because the people of Palestine, the people of Gaza, cannot wait another night," he directly implicated himself and the audience in the call to action, emphasizing collective responsibility for addressing the crisis.

Furthermore, the use of "our" fosters a sense of solidarity and common purpose among the audience. For example, when he declared: "The people of Gaza need our support now," he

made prominent the shared humanity and inter-connectedness of all individuals involved. By framing the issue as a collective concern that requires collective action, he encouraged unity and cooperation in addressing the challenges faced by the people of Gaza.

2.2.3.2 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

In his speech Paul Donnelly did not make use of a large number of Rhetorical Devices. However, he used some of them like repetition, that was employed throughout the speech to pinpoint key points and create a sense of urgency. For example, phrases like "the people of Gaza need our support now" and "international law must be respected and enforced" are repeated to underscore their importance. This repetition not only adds emphasis but also helps to reinforce the central themes of the speech, such as the immediate need for assistance and the imperative of upholding international law.

Hyperbole was also used to bring attention to the dire circumstances faced by the people of Gaza, with phrases like "dying in their hundreds" amplifying the urgency of the Palestinians' struggle to call for immediate support.

2.2.4 The Third Speech by Matt Carthy

2.2.4.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Deputy Matt Carthy appealed to credibility or ethos through condemning both Hamas and Israel for their violations of international law. By acknowledging the wrongdoing of both parties, Carthy demonstrated fairness and impartiality. For example, when Carthy stated: "Hamas breached international law on 7 October," and followed it up with criticism of Israel's actions, it shows a balanced approach to the conflict. Additionally, he appealed to the authority of world leaders and governments, including their own, to highlight the inconsistency in their responses to violations of international law by different parties.

Emotional appeals are woven throughout the speech to evoke empathy and outrage from the audience. The Deputy Matt Carthy used the same technique as Donnelly by

employing vivid language and imagery to depict the situation in Palestine, such as the displacement of one million people, the denial of basic necessities like food and water, and the targeting of innocent civilians, including children. By painting a stark picture of the human cost of the conflict, he elicits an emotional response and underscores the urgency of the situation. For example:

> Israel has the right to defend itself" mean in practice that Israel takes that right as license to bombard civilians and to bomb schools, hospitals and other civilian infrastructure. It has now been taken as license to enforce the displacement of one million people from one end of an open-air prison to another, to deny food, energy and medical supplies to a besieged civilian population and to deny them water to ensure that children, and the sick, disabled and elderly, will literally die of thirst (see appendix B)

Carthy utilized logical arguments to critique the responses of world leaders and governments to the conflict. He pointed out the inconsistency in the international community's stance on the right to self-defense, highlighting the lack of acknowledgment of Palestine's right to defend itself in the face of Israeli aggression. The TD also appealed to the principles of international law and justice, arguing for a cessation of hostilities, a decisive international intervention, and a negotiated settlement that respects the rights of both Palestinians and Israelis. These arguments are grounded in reason and appeal to the audience's sense of fairness and justice.

2.2.4.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We and Our)

The speech engaged the Irish people by consistently employing collective expressions such as "we" and "our" to point out shared responsibility and solidarity. Through phrases like "including our Government" and "we all know," this fosters a sense of collective ownership and understanding among the audience. These deictic expressions serve to humanize the discourse and strengthen the connection between Carthy and and the Irish government,

highlighting the importance of collective action in advocating for change. Despite the absence of the pronoun "I" Matt Carthy communicated his message by presenting a united front and highlighting the shared responsibility for addressing the conflict.

2.2.4.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

The use of rhetorical devices was present in Matt Carthy's speech such as parallelism, he utilized parallel structure to stress some key points and create a rhythmic effect. For example, phrases like "Hamas breached international law on 7 October" and "Israel has breached international law, not just every day since 7 October, but virtually every single day for decades".

Repetition is used throughout the speech to reinforce important ideas and create emphasis. Phrases like "Israel has the right to defend itself" and "the people of Palestine cannot defend themselves" were repeated six times to underscore Carthy's argument and accentuate his message to evoke a strong emotional response from the Irish government.

Rhetorical questions were also used to engage the audience and prompt them to think critically about the urgency of the Palestinian suffering. For example, when he asked: "How does the world respond to flagrant abuses of international law? Palestine has the right to defend itself. Why not?"

Furthermore, the use of exaggerated language is evident in the speech. One example of hyperbole is when the deputy stated: "virtually every single day for decades" regarding Israel's alleged breaches of international law. This exaggerated language spotlights the frequency and severity of the alleged violations, enhancing the urgency of the message.

Anaphora was employed in the speech to highlight and reinforce key points, an example of anaphora in the speech is the repetition of the phrase "Israel has the right to defend itself." At the beginning of multiple sentences throughout the speech, such as in the sentences: "Israel has the right to defend itself" and "It has now been taken as licence to

enforce the displacement of one million people... 'Israel has the right to defend itself' has now become cover for Israel having the right to commit genocide right in front of our eyes." This repetition of the phrase highlights Carthy's critique of the international community's response to Israel's actions and brings attention to the perceived injustice of using the right to self-defense as justification for violence against civilians.

2.2.5 The Fourth Speech by Mark Ward

2.2.5.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Ethos, pathos, and logos are employed in the speech to convey Ward's perspective on the israeli occupation on Palestinian. Mark Ward in this speech used ethos by drawing upon his personal experience and firsthand observations during his time in the West Bank, by recounting encounters with Israeli armed forces, interactions with Palestinian officials, and visits to refugee camps, Ward presented himself as someone with direct knowledge and insight into the realities faced by Palestinians. This personal connection lends authority to the arguments and underscores the urgency of the situation. Mark Ward used pathos through sharing anecdotes of encountering Palestinian children, witnessing instances of violence and oppression, and learning about disruptions to education. For example:

This time last year I spent some time in the West Bank. We could not go to Gaza as Israel imposed a ban on visiting the area. I witnessed at first hand the apartheid regime that Israel imposes on the Palestinian people. Freedom of movement is denied. Palestinians have to go through Israeli armed checkpoints just to go from A to B. They have to use road networks that are separate from Israelis. Our Palestinian bus driver was forcibly removed from the bus simply for being Palestinian and was questioned and searched by the Israeli army. Our bus was boarded and we Irish citizens were verbally abused. When I interjected, a gun was put to my face and members of the Israeli army shouted at me, "There is no Palestine. There is no Palestine".

These stories paint a real picture of the suffering endured by Palestinians, appealing to the audience's emotions and fostering their empathy.

Finally, logos was incorporated through the presentation of logical arguments and factual evidence to support Ward's message. The speech highlighted injustices such as restrictions on freedom of movement, disruptions to education, and the use of harmful tactics like skunk water, appealing to the Irish government's sense of reason and rationality.

2.2.5.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

Ward frequently used the pronoun "I" to share his personal experiences and observations, adding a sense of authenticity and credibility to his message, by employing "I" the TD highlighted his individual perspective and firsthand encounters, allowing them to connect with the listeners on a personal level. For example, when stating: "This time last year I spent some time in the West Bank," highlighting his direct involvement in the region. Additionally, phrases like "I witnessed at first hand the apartheid regime that Israel imposes on the Palestinian people" and "I met with officials... from the Palestinian ministry of education" underscore Ward's personal engagement with the issues at hand. Through the use of "I" Ward humanized the discourse, making their argument more relatable and compelling to the Irish government.

He also used the deictic expressions "our" and "we" throughout the speech to create a sense of collective identity and shared responsibility among the audience and, engaging the Irish parliament members in a call to action and pointed out the importance of unity in addressing the israeli occupation on Palestinian. For example, when he stated: "We could not go to Gaza as Israel imposed a ban on visiting the area", highlighting a shared experience among himself. Additionally, phrases like "We must stand by the Palestinian people at this time" and "Our call must be clear" underlined the collective responsibility of the Itish people to support the Palestinian cause. Through the use of "our" and "we" the deputy fosters a sense

of solidarity and encourages the Irish government to act together in advocating for peace and justice in the region.

2.2.5.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

This speech employed a set of rhetorical devices like anaphora in the repetition of the phrase "there is no Palestine" that functions rhetorically to challenge the audience's understanding and provoke thought about the denial of Palestinian identity and existence by the Israeli people.

Allusion is used in the mention of "the apartheid regime that Israel imposes on the Palestinian people" which can lead the Irish people to the historical system of apartheid in South Africa. This reference draws a parallel between the systematic discrimination and segregation experienced by black South Africans under apartheid and the perceived oppression faced by Palestinians under Israeli policies.

2.2.6 The Fifth Speech by Imenda Munster

2.2.6.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Munster showed her credibility through the portrayal of Israel's actions as violations of international law and, references to war crimes and deliberate targeting of civilians in examples like : "The people of Gaza have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide", "Hospitals, ambulances, and medical personnel are deliberately targeted by Israel", "Israel's record on war crimes, bombings, displacement, torture, and humiliation of the Palestinian people over decades is there for the whole world to see".

Pathos, or emotional appeal, is evoked through the depiction of the violation endured by the Palestinian people, accentuating their vulnerability, fear, and desperation. For example: "Innocent civilians trying to get away along the approved evacuation routes are deliberately targeted". "To add to the torture of knowing that each moment could be their last as bombs rain down upon them...", "It is simply terror upon terror". This emotional appeal

aims to elicit empathy and outrage from the audience, highlighting the human cost of the Palestinian people.

The speech employed logos by presenting detailed factual claims about the Israeli blockade and its effects on Gaza, such as shortages of essentials and the targeting of hospitals and civilians. The deputy referenced international law, labeling these actions as war crimes, and situates them within a historical context of repeated offenses by Israel. By highlighting the disparity in power and support between Israel and the Palestinians, Munster argued logically for Ireland to intervene, asserting that a ceasefire is the rational solution to uphold humanity and prevent further atrocities.

