



Universidad de Valladolid

FACULTAD de FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS
DEPARTAMENTO de FILOLOGÍA INGLESA
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The power of antiquity for modern purposes. A rhetorical
analysis of a speech by Steve Jobs.

Ana Cristina Martín González

Tutora: Laura Filardo Llamas

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the blend of classic rhetorical techniques with linguistic devices to create an effective speech. To observe this, Steve Jobs' Commencement Speech, given at Stanford University in 2005, is going to be the text under study. The success of the speech is going to be studied focusing on the relationship between the speaker and his audience. Jobs' speech is related with the new communication media, which has become a viral video on the web working in different contexts from the original one. Moreover, it can be argued that an apparently unceremonious speech can function as a marketing strategy for the speaker's company, Apple Inc.

Keywords: speech, linguistics, rhetoric, context, persuasion, Steve Jobs

El propósito de este trabajo es analizar cómo las técnicas clásicas de retórica se combinan con los recursos lingüísticos para crear un discurso efectivo. Para observar esto, el discurso de graduación pronunciado por Steve Jobs en la Universidad de Stanford en 2005 va a ser el texto a estudiar. El éxito del discurso se va a estudiar haciendo hincapié en la relación entre el hablante y su audiencia. El discurso de Jobs está relacionado con los nuevos medios de comunicación, que lo han convertido en un fenómeno viral en la red, que funciona en contextos que difieren del original. Además, se podría argumentar que las estrategias identificadas influyen en que un discurso aparentemente informal pueda funcionar como una estrategia de marketing para la compañía del hablante, Apple Inc.

Palabras clave: discurso, lingüística, retórica, contexto, persuasión, Steve Jobs

Introduction

Speeches are socio-linguistic practices that have been a matter of study in different subjects of the Degree in English Studies, and particularly in the Applied Linguistics courses. The study of this genre is important because it arouses an impact in society. The focus of study in this paper is related with the application of linguistics for social purposes.

These linguistic practices have existed for centuries, and their origins date back to Ancient Greece. Currently, such an archaic discursive genre is not free from the effect of technology, and it has been adapted to the new communication media. The introduction of speeches to the world of new media has allowed their expansion to a wider audience and the possibility to recreate a given communicative act in different spatio-temporal contexts. The persuasive effect of this discursive genre will be analyzed on Steve's Jobs Commencement speech given at Stanford University in 2005 entitled "You've got to find what you love". A commencement or graduation speech is a kind of speech given by a student, celebrity, or remarkable person to the graduating students. These speeches are supposed to inspire students to start their new stage in the "real world," usually urging the listeners to be confident and trust their intuition in order to face life (Popova 2014). Jobs' speech was so effective that it is considered one of the all-time best graduation speeches dealing with general topics about the human experience. It eventually became a viral video on the web. It can be