2.2.6.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We and Our)

Deictic expressions were strategically used throughout the speech to cultivate a sense of shared outrage and responsibility. "We" is employed frequently to introduce a collective experience with the Irish people in phrases like: "As we speak", she also used the expression "Our" in examples like : "This is not the first time Israel has committed these war crimes against our Palestinian people" creates a sense of solidarity with the Palestinians, suggesting a common humanity and shared suffering.

The use of "I" is limited throughout the speech, the focus is on the collective experience and the collective responsibility for action, rather than the deputy's individual perspective.

2.2.6.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

The speech employed a multitude of rhetorical devices to evoke strong emotions, paint a realistic picture about Gaza, and ultimately urge the Irish government toward an urgent ceasefire in Palestine. Hyperbole, for instance, is evident in phrases like "the world's largest open-air prison", "terror upon terror," and "slaughter and collective punishment" exaggerate the severity of the situation to provoke outrage.

Metaphors, like "open-air prison", painted a chilling image of the restrictions or limitations on Palestinians freedom, and "bombs rain down upon them", to convey a sense of Israel's intense and relentless attack or destruction over Gaza. The speech also utilized anaphora, the repeated use of "deliberately targeted" to point out the calculated brutality of the Israeli attacks.

2.2.7 The Sixth Speech by Mac Lauclainn

2.2.7.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Lauclainn in this speech utilized all three persuasive appeals: ethos, pathos, and logos, to advocate for the Palestinian people. Just like Mark Ward, Lauclainn employed ethos by mentioning his firsthand experience as a witness to the aggression Israel is applying against the Palestinians: "I saw many of them myself when I visited the camps in Lebanon." This personal connection suggests that Lauclainn has witnessed the situation and speaks with knowledge and also by referring to credible sources such as the United Nations, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch which are recognized authorities in the field of human rights, lending authority to argument of the TD. By citing these sources, the TD built trust with the audience, enhancing the persuasiveness of their message.

In this speech the deputy employed pathos in saying: "the majority of Palestinians, were permanently displaced, and the world looked the other way" and " There are 3 million Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. I saw many of them myself when I visited the camps in Lebanon where refugees were staying with other refugees as a result of the latest wave of Israeli oppression". These words are used to evoke empathy and compassion, he directly appealed to the Irish government emotions by portraying the human suffering and hardship experienced by Palestinians.

The TD appealed to logos by referring to the history of suffering of the Palestinian people using statistics of the looses to strengthen his argument : "700,000

people...permanently displaced," "three millions Palestinian refugees," "1.7 million...out of a population of 2.1 million."

2.2.7.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expression (I, We and Our)

The pronoun "I" was used in the speech to personalize the message and share Lauclainn's own experiences and observations. For example, "I saw many of them myself when I visited the camps in Lebanon". By using "I" Lauclainn added authenticity to his statements and asserted his personal connection to the issue, which can make the argument more relatable and compelling.

2.2.7.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

Mac Luclainn used anaphora in the repetition of the phrase "He knows" at the beginning of several sentences underlined the Tánaiste's or the president of the chamber of the awareness of the situation, reinforcing the expectation for action based on this knowledge.

He also made use of parallelism by the listing of statistics and descriptions of Palestinian refugee populations in different locations (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Gaza, West Bank) to create a parallel structure, highlighting the widespread impact of the conflict. In the example "The Palestinian people have lost all confidence": This assertion used hyperbole to suggest the Palestinian's complete loss of confidence.

Repetition is also marked in the sentence "the world looked the other way", this sentence is repeated throughout the passage, highlighting the perceived indifference of the international community towards the suffering of Palestinians.

2.2.8 The Seventh Speech by John Brady

2.2.8.1 Analysis of Ethos Pathos and Logos

Ethos is evident throughout the speech as John Brady established credibility and moral authority. For instance, by condemning both Israel's actions and Hamas' aggression which was also mentioned in the speech of the TD Matt Carthy. Brady positioned himself as

fair-minded and principled. He highlighted the government's moral responsibility in investing Irish State funds in businesses operating within illegal Israeli settlements, appealing to the listener's sense of ethics and responsibility. Additionally, the TD's call for condemnation of violence from both sides and urging the government to push for EU action demonstrates a commitment to fairness, justice, and diplomatic solutions, was used to enhance his credibility as a responsible advocate for peace in saying: "The Government needs to unreservedly condemn the naked aggression of Israel as well as that of Hamas. The Government must push for the EU to take a leading role in seeking an immediate ceasefire and a return of the hostages, to demand that all war criminals must be held accountable before the International Criminal Court and to work for a true, lasting peace settlement in the Middle East".

Like some previous deputies, Brady appealed to pathos by portraying the aggression experienced by the Palestinian people under continuous Israeli bombardment and denial of basic humanitarian aid, aiming to elicit empathy and support for their cause. "The people of Gaza are under continuous Israeli bombardment. They are being denied the basics of water, fuel, electricity, food and of basic humanitarian aid". By highlighting the tragic consequences of Israel's campaign, such as the deaths of innocent civilians, including children, nurses, doctors, and UN workers, Brady appealed to the Irish government compassion and sense of moral outrage, motivating them to take action to address the ongoing crisis.

Logos was utilized to support the TD's arguments with logical reasoning and evidence. For example, John Brady pointed out the targeting of schools and the killing of Palestinian children during attacks on UN-operated schools, presenting factual evidence to strengthen his argument.

The targeting of schools has become a staple of this attack. Among the 1,000 Palestinian children killed to date, dozens were killed during attacks on UN-operated schools. Israel's wrath is not confined to Gaza. In the West Bank more than 60

Palestinians have also been killed, with a further 1,250 injured, the majority of them by

the Israeli military and others by illegal Israeli settlers (see appendix G).

Additionally, he appealed to the principles of international law by calling for

accountability for war crimes before the International Criminal Court and advocating for a

true, lasting peace settlement in the Middle East.

2.2.8.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We and Our)

In his speech Brady used the pronoun " We" in only one sentence: "we can add the

names of UN workers, journalists, nurses and doctors, and children to those thousands of

Palestinians who continue to pay the price for Israel's campaign of vengeance", to refer to the

broader collective, encompassing Brady, the Irish government, and potentially others who

share a common concern for the conflict. The use of "we" implies shared responsibility or

shared experience among those who are concerned about the situation in Gaza.

2.2.8.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

Brady made use of some rhetorical devices among which is the repetition of the word

"killed" in the sentence "Among the 1,000 Palestinian children killed to date, dozens were

killed during attacks on UN-operated schools" features the tragic loss of life and draws

attention to the impact of the violence on innocent civilians, particularly children.

The use of one metaphor in the phrase: "the butcher's bill" to paints a vivid image of

the cost in human lives incurred during the conflict, and conveys the sense of tragedy and

loss resulting from the ongoing conflict, emphasizing the perspective of the TD on the gravity

of the situation and the toll it takes on the Palestinian people.

Parallelism is evident in the speech in the sentence: "The Government needs to

unreservedly condemn the naked aggression of Israel as well as that of Hamas." Here, the

parallel structure stressed out the deputy's call for equal condemnation of both Israel and

Hamas, highlighting a balanced approach to addressing the conflict.

2.2.9 The Eighth Speech by Mairéad Farrell

2.2.9.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

The TD Mairéada Farrell appealed to ethos by aligning herself with the plight of the people of Gaza, and condemning the actions of the Israeli government and the international community. Her solidarity with the ordinary citizens of Gaza and their rejection of the status stresses her credibility and moral authority.

Furthermore, pathos was evoked through her description of the suffering endured by the people of Gaza, portraying them as victims of genocide and war crimes, in phrases like "human animals" and descriptions of thirst, hunger, and disease that elicit sympathy outrage and, appealing to pathos.

Additionally, she employed logical arguments to support her position, citing specific examples of international law violations and war crimes committed by Israel. By framing these actions as clear violations of established norms and legal standards, Farrell built a rational case to call for an immediate ceasefire and advocated for the rights of the people of Gaza, appealing to logos. Through this effective combination of credibility, emotion, and reason, the TD urged the Irish government to take action and support their stance on the dire situation unfolding in Gaza.

2.2.9.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

The use of "We" prevailed in the speech and was repeated many times. For instance:" We stand with the ordinary citizens" to evoke a sense of support with the people of Gaza, Farrell here showcased compassion for the Gaza citizens who were described as victims throughout the speech. This use of "we" fosters a sense of unity and mutual support, reinforcing Farell's call to action and accentuating the importance of collective responsibility in addressing the plight of the people of Gaza.

2.2.9.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

To make her speech more effective, engage the Parliament members and stress out some key points Mairéad Farell used rhetorical devices like anaphora by repeating the phrase "we stand" multiple times throughout the speech. For example, "We stand with the ordinary citizens; we stand with the citizens of Gaza..." This repetition creates a feeling of unity and showcases her unwavering support for the freedom of Gaza. Anaphora is also used in the repeated phrase "When we see..." that is used to highlight different instances of injustice and suffering faced by the people of Gaza.

She employed a metaphor as well when describing the suffering of Gaza citizens, such as referring to them as "human animals." This metaphorical language showed the dehumanization and brutality of the situation, eliciting empathy and outrage from the audience.

Hyperbole was used to exaggerate the severity of the situation, such as when she referred to the actions of the Israeli government as "the genocide of the people of Gaza." This hyperbolic language heightens the emotional impact of the speech and underscores the urgency of the deputy intention for intervention.

2.2.10 The Ninth Speech by Chris Andrews

2.2.10.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Deputy Chris Andrews established credibility (ethos) using the same technique as Mark Ward and Lauclainn by relating his personal experience, having lived and worked in Gaza, which lent authority to their arguments and underscored their commitment to advocate for the rights of Palestinians.

He also provided pathos by delivering strong emotional responses from the Irish government by humanizing the individuals affected by the conflict, vividly describing their daily struggles and aspirations, and expressing deep sadness and concern for the recent

events, and he added a quote said by Ursula von der Leyen in which she defended the rights of Ukrainian people and he blamed her for not defending the Palestinian ones, and this move explicitly worked on scratching the emotional surface of the audience.

Additionally, he used logos to support their call for action and accountability, highlighting the hypocrisy of international responses and questioning why universal standards do not apply, and proposing concrete measures to pressure the Israeli government and the international community to address the root causes of the conflict and ensure justice for all parties involved, he also highlighted for an immediate call for action by saying:" The Irish Government must step forward and take action" which compels the government to not be a standby and work to find solutions.

2.2.10.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

The speech made us of the deictic expression "I" By stating: "I lived in the Gaza strip and I know the difference", and "I recall the young boys running around with excitement when they got Ronaldo haircuts" Andrews established his personal connection to the issue, he positioned himself as someone with direct knowledge and how he is informed of what's truly going on to show credibility. He also expressed his personal feelings to convey a strong sense of despair and sorrow by saying:" I find the events of recent days utterly depressing and so sad". "We" was also present in "We hear a lot of people talking about peace but without justice, there can be no peace", this implied that he and other people are aware of discussions surrounding peace and suggested a belief of inter-connectedness of peace and justice. He also urged the Irish government to help stop the genocide on Gaza people by saying:" We urgently need to see a ceasefire and the release of hostages".

2.2.10.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

Anaphora is used throughout the speech, such as in the repetition of "We must" in the following passage: "We must pass the Illegal Israeli Settlements Divestment Bill 2023, We

must expel the Israeli ambassador…..". This repetition of "must" stresses out the urgency and necessity of each action, rallying the Irish government to support these measures.

The TD employed metaphor when describing attacks on civilian infrastructure as "acts of pure terror." This metaphorical language heightened the severity of the situation which framed them as equivalent to terrorism.

Hyperbole appeared too, such as when Chris Andrews stated: "There is no other country in the world that could bomb four countries in 48 hours." This hyperbolic statement underscores the perceived severity of the situation and serves to provoke a strong reaction from the audience.

2.2.11 The Tenth Speech by Eoin Ó Broin

2.2.11.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

In this poignant speech, Deputy Eoin Ó Broin established credibility or ethos by aligning himself with fellow Deputies and acknowledging their shared observation of the dire situation in Gaza. By expressing his concerns alongside his peers, he positioned himself as a trustworthy advocate for action.

He also delivered powerful emotions (pathos) by depicting the suffering of the people of Gaza, including the loss of civilian lives, killing of children, destruction of buildings, and scarcity of vital resources. Through phrases like "brutal aerial bombardment" and "hundreds of children lie dead," Broin elicited empathy and moral indignation, compelling the Irish people to feel a sense of urgency and compassion for the victims.

Additionally, he used logical arguments (logos) to support their call for action and stressed out the need for a full ceasefire, condemnation of violence, release of hostages, and reinstatement of essential services. He appealed to principles of international law and justice, advocated for an end to forced displacement and collective punishment, and highlighted the importance of dialogue in achieving lasting peace. Thus, the TD reinforced his credibility,

evoked empathy, and presented a compelling case for immediate intervention and justice for the victims.

2.2.11.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

The deictic expression "I" was used in the example:"Like other Deputies present, I have been watching the images,night after night, of the people of Gaza being subjected to a brutal aerial bombardment by the Government of Israel." Here, he considered himself as an observer of what actually happened, The use of "I" also served to humanise Broin which made his observation and reaction to the events more relatable to the parliament members.

The use of the pronouns "we" by stating: "Tonight, Dáil Éireann has an important opportunity... We can use our voice," Broin highlighted the shared responsibility of the legislative body to take action and advocate for change, he held Dáil Éireann accountable to defend Palestine. "Our" was used as well. For example, when he stated: "Our choice of words tonight... is absolutely vital," he made the collective impact of the Dáil Éireann's decisions on the audience's community important and it will play a big role in changing outcomes.

2.2.11.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

The TD employed parallelism when stating, "There must be a full and unconditional ceasefire. Not a pause, but a full and unconditional ceasefire." This parallel structure accentuated the importance of the call for a ceasefire and reinforces the deputy's insistence on its unconditional nature.

Anaphora is utilized throughout the speech, such as in the repetition of "There must be" to introduce a series of demands: "There must be condemnation of all violence against civilians... There must be a single, unified demand by the international community for dialogue." This repetition pointed out the urgency and necessity of each demand, rallying the Irish government to support these measures.

Broin also employed metaphor when describing the feeling of powerlessness, stating, "It is at times like these that it is tempting to feel that there are simply no words." This metaphorical language conveyed the profound emotional impact of the situation and the challenge of finding adequate expression for the depth of the suffering experienced by the people of Gaza.

There was also a use of alliteration such as in the phrase "brutal aerial bombardment". The repetition of the "b" sound underlined the severity and brutality of the attacks, which drew attention to the violence inflicted upon the people of Gaza.

Hyperbole was also used to spotlight the magnitude of the events described, such as when saying: "Thousands of civilians, including hundreds of children, lie dead", this hyperbolic statement underscores the gravity of the situation and served to provoke a strong emotional response from the audience.

2.2.12 The Eleventh Speech by Denise Mitchell

2.2.12.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

In her speech Denise Mitchell appealed to ethos by acknowledging the collective experience shared by the audience, stating: "We all watched in horror", which aligned her with the audience's perspective and underscored her authority to speak on the issue.

She also used pathos by relating the human misery caused by the bombing of Israelis on Gaza, showing to the world the plight of injured Palestinians, particularly women and children. Phrases like "bombs rain down" and "thousands of Palestinians injured and dead" were appealing to the audience's emotions and sense of moral responsibility.

For logos, the Deputy employed logical arguments to support her call for action, citing violations of international law and the potential for further violence and humanitarian disaster. She advocated for an immediate ceasefire and an end to the illegal occupation and

apartheid policies, asserting the urgent need for international intervention and a pathway to sustainable peace.

2.2.12.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

Denise Mitchell used the pronoun "we" in the example: "We all watched in horror", Mitchell positioned herself as a part of the collective response to the crisis. This use of "we" fosters a sense of unity and mutual responsibility, reinforcing the importance of collective engagement in addressing the issue.

2.2.12.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

While addressing the Irish Parliament and government, Deputy Denise Mitchell used parallelism in:" The collective punishment of blockading Gaza and denying access to food, water, and medical aid to its citizens is also prohibited under international law." This parallel structure highlighted the various forms of collective punishment inflicted on Gaza, highlighting their illegality under international law.

She also used anaphora such as in the repetition of "must" to introduce a series of demands: "There must… We must…". This repetition featured the necessity of each demand, rallying the Irish government to support immediate action.

Metaphor was used too when describing the situation as "sitting on a knife-edge." This metaphorical language conveys the precariousness and volatility of the situation, accentuating the potential for further violence and instability if not addressed urgently.

Hyperbole was used such as when Mitchell stated: "The atrocities that we have witnessed have the potential to spill over and violence could spread across the Middle East". This hyperbolic statement underscores the gravity of the situation and serves to provoke a strong emotional response from the audience.

2.2.13 The Twelvth Speech by Réada Cronin

2.2.13.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Réada Cronin appealed to ethos by addressing her limitations in dealing with the "human slaughterhouse scenes", acknowledging the horror of the situation and underlying her commitment to addressing it through political action. Additionally, she referenced her conversation with the Tánaiste (the president of the chamber), highlighting their engagement with government officials on the issue, further enhancing her credibility as a concerned advocate for the Palestinian people.

She also appealed to emotional responses by describing the distress of the people of Gaza, such as "raining hell on Gaza" and "slaughterhouse scenes," eliciting empathy from the audience. She also expressed condolences for victims of attacks, appealing to the audience's compassion and sense of humanity.

Cronin employed logical arguments to support her call for action, citing international law and principles of justice to condemn war crimes and advocate for a ceasefire. She also contextualized the conflict within the broader history of oppression and violence against the Palestinian people, pointing out the need for a comprehensive solution to achieve lasting peace.

2.2.13.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

The use of the first singular pronoun " I" for instance " I am sticking to raw politics tonight ", Cronin here showed her own stance and approach to address the crisis in Gaza, she positioned herself a direct participant in the discourse.

The pronouns " we" appeared in examples like "we must look at this situation in the broader context of the conflict", "We must see it in the context of the occupation, annexation, oppression, apartheid, the pain from 1948…". "We" here referred to politicians or individuals collectively involved in seeking resolution to the conflict. It also accentuated the shared

responsibility and action needed from all involved parties to understand the broader context and work towards a solution.

2.2.13.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical devices were used like metaphors when describing the situation as a "human slaughterhouse", which vividly conveys the brutality and violence of the conflict, eliciting strong emotional responses and brought attention to the urgency of the need for intervention. Also "raining hell on Gaza" is another metaphor that is used to describe the intense and destructive nature of the bombing or attacks on Gaza. The phrase "raining hell" evoked imagery of a torrential downpour of fire and destruction and showcased the severity and devastation of the situation.

Hyperbole is used as well in the following example :" It is horror beyond measure", this hyperbolic statement underscores the gravity of the situation and serves to provoke a strong emotional response from the audience.

Rhetorical question was also used in the example: " What was she doing thinking she is representing Ireland?".

2.2.14 The Thirteenth Speech by Pa Daly

2.2.14.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Pa Daly appealed to ethos by first referencing Sinn Féin's amendment and their concern for the civilian population of Gaza, "Sinn Féin's amendment highlights Israel's brutal assault on the civilian population of Gaza, which has resulted in the deaths of over 1,000 children". Like the TD Mary Lou, Pa Daly added a layer of credibility to his speech by mentioning his own country's experience with conflict and oppression, drawing parallels between the Irish struggle and the Palestinian situation: "Irish people identify with Palestinians and we see the parallels. My town is twinned with a Palestinian town, Beit Sahour, on the West Bank". Additionally, by incorporating a quote from Sinéad O'Connor,

Daly added credibility and resonance to their argument, example: " I will finish with a quote from Sinéad O'Connor: "How many mothers to cry? How many sons have to die? How many missions left to fly over Palestine? Cause as a matter of facts It's a pact, it's an act, These are illegal attacks, So bring the soldiers back".

Emotional appeal was evident throughout the speech too, especially in descriptions of the suffering of the Palestinian people, including the deaths of children, forced displacement, and deprivation of basic necessities like water and medical supplies. He used emotive language to evoke sympathy and outrage, such as "brutal assault", "state terror", and "illegal attacks". He also referenced the personal experiences of families affected by conflict to further elicit an emotional response.

Daly employed logical arguments to support their position, such as highlighting the number of deaths and the disproportionate use of force by Israel. He also appealed to principles of justice and international law, condemning actions such as collective punishment and the destruction of civilian infrastructure as war crimes. Additionally, he called for international intervention and recognition of the state of Palestine as steps towards achieving a just peace: " A just peace requires an end to the illegal occupation and apartheid systems".

2.2.14.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We, and Our)

The Deputy utilized "I" to personalize the message and make it more relatable. For example, when he stated: "I do not propose to address the ramblings of Deputy Phelan", it added a personal touch to their rebuttal, it engaged the parliament members by directly involving himself in the discourse.

The pronoun "we" was employed to foster a sense of collective identity and unity among the audience. For instance, when Daly asserted:" We have heard time and again from apologists", which showed that he and the Irish people have collectively experienced similar

frustrations or arguments. This unites the listeners under a shared perspective and strengthens their resolve.

2.2.14.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

The Td used some rhetorical devices, like Anaphora in the repeated use of "How many" in the lines "How many mothers to cry? How many sons have to die ?" which amplified the emotional impact of his questions about the human cost of the israeli occupation on Palestinian.

Repetition is also used in the repetition of the phrase " is not self defense" in the example: "Revenge is not self-defence, bombing UN-sponsored schools and hospitals is not self-defence, and cutting off water, sanitation, and electricity is not self-defence", which pointed out Browne's argument against Israel's actions.

Rhetorical questions were also used in the speech to engage the audience and prompt reflection and highlight the ongoing suffering and loss experienced by families in the region due to the conflict. For instance : "How many mothers to cry? How many sons have to die?", "How many sons have to die? How many missions left to fly over Palestine?".

2.2.15 The Fourteenth Speech by Martin Browne

2.2.15.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Using the same technique like previous TDs, Martin Browne appealed to ethos through condemnation of both Hamas and Israel's actions, positioning himself as impartial and morally principled. By condemning both sides, Browne presented himself as unbiased and concerned with justice. Example: "The response from Israel must also be condemned because the actions we have seen against 2.5 million people in the largest open-air prison cannot be described as defensive." This statement demonstrates Brown's commitment to fairness and condemnation of actions that harm civilians.

Pathos is evoked through descriptions of the suffering of the Palestinian people, including deaths, displacement, and deprivation of basic necessities. The Td appealed to the parliament's members emotions to garner sympathy. Also in the example "Shame on him for using people's names in the way he did". By expressing moral outrage and using the word "shame" the deputy appealed to the Irish government's sense of indignation and empathy. Also when saying: "People are dying in their thousands, yet what we hear on the international stage appears to fall short of appearing like preparations for a ceasefire", which highlights the human cost of the conflict and aims to elicit empathy from the Irish government.

In this speech, logical arguments are made regarding the actions of both Hamas and Israel, as well as the broader context of the conflict. Browne argued that actions such as forced displacement, denial of supplies, and destruction of infrastructure constitute violations of international humanitarian law and principles of justice. He also calls for a ceasefire and humanitarian aid as logical steps to alleviate the suffering of civilians and de-escalate the conflict. By framing their argument in terms of legal and moral principles, he attempted to make a rational case for his position.

2.2.15.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We and Our)

By using the first singular pronoun " I" in the example: " I will address Deputy Phelan's remarks", the TD is referring to himself individually, indicating that he is going to express their own perspective on the matter. He also used the pronoun " we" for instance "We all appreciate what has gone on and we all condemn it". He used the pronoun "we" to create a sense of unity among him and all the members of the Sinn Fein party, suggesting that there is a collective agreement on the condemnation of certain actions.

2.2.15.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

Martin Browne in his speech addressing the members of Irish parliament and the Irish government used a range of rhetorical devices . The repetition of the phrase " we all" in the

example: "We all appreciate what has gone on and we all condemn it", underlined the universality of the condemnation, highlighting the collective agreement among Browne and their audience.

He also used hyperbole in saying : "People are dying in their thousands, yet what we hear on the international stage appears to fall short of appearing like preparations for a ceasefire", the exaggerating language in the example "people dying in their thousands" underlined the severity of the situation in Gaza, drawing attention to the urgent need for action.

2.2.16 The Fifteenth Speech by Ruairí Ó Murchú

2.2.16.1 Analysis of Ethos, Pathos and Logos

In this speech, Deputy Ruairi Murchú conveyed ethos through the acknowledgment of the complexities of the conflict, condemnation of actions on both sides, and a call for international intervention. This established credibility by presenting a balanced perspective.

Pathos on the other hand, is evoked through emotive language that highlights the dire situation in Gaza, shedding light on the suffering and desperation of the Palestinian people. Murchú appealed to the audience's empathy by painting a picture of the injustices faced by the civilians.

Logos was demonstrated through logical arguments for immediate ceasefire and humanitarian aid, supported by the failures of the Israeli regime and the need for international intervention. By appealing to reason and presenting a compelling argument, the Deputy aims to persuade the Irish government to take action to address the crisis.

2.2.16.2 Analysis of the use of Deictic Expressions (I, We and Our)

The use of "I" in the statement "What has the world done for these people ? I would say very little" personalized Murchú's perspective and positions him as an individual commentator or observer. By using "I" he accentuated his own viewpoint and suggested a

sense of ownership over his analysis of the situation. "What do we need?" in this example the TD employed "we" to include himself and the Irish people in the discussion of necessary actions, fostering a sense of shared responsibility. "That is what we owe the Palestinian people" Here, "we" signifies a collective obligation or debt owed by the international community to the Palestinian people, highlighting a moral imperative for action.the use of the deictic Expression Our in the example: "That is what our Government and the international community need to do". By using "our Government" and "the international community," Murchù brought attention to the shared responsibility and accountability for addressing the crisis in Gaza.

2.2.16.3 Analysis of the use of Rhetorical Devices

The TD used metaphor in the example: "A besieged open prison where young people are offered nothing, the metaphor of Gaza as a "besieged open prison" vividly conveyed the sense of confinement and oppression experienced by the Palestinian people.

Alliteration was also used in the speech in the example "bombs, starvation and one million people being displaced" The repetition of the "b" sound in "bombs" and "being," and the "s" sound in "starvation" and "displaced," creates a rhythmic effect and highlights the harsh realities faced by the Palestinian people".

Hyperbole is evident in the example: " This Israeli regime, which has offered only oppression, or from its point of view security, has led to the biggest failure in Israeli intelligence in the 50 years since the Yom Kippur War." The statement exaggerates the failure of the Israeli regime by suggesting it's the "biggest failure" in intelligence in 50 years, by employing hyperbole.

2.3 Summary and discussion of the Results

The detailed analysis of the fifteen Irish parliamentary speeches revealed that the speakers made use of the five Aristotelian modes of persuasion, rhetorical devices :

repetition, metaphor, parallelism, anaphora, hyperbole, rhetorical questions, and the deictic expressions (I, we and our). The first research question sought to investigate the use of the Aristotelian rhetorical strategies (ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, and telos) by the speakers to inform the Irish government about the urgency of the situation in Gaza, and to persuade the Irish government and the Irish parliament members to call for an immediate ceasefire in the Palestinian territory.

Firstly, all the speakers employed the same kairos and telos in their speeches since all of them share the same timing (the 18th October, 2023, which coincides with the significant events of the 7th of October in Palestine) and the same telos (advocating for Palestine, aiming to influence the Irish government and parliament members to call for immediate action and a ceasefire in Palestine).

Secondly, the speakers appealed to credibility and used ethos throughout the 15 speeches in four different ways:

1. By mentioning the parallel between the suffering of Ireland under British colonization and the suffering of Palestine under Israeli colonization, to show their deep understanding of the struggle under colonization.

2. By presenting factual information and statistics and the portrayal of Israel's violation towards the Palestinians to highlight the urgency of the situation in Palestine.

3. By condemning both parties, Israel and Hamas, and blaming both parties on the situation in Palestine to show their sense of fairness.

4. By drawing upon some personal experiences to present themselves as witnesses to the oppression and the reality of the Palestinians' struggle during the israeli occupation.

Thirdly, the speeches made use of pathos or the emotional appeal in various ways :

1. Citing the huge number of human costs: children, men, and women.

2. Relating the oppression and describing the hard situation of the innocent civilians, depriving them of the basic necessities (food, water, electricity and, medical supplies, the forced displacement of civilians, destruction of buildings and the portrayal of the war crimes that took place in Gaza to elicit empathy from the audience.

3. Sharing personal anecdotes which makes their message more reliable, and memorable tapping into common human experiences and emotions.

The speakers appealed to logos by providing logical arguments such as:

1. Criticizing the international community's acceptance and tolerance of Israel's violations and considering their acts as self defence.

2. Providing historical context about Israel's aggression and apartheid throughout the past decades in Palestine.

3. Portraying Israel's violation of international law, highlighting the injustices committed by Israel, like the disruption of education and the use of harmful tactics like skunk water.

The second research question intends to analyse the use of deictic expressions (I, We, and Our), and the rhetorical devices used by the Irish politicians to inform the Irish government about the urgency of the situation in Gaza, and to persuade the Irish government and the Irish parliament members to call for an immediate ceasefire in the Palestinian territory.

Throughout the 15 speeches, deictic expressions (I, We, and Our) were used successively for multiple reasons:

1- To enhance the speaker's ethos (credibility) by presenting themselves as a leader or a representative whose suggestions are important in shifting outcomes.

2- When using "our" and, "we" the speaker adopts the mindset of "Us versus They", which works on alienating those who do not identify with the speaker's group and strengthens the solidarity between the speaker and his targeted audience.

3- The utilization of the pronoun "I" personalizes the message, which allows the speaker to freely narrate his personal stories, and this conveys a sense of sincerity and honesty, which is helpful in convincing the audience.

Additionally, the politicians used a versatility of rhetorical devices. The main ones they used were:

1- Repetition: to reinforce their messages through repeating key points or phrases as Al Mukharriq (1993) said, and stress over the gravity of the situation in Gaza.

2- Metaphor: according to Hissein (2020) metaphor was used to depict the Palestinian struggles and suffering in symbolic terms and give concrete labels to abstract ideas, and also to trigger the feelings of the Irish people even more.

3- Parallelism: to draw attention to key arguments by presenting them in a coherent manner and work on grammatical equilibrium as it was stated by Bruno (2014).

4- Anaphora: to create a sense of momentum throughout the repetition of phrases as Malewitz (2020) said, which draws the attention of the listeners to focus on important matters, and in this case it is the events following the 7th of October.

5- Hyperbole: to depict the real picture of what was happening with Palestinians and enable the listeners to understand the perspective of the speakers in a powerful way, as it was told by Christodoulidou (2011), and the speakers used it to highlight the magnitude of injustices that happened to Gaza citizens.

6- Rhetorical questions: to elicit a response and provoke the audience. In the political Irish speeches, these questions were used to challenge listeners, persuade and evoke emotions

as mentioned by Hanim & Dewi (2018), and ignite the urgency to reflect on their own beliefs and question them one more time.

2.4 Limitations of the Study

The main challenge that we faced during this study was selecting speeches. After October 7th, we were overwhelmed by a large volume of speeches by different politicians, and activists with different perspectives, and views, which considerably delayed our progress. Nonetheless, we managed to complete the study and achieve the desired results despite this obstacle. Also, Due to the exclusivity of the topic, we did not find other researches on the same theme to compare our results with others findings.

2.5 Recommendations of the study

Rhetorical analysis is an interesting and fertile area of research. Other recommendations can be helpful for future researchers who are interested in this field are:

1. Comparing the use of rhetorical strategies and devices in speeches of pro Palestinian and non pro Palestinian politicians, and activists.

2. Investigating whether there are differences in the use of rhetorical devices and persuasion techniques between speeches delivered by male and female parliamentarians advocating for the Palestinian cause.

3. Studying the difference between speeches of Palestinian, and activists and non Palestinian politicians, and activists.

Conclusion :

This chapter provided a detailed explanation of the methodology applied in the research, and explored the analysis, discussion, interpretation of the data, and the summary of the results that were obtained. The results showed that the speakers in the Irish Parliament employed the five Aristotelian modes of persuasion, together with other devices that were

used rhetorically to persuade the parliament members and the Irish government about the

severity of the situation in Palestine and urge them to call for immediate action.

General Conclusion

This study aims at identifying and examining some of the rhetorical strategies (ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, and telos), the rhetorical devices, and the use of the deictic expressions (I, we, and our) in the fifteen speeches delivered by Irish politicians who belong to the Sinn Féin party, the lower house of the Irish Parliament (Dáil Éireann). The language used in their speeches was employed to defend Palestinian's rights persuading the Irish government to call for an immediate ceasefire in Palestine, which incorporated the use of the formerly mentioned tools to transmit the message and attempt to align the politicians perspective with the Irish government and create a sense of solidarity and defence for the oppressed group.

Thus, The theoretical part of this dissertation provides a thorough exploration of discourse analysis and political discourse, establishing the foundational concepts and methodologies essential for studying rhetoric. It integrates discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis, creating a comprehensive framework for examining political speeches. This theoretical foundation informs the subsequent analysis of political speeches, focusing on Aristotelian modes of persuasion, deictic expressions, and rhetorical devices. Moreover, the practical part showcased how Sinn Féin politicians skillfully used rhetorical strategies in their speeches when arguing for Palestinian rights. Through the strategic deployment of ethos, pathos, and logos these politicians seek to establish credibility, arouse emotions, and create logical justifications to persuade the Irish government to call on for an immediate ceasefire in the Palestinian territory. By building moral credibility (ethos), calling for sympathy and solidarity (pathos), and making logically sound arguments (logos), they manage to create a discursive space in which their audience can better comprehend and identify with their position. The strategic timing of their speeches (Kairos) also allows them to resonate with contemporary events (the 7th of October) and make them more persuasive, and their main goal behind all of their delivered speeches (Telos) was aligned and agreed upon. The skillful

use of rhetorical strategies also shows the abilities of Sinn Féin politicians to advocate for the rights of Palestinians through persuasive words.

Additionally, they utilized a range of rhetorical devices, which include hyperbole, parallelism, anaphora, metaphor, repetition, and rhetorical questions. Hyperbolic language is critical to the effect of the message; by deploying exaggerated language, the Sinn Féin politicians stress the unbearable reality of life in Palestine. Parallelism also forms a balanced and harmonious structure, enhancing the intelligibility and coherence of the argument while strengthening the substantive key points. Anaphora, the repetition of words or phrases at the beginning of successive clauses heightens the sense and force of their claims, espousing very much the core themes. Metaphor provides poignant images of Palestinian life, thereby making the situation tangible and comparable for the audience. Allusions to historical events or cultural representations add depth and resonance to the speech by embedding it within broader narratives of oppression and opposition. Moreover, repetition of the key point is a means with which to underscore their message and guarantee its effect and durability in the minds of their audience.

Finally, the careful placement and use of rhetorical questions are employed to scratch the audience's intelligence and encourage it to think about the injustices suffered by the Palestinians. Taken together, these devices are forced in service of a cause for Palestinian rights, skillfully implemented to trigger feelings and hopefully change the course of action. Furthermore, the Irish speakers who articulate a Palestinian resistance cause through their discourse predominantly use deictic forms of language to address their audience. The use of the deictic expressions (I, We, and Our) in language works to construct a cohesive social-communicative environment between the speakers and the parliament members. Through the use of I, the personalization of the speaker's language makes the communication with the parliament members more direct. The deictic expressions 'we' and 'our' also make more

explicit references to belonging and being associated with a particular community. The primarily collective language favoured by these speakers works to heighten the affective colour of their speech as well as to promote identification and a feeling of mutual recognition. By selecting the deictic forms of language, the Sinn Féin speakers communicate that the fight for Palestinian rights is the responsibility of all individuals and all community types, irrespective of their backgrounds, to become part of.

In conclusion, we can say that the researchers have succeeded in extracting the rhetorical strategies, the rhetorical devices, and the deictic expressions from the chosen speeches and reached rational and valid conclusions. Also, they have been able to abide by the objectives of the research, and they answered the research questions in the practical part. As a final note, the researchers successfully provided a well rounded study to fill the research gap that they presented.

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Appendices

Appendix A: 1st Speech by Mary Lou Mcdonald

The people of the world are witness to a humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza. Israel has unleashed the weight of its military might upon a beleaguered refugee population. It rains its arsenal of missiles down upon two million impoverished people hemmed into an area half the size of County Louth. This indiscriminate mass slaughter of innocent men, women and children is carried out in full sight of the world and in full sight of international leaders who have failed and refused to shout, "Stop." They see clearly the carnage and human rights violations inflicted on the people of Gaza. They have heard the Palestinian people described as animals. They have long known that Israel imposes an apartheid regime. Our hearts break for the loss of Israeli lives on that fateful night of 7 October, but be very clear that the Israeli offences against Palestine predate that night of horrific loss, which has been roundly and fully condemned. That condemnation stands in stark contrast to the refusal and failure of our own Government in Dublin and of governments across the European Union and the world to condemn Israeli violations of international law. I believe that is shameful. I remind our Government that the recitation of all our interventions and charitable acts for the Palestinian people does not relieve it of its primary responsibility to hold Israel accountable to the world for its acts of impunity and violation of international law. We in Ireland know all too well the pain and tragedy of colonisation, occupation and dispossession. We have known conflict and suffering. We have known war. We know peace. There is no excuse and no pretence that we do not understand the playbook of the coloniser, the occupier and the oppressor. We carried that weight and trauma for centuries. We still work to this day to reconcile, heal divisions and bring people together. Our history now speaks powerfully to us. It calls on us to speak out, to act in defence of Palestine and to act for freedom and self-determination. It also tells us that Ireland can and must be a leading voice for dialogue, a just settlement, ceasefires and peace.

To paraphrase the words of a great peacemaker lost to us this week, we know that conflict can be solved through dialogue and that there is no excuse for conflicts to become eternal. As Palestinians pull their dead from the rubble and cry out to the heavens for justice, Gaza cannot become the graveyard of international law. Decimated Gazan neighbourhoods cannot become monuments to the international community's tolerance, acceptance and facilitation of Israel's violation of Palestinian basic human rights. As we speak, the Gazan people face annihilation. Entire families are being wiped out, hundreds of thousands are being displaced from their homes, and their schools, hospitals and vital infrastructure are being obliterated. They are now running out of food. They are drinking unsanitised water in a desperate attempt to stay alive. They are blockaded on all sides and cut off from medical supplies, fuel and energy. Israel is laying waste to Palestinian life in Gaza with the imprimatur of some of the world's most powerful entities. For generations, the people of Palestine have endured this daily brutalisation. Their lands have been occupied and annexed, their people displaced, their homes and school bulldozed to the ground, their sons and daughters executed and incarcerated, and their lives ravaged by apartheid. Israel acts with impunity, discarding international law and flouting UN resolution after resolution. This current onslaught, bombardment and collective punishment is the horrible but very predictable crescendo of occupation, annexation and oppression. As the people of Gaza cling to their very existence, the leadership of the international community must now resurrect those values it claims to hold dear. With one voice, we must call for immediate and full lasting ceasefires. Unified, we must call on Israel to end its bombardment of Gaza and stop the indiscriminate slaughter. Together, with one voice, we must assert the primacy of international law and dialogue as the only basis for a just resolution and a foundation for a lasting and transformational peace. That is the only way the children of Gaza and Ramallah, and the children of Tel Aviv and Haifa,

will see the future they deserve, free of conflict and hatred, and a life of peace led as full and

equal citizens.

Appendix B : 2ⁿᵈ Speech by Matt Carthy

Let us be very clear. Hamas breached international law on 7 October. It targeted innocent civilians in the most callous and inhumane manner and its actions have been rightly condemned by right-thinking people around the world. We should also be very clear, however, that Israel has breached international law, not just every day since 7 October, but virtually every single day for decades. Israel occupies Palestinian land, blockades Palestinian territory, builds and expands illegal settlements, enforces an apartheid system that restricts the movements of Palestinians and denies their fundamental rights, and regularly and systematically attacks and kills Palestinian civilians, all against international law. The question that must be answered by all of us in political life is this. How does the world respond to flagrant abuses of international law? When it comes to the horrendous war crimes of Hamas, the response was very clear and consistent. World leaders queued up to say "Israel has the right to defend itself". One after another the great and the good, including our Government, repeated the words, "Israel has the right to defend itself". That was repeated in statement after statement and tweet after tweet, despite the full knowledge that those words have become contaminated. The words "Israel has the right to defend itself" mean in practice that Israel takes that right as licence to bombard civilians and to bomb schools, hospitals and other civilian infrastructure. It has now been taken as licence to enforce the displacement of one million people from one end of an open-air prison to another, to deny food, energy and medical supplies to a besieged civilian population and to deny them water to ensure that children, and the sick, disabled and elderly, will literally die of thirst. "Israel has the right to defend itself" has now become cover for Israel having the right to commit genocide right in front of our eyes. How come we never hear the words "Palestine has the right to defend itself"? We did not hear that when a humanitarian flotilla bringing essential supplies to Gaza was met with a military assault and the murder by Israel of nine unarmed activists, or when

Palestinians marched in peaceful protest against an illegal blockade and were again met with a military assault and the murder of 300 of them, or after the countless bombings of Gaza by Israeli forces. We do not hear that even when Israel targeted and murdered four little Palestinian boys playing football on a beach or when Palestinians were dragged from their homes and forced to watch as those homes were destroyed to allow for new illegal Israeli settlements on lands that are clearly defined in international law as part of Palestine. Not after the countless offensive attacks by Israel against the people of Gaza or the West Bank have we heard anybody in this House or any western leader utter the words, "Palestine has the right to defend itself". Why not? I am not asking the Tánaiste to say those words. In fact, it is just as well he does not because we all know that the people of Palestine cannot defend themselves against one of the most powerful military forces in the world that is backed up by even more powerful military forces. The truth is the people of Palestine, just like the innocent people of Israel, do not need the international community to tell them that their leaders have the right to inflict more bombings, pain and suffering. They need the international community to say stop, to say release the hostages, and to say stop the bombings, siege and slaughter. They need the international community to tell Israel to stop the blockade, the apartheid, the annexation and the genocide. They need countries to lead the way. Ireland should be one of those countries that leads the way. We know colonialism, oppression and conflict but we also know conflict resolution, peacebuilding and nation-building. Due to what we know, and what our history has taught us, our call must be clear: immediate, full and unequivocal ceasefires and a decisive international intervention that leads to negotiations, a lasting and just peace settlement and, at long last, to a free, sovereign and independent Palestine.

Appendix C: 3rd Speech by Mark Ward

The killing of civilians in Israel by Hamas was unjustifiable and was rightly condemned. In the brief time I have, I will focus on my real-life lived experience in Palestine last year. This time last year I spent some time in the West Bank. We could not go to Gaza as Israel imposed a ban on visiting the area. I witnessed at first hand the apartheid regime that Israel imposes on the Palestinian people. Freedom of movement is denied. Palestinians have to go through Israeli armed checkpoints just to go from A to B. They have to use road networks that are separate from Israelis. Our Palestinian bus driver was forcibly removed from the bus simply for being Palestinian and was questioned and searched by the Israeli army. Our bus was boarded and we Irish citizens were verbally abused. When I interjected, a gun was put to my face and members of the Israeli army shouted at me, "There is no Palestine. There is no Palestine". I met with officials, like the Tánaiste, from the Palestinian ministry of education, who informed me of the Israeli tactic of removing and interning pupils and teachers alike, simply to disrupt their education. Israel's policy is to disrupt a child's education as it sees an educated population as a dangerous population. I visited refugee camps where I heard about the murder of Palestinian children. I heard about Israel's use of skunk water on Palestinian homes, a substance so noxious that Palestinians have to leave their homes. I met a beautiful young boy who was making art on the side of a road from the only material in abundance there, and it was discarded and unused tear gas canisters that had been used by the Israeli army. He gave me this dove of peace. If the Tánaiste was to look closer at the dove - he will not see it from there but I can show it to him - he would see a target over the dove's heart. Even during times that Palestinians seek peace, they see themselves as targets. That is simply not good enough. I know my comrades will get in here in time. We must stand by the Palestinian people at this time and call for a ceasefire.

Appendix D: 4th Speech by Imenda Munster

As we speak, ethnic cleansing of the world's largest open-air prison is happening. That is a war crime. The people of Gaza have nowhere to run and nowhere to hide. To add to the torture of knowing that each moment could be their last as bombs rain down upon them, the Israeli blockade now means that Palestinians are left thirsting for water, hungering for food, suffering with no medicines and huddling in the dark with their electricity cut off. It is simply terror upon terror. Hospitals, ambulances and medical personnel are deliberately targeted by Israel. Innocent civilians trying to get away along the approved evacuation routes are deliberately targeted. Evacuees directed to the border crossings are deliberately targeted. Israel is ordering doctors to abandon sick and injured patients in hospitals and when doctors refuse to do so they bomb the hospitals. It is ordering the elderly and infirm to run for their lives or they too will die. These are all war crimes. Collective punishment is a war crime. Deliberately targeting civilians is a war crime. Deliberately targeting civilian infrastructure is a war crime. This is not the first time Israel has committed these war crimes in Gaza but it is the first time the Israelis have bragged on international television about what they were going to do ahead of time and they were given unconditional support by the so-called leaders of the West. The Palestinian people have very few powerful friends in the world so it is vital that Ireland tells Israel to stop the shelling, the air strikes and the slaughter and collective punishment of the Palestinian people. Israel's record on war crimes, bombings, displacement, torture and humiliation of the Palestinian people over decades is there for the whole world to see. Its stance towards the Palestinian people is a stain on the conscience of humanity. For the sake of humanity, there must be a full and immediate ceasefire.

Appendix E : 5th Speech by Paul Donnelly

The people of Gaza need our support now. They need it this evening, in the next hour and minute, because they are dying in their hundreds. These are men, women and children, innocent civilians, who have no connection with Hamas which perpetrated brutal, violent and unjustifiable acts last weekend. There is no justification for the killing of civilians on either side. All acts of violence must end immediately. International law must be respected and enforced. The forced displacement of one million Palestinians, half of them children, by the Israelis to the south of the Gaza line is in clear breach of international humanitarian law. The cutting off of water, food and medical supplies and the destruction of civilian infrastructure throughout Gaza amount to collective punishment and are in contravention of international law. Let us all be clear tonight. Last week's events did not occur in a vacuum. They occurred against a sustained intensification of the Israeli state's occupation and apartheid. One look at the map of Palestine and the West Bank over the past decade will show clearly the massive expansion of illegal settlements. Every month, homes, farms, roads and infrastructure have been stolen by the Israeli state from the Palestinian people. The only way forward towards a lasting and just peace between Palestine and Israel requires an end to the illegal occupation and apartheid system being imposed upon the Palestinian people. The solution must contain a roadmap to a viable Palestinian state. Here is how we can show international leadership. Recognise the state of Palestine and progress the occupied territories Bill and the illegal settlements divestment Bill. The events of the past 11 days have created a new urgency and need for decisive international intervention. It is in the Tánaiste's hands. We need to act because the people of Palestine, the people of Gaza, cannot wait another night.

Appendix F : 6th Speech by Mac Lauclainn

This year is the 75th anniversary of the 1948 Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe when the Palestinian people lost their homelands and society and 700,000 people, the majority of Palestinians, were permanently displaced, and the world looked the other way. The Tánaiste spoke about the UNRWA and the UN refugee camps. He knows there are 3 million Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. I saw many of them myself when I visited the camps in Lebanon where refugees were staying with other refugees as a result of the latest wave of Israeli oppression. The Tánaiste knows there are 1.7 million Palestinian refugees in Gaza, out of a population of 2.1 million. He knows there are 880,000 refugees, impoverished people, in the West Bank, and the world looked the other way. He knows about the 1967 borders and how the Palestinian people were packed into camps in the West Bank and Gaza and separated from each other. There are 5 million people living under oppression and the military apartheid regime, and the world looked the other way. The Tánaiste knows about the UN resolutions passed again and again, and the world looked the other way. He knows from reports by Amnesty International, B'Tselem reports and Human Rights Watch that Israel is an apartheid state, and the world looks the other way. The Tánaiste spoke about a two-state solution. He knows what Israel has done to the two-state solution. It has destroyed it to the point that the Palestinian people have lost all confidence in it. The world has looked the other way again and again. The challenge for the Tánaiste and all the other leaders who have dealt with this in the way they have is to stop looking the other way for once. For once and for all, take the opportunity provided for a ceasefire, and for justice and peace for the Palestinian people.

Appendix G : 7th Speech by John Brady

Once again, words fail to convey the sense of anguish and frustration that is felt not just here in Ireland but globally at the tragedy that is befalling the Palestinian people. The butcher's bill for Israel's ongoing campaign against Gaza continues to rise. To date, we can add the names of UN workers, journalists, nurses and doctors, and children to those thousands of Palestinians who continue to pay the price for Israel's campaign of vengeance. The people of Gaza are under continuous Israeli bombardment. They are being denied the basics of water, fuel, electricity, food and of basic humanitarian aid. As the armed forces of the state of Israel engage in a campaign which appears intent on eliminating the infrastructure required to support civil society within Gaza, the targeting of schools has become a staple of this attack. Among the 1,000 Palestinian children killed to date, dozens were killed during attacks on UN-operated schools. Israel's wrath is not confined to Gaza. In the West Bank more than 60 Palestinians have also been killed, with a further 1,250 injured, the majority of them by the Israeli military and others by illegal Israeli settlers. It is a stain on our national reputation that this Government has made the Irish taxpayer culpable for Israel's war crimes through the investment of Irish State funds in business enterprises that are on the UN database of business entities operating within the illegal Israeli settlements which comprise a key component in Israel's apartheid regime. The Government needs to unreservedly condemn the naked aggression of Israel as well as that of Hamas. The Government must push for the EU to take a leading role in seeking an immediate ceasefire and a return of the hostages, to demand that all war criminals be held accountable before the International Criminal Court and to work for a true, lasting peace settlement in the Middle East.

Appendix H: 8th Speech Mairead Farrell

Right at this moment, we are witnessing the genocide of the people of Gaza after years of witnessing their destruction and the pain inflicted upon them by an apartheid regime while the world sat back and watched it happen. We are told, and I have heard a few times in this Chamber, that even wars have rules. It cannot be the case that the breaking of those rules is okay for some countries. When the Israeli Government blatantly told us on the world stage that it would break international law once again, instead of outrage and horror, we witnessed Ursula von der Leyen telling Benjamin Netanyahu that the EU stands with Israel, apparently in our name. Well it is not in my name and not in the names of many Irish people. We stand with the ordinary citizens; we stand with the citizens of Gaza who have been described as human animals. When we see the breaking of international law and the cutting off of water, food and electricity to the people of Gaza, that is clearly a war crime. When we see the indiscriminate bombing of the people of Gaza, that too is clearly a war crime. It is also a war crime when we see the bombing of civilian infrastructures. If Gazans do not die as a result of Israeli bombing, they will certainly die as a result of the cutting off of water and of thirst, hunger and disease because of those war crimes. We have seen that the systematic killing is not limited to the ordinary citizens of Gaza. It also includes people who speak truth to power, including journalists who tell the world about the barbaric nature of the apartheid regime. We were united in horror in this Chamber when Shireen Abu Akleh was killed. We have witnessed the killing of more journalists. At that time, after the killing of Shireen Abu Akleh was forgotten, soon our lives moved on. The lives of the ordinary people of Gaza could not move on because they continued to suffer under the apartheid regime. We must, as Irish people and as Members of this Dáil, call for an immediate ceasefire. We do not have the luxury of saying we do not know what the people of Gaza are going through. We must be united in calling for an immediate ceasefire.

Appendix I: 9th Speech Chris Andrews

Ursula von der Leyen said "... attacks on civilian infrastructure with the clear aim to cut off men, women, children of water, electricity and heating with the winter coming, these are acts of pure terror and we have to call it as such.". The President of the Commission was, of course, referring to Ukraine. Why do the same laws not apply to the people of Palestine? Clearly, in the eyes of Ursula von der Leyen and the European Commission, one life is more important than another. There is no other country in the world that could bomb four countries in 48 hours - Libya, Palestine, Egypt and Syria - and still be considered an innocent victim. As someone who has lived in and worked in the Gaza Strip, I find the events of recent days utterly depressing and so sad. I got to know ordinary families trying to live ordinary lives and do ordinary things. There was a huge hunger for education and a love of FC Barcelona and Real Madrid, El Clásico. I recall the young boys running around with excitement when they got Ronaldo haircuts. I support these Palestinians, not Hamas or the Palestinian Authority, PA. I lived in the Gaza Strip and I know the difference. The slaughter of civilians, whether they be Palestinian or Israeli, is unforgivable and a war crime. All those who kill civilians must be held accountable. Equally, the events of the past ten days have not arisen out of thin air. They occurred because of decades of apartheid, murder and torture of Palestinians. They also occurred because of the failure of Ireland to hold Israel to account. We hear a lot of people talking about peace but without justice, there can be no peace. The time for the Irish Government to act in unison with the EU has long passed. The Irish Government must step forward and take action. We urgently need to see a ceasefire and the release of hostages. Ireland needs to boycott, divest and sanction Israel. We must pass the Illegal Israeli Settlements Divestment Bill 2023 and the Control of Economic Activity (Occupied Territories) Bill 2018. We must expel the Israeli ambassador and seek that the International

Criminal Court issue an arrest warrant for Netanyahu who is a war criminal. Ursula von der

Leyen must be sacked because her behaviour has been absolutely abysmal.

Appendix J : 10th Speech by Eoin O Broins

Like other Deputies present, I have been watching the images, night after night, of the people of Gaza being subjected to a brutal aerial bombardment by the Government of Israel. Thousands of civilians, including hundreds of children, lie dead. As other Members have mentioned, vital public infrastructure, including hospitals and schools, have been destroyed. Vital supplies of food and medicine are running low and vital public services such as water and electricity have been shut off. On top of the sense of horror and outrage one feels watching these events, there is also a feeling of powerlessness. It is at times like these that it is tempting to feel that there are simply no words. Yet, it is precisely at times like these that words are so important. Tonight, Dáil Éireann has an important opportunity to send a clear, unambiguous and unanimous signal to the world. We can use our voice to shape the voice of the European Union and, indeed, to shape the voice of the international community. Our choice of words tonight in our speeches, and in the motion that is eventually agreed, is absolutely vital. The single most important word that we can say tonight is "stop". There must be a full and unconditional ceasefire. Not a pause, but a full and unconditional ceasefire. There must be condemnation of all violence against civilians, including Israel's violence against the people of Gaza. All hostages must be released to their loved ones. The forced displacement of Palestinians by the Government of Israel must end. Water, electricity, food and medical supplies must be immediately reinstated. As other speakers have said, the collective punishment of the people of Palestine has to end, and all breaches of international law must end. There must be a single, unified demand by the international community for dialogue. As we know from our own peace process on this island, peace can only be secured through dialogue but peace also requires justice. In the case of the Middle East, that justice demands a free, secure and independent Palestine, and that is what this House must say tonight.

Appendix K : 11th Speech by Ruairi O Murchúa

The Palestinian people of Gaza are under an unmerciful onslaught that includes carpet bombing of civilian infrastructure and civilians. Israel has cut off food, water and energy. What it is offering is bombs, starvation and one million people being displaced within Gaza. In other places and at other times, this would be called genocide and ethnic cleansing. Then we listen to what this Israeli regime says. The focus is on damage and not on accuracy, or "human animals". What does Benjamin Netanyahu mean by, "We will change the Middle East"? Palestinians have dealt with a long history of dispossession, occupation and subjugation by Israel. They deal with annexation and apartheid. There is no roadmap for self-determination. Promises that may have been made in Oslo have long since fizzled away and they have no hope for what happens in the future. This is completely the case in Gaza, a besieged open prison where young people are offered nothing. Some say the choice is between a slow death and now a fast death. What has the world done for these people? I would say very little; some would say nothing. The actions of Hamas are to be called out as barbarous, be they the taking of hostages or the brutal killings. They offer nothing relating to Palestinian statehood. However, let us be absolutely clear. This Israeli regime, which has offered only oppression, or from its point of view security, has led to the biggest failure in Israeli intelligence in the 50 years since the Yom Kippur War. It has absolutely failed to protect the Israeli people. What do we need? The only thing that needs to be said here and the only argument that needs to be made to the international community is for an immediate ceasefire, the release of the hostages and to ensure humanitarian aid is delivered to save the Palestinian people. There will be a need for international intervention and a roadmap for peace, justice and freedom for the Palestinian people. We cannot have the green-lighting by Joe Biden or Ursula von der Leyen, backing of Israel as it commits war crimes that need to be

called out. That is what we need the Irish Government and the international community to do.

That is what we owe the Palestinian people.

Appendix L : 12th Speech by Pa Daly

Sinn Féin's amendment highlights Israel's brutal assault on the civilian population of Gaza, which has resulted in the deaths of over 1,000 children. It also highlights the forced displacement of Palestinians, the cutting off of water, fuel, food and medical supplies, and the destruction of civilian infrastructure. The unjustifiable acts of Hamas occurred against the intensification of the Israeli occupation in Palestine since 2022. From the beginning of this year, 700 people had been killed by Israel. Israel's collective punishment is a war crime and an expansion of the blockade it has enforced on Gaza since 2007. We need a decisive international intervention. This is the request of this House; it is not in fact a request but our demand. We have heard time and again from apologists, including from some former Ministers and world leaders who know international law and should know better, who envelop themselves in equivocation or "standing with Israel", which translates as "Israel, you may commit acts of state terror, you may kill thousands of children and we will look the other way." In this country we know all about that. The families of Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson know what happens when governments look the other way. Irish people identify with Palestinians and we see the parallels. My town is twinned with a Palestinian town, Beit Sahour, on the West Bank. We hear that Israel needs to defend itself. What does that mean? I do not propose to address the ramblings of Deputy Phelan, except to say I noted that he walked out in the middle of Deputy Flaherty's excellent speech. On what he said about self-defence, he should have a look at the proportionality element of it and have a close look at what self-defence means. The history of Israel's self-defence has been to kill three times as many Palestinians. Revenge is not self-defence, bombing UN-sponsored schools and hospitals is not self-defence and cutting off water, sanitation and electricity is not self-defence. A just peace requires an end to the illegal occupation and apartheid systems. Just like Ursula von der Leyen promised "iron-clad solidarity" to support peace in Ireland, so too

should there be iron-clad solidarity with the people of Palestine. Similarly, I hope the President of the United States will not sit back and allow a situation to develop where, as he said, a small country which "endured discrimination and were denied opportunity" is plunged into famine while world leaders look away. We need, in the interim, to show international leadership by recognising the state of Palestine. I will finish with a quote from Sinéad O'Connor:

How many mothers to cry?

How many sons have to die?

How many missions left to fly over Palestine?

Cause as a matter of facts

It's a pact, it's an act

These are illegal attacks

So bring the soldiers back

Appendix M : 13th Speech by Martin Browne

The actions of Hamas on 7 October were unacceptable and must be condemned by all. The response from Israel must also be condemned because the actions we have seen against 2.5 million people in the largest open-air prison cannot be described as defensive. People are dying in their thousands, yet what we hear on the international stage appears to fall short of appearing like preparations for a ceasefire. We hear the term "unwavering support" for continued military action in Gaza used while, at the same time, more than 3,000 people lie dead, including 1,000 children. People are being forcibly displaced to south of the Wadi Gaza line and water, food and fuel are being denied to a whole population. This is nothing but collective punishment. When the cry of "unwavering support" goes out, it means continue on with your war crimes. Like Deputy Daly, I will address Deputy Phelan's remarks. How dare he use people's names as he did to attack the Opposition. We all appreciate what has gone on and we all condemn it. Shame on him for using people's names in the way he did. International law is being breached and the actions that are continuing have the potential to lead to a spread of violence in the region, as we have already seen to some extent. I agree that the acts of Hamas were unjustifiable and they must stop immediately, as the motion calls for. However, calls for restraint on the part of Israel have been hard to come by in many quarters, despite the mounting death toll. For this reason, we have proposed an amendment condemning what people in many quarters have fallen short in condemning, namely, Israel's brutal assault on the civilian population of Gaza; the forced displacement of Palestinians, in clear breach of international humanitarian law; the cutting off of vital supplies; and the destruction of civilian infrastructure throughout Gaza, which amounts to collective punishment, in contravention of international humanitarian law. Ireland needs to be a voice for de-escalation, a ceasefire, humanitarian aid, dialogue and international law and the upholding of the UN charter. The backdrop to what we are seeing is decades of occupation,

apartheid and the violation of international treaties. A commitment must be given by the international community to assist in achieving the goal of finding a lasting and just peace between Palestine and Israel which involves the end of the illegal occupation and apartheid systems. We can show international leadership at home by recognising the state of Palestine and progressing the Illegal Israeli Settlements Divestment Bill 2023. For too long, the world has watched and ignored while international law has been breached, illegal settlements built and an apartheid system tolerated. Most immediately, we need all world leaders to buy in to the immediate need for a ceasefire and the opening of humanitarian corridors to end the current madness.

Appendix N : 14th Speech by Denise Mitchell

We all watched in horror as events unfolded in recent weeks. We have all seen the bombs rain down on the most densely populated place on earth. The bombing of Gaza has left thousands of Palestinians injured and dead, many of them women and children. Let us be clear that collective punishment, deliberately targeting civilians and deliberately targeting civilian infrastructure is a clear breach of international humanitarian law, which, in turn, is a war crime. The UN is warning us of a humanitarian disaster unfolding right before our eyes. The collective punishment of blockading Gaza and denying access to food, water, electricity and medical aid to its citizens is also prohibited under international law. The forced displacement of Palestinians by Israel to the south of the Wadi Gaza line is also a breach of international law. We must see an immediate ceasefire by all involved and we need to see it now. The illegal occupation, siege and policies of apartheid must stop. What we have seen in the past two weeks points to an urgent need for international intervention and for efforts to be made to impose a ceasefire immediately. This needs to be followed up with a pathway towards a sustainable peace for a region and a roadmap to a Palestinian state. This situation sits on a knife-edge. The atrocities that we have witnessed have the potential to spill over and violence could spread across the Middle East. There must be a concerted effort by all the parties involved to ensure that all human life and rights are protected. The world cannot stand by any longer and just watch. The Palestinian people have suffered for decades. It is time now that their suffering stopped.

Appendix O : 15th Speech by Réada Cronin

As we speak here this evening, Israel is raining hell on Gaza. It is horror beyond measure. I am sticking to raw politics tonight because I do not have the language to deal adequately with the human slaughterhouse scenes that we see on our screens. The EU leadership needs to immediately up its game for Gaza and the Palestinian people. Millions of Europeans looked aghast at the antics of Commission President Ursula von der Leyen last week. In whose name was she acting? What was she doing, thinking she was representing Ireland? Her unilateral actions expose a deep and dangerous gap between an unelected EU governor and the governed. It is a gap in democracy that must be addressed and filled. War crimes are war crimes, regardless of who commits them, Ursula. A right to defend itself does not give anyone carte blanche to bomb, shell, displace and dismantle the Palestinian people for generations. That is an indiscriminate attack, not defence. I was speaking to the Tánaiste yesterday at the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence. We spoke about the intergenerational trauma that the Jewish community must feel across Europe. It is vital that the EU acts immediately to make sure that any inherited cultural guilt around the arrest, transportation and extermination of European Jews held by any European country cannot and must not become a barrier to the protection of the brutalised and defenceless people of Gaza. Palestinians must not pay the price for the sins of Europe. Context is what it is all about.

Once again, I give my condolences in this House to Kim Danti and Emily Hand. I absolutely abhor the Hamas attacks. It must release the hostages, starting with the children. Likewise, Israel must realise child prisoners, starting with the children whom it holds under administrative detention. All children must be returned to their families immediately. As politicians, we must look at this situation in the broader context of the conflict if we want to see an end to the conflict and a real route to peace. We must see it in the context of the occupation, annexation, oppression, apartheid, the pain from 1948 and 1967, the harassment,

imprisonment, confinement, death and displacement of the Palestinian people in all the decades since and possibly to come if we do not do something. That history did not start on 7 October. Of course Israel has the right to defend itself. Everyone does, except Gaza and Palestine, and while Israel defends itself, who will defend Gaza from Israeli war crimes? A ceasefire is the only way.

Resumé

L'éclatement de la guerre au Moyen-Orient depuis le 7 octobre a suscité un discours politique mondial, avec des discours soit en faveur, soit contre la cause palestinienne. Les politiciens irlandais ont notamment plaidé en faveur de la Palestine. Une méthode descriptive qualitative est employée dans cette recherche pour analyser et interpréter les 15 discours sélectionnés afin d'étudier les appels rhétoriques aristotéliciens et les dispositifs rhétoriques utilisés par les politiciens irlandais pro-palestiniens dans leurs discours en faveur de la cause palestinienne, afin de recueillir du soutien et de persuader le gouvernement irlandais de demander une action immédiate et un cessez-le-feu urgent à Gaza. Cette analyse rhétorique a révélé que les orateurs utilisent les cinq modes de persuasion (Ethos, Pathos, Logos, Kairos et Telos), ainsi que d'autres dispositifs rhétoriques tels que : les expressions déictiques, la métaphore, l'hyperbole, les questions rhétoriques, la répétition, l'anaphore et le parallélisme pour persuader leur audience de la validité et de l'urgence de la lutte palestinienne et inciter le gouvernement irlandais à un cessez-le-feu immédiat. Certaines recommandations pour le domaine de l'analyse rhétorique seront également présentées.

الملخص

اندلاع الحرب في الشرق الأوسط منذ 7 أكتوبر أثار الخطاب السياسي العالمي، مع خطب تدعم أو تعارض القضية الفلسطينية. وقد دعا السياسيون الأيرلنديون بشكل ملحوظ لصالح فلسطين. تُستخدم طريقة وصفية نوعية في هذا البحث لتحليل وتفسير 15 خطابًا تم اختيارها لدراسة النداءات البلاغية الأرسطية والأجهزة البلاغية المستخدمة من قبل السياسيين الأيرلنديين المؤيدين لفلسطين في خطبهم التي تدعو إلى دعم القضية الفلسطينية، لجمع الدعم وإقناع الحكومة الأيرلندية بالمطالبة باتخاذ إجراء فوري ووقف إطلاق نار عاجل في غزة. كشفت هذه التحليل البلاغي أن المتحدثين يستخدمون أوضاع الإقناع الخمسة (الإيثوس، الباثوس، اللوغوس، الكايروس، والتيليوس)، كما أنهم يستخدمون أجهزة بلاغية أخرى مثل: التعبيرات الإشارية، الاستعارة، المبالغة، الأسئلة البلاغية، التكرار، الجناس، والتوازي لإقناع جمهورهم بصحة وإلحاح النضال الفلسطيني وحث الحكومة الأيرلندية على وقف إطلاق النار الفوري. سيتم أيضًا تقديم بعض التوصيات في مجال التحليل البلاغي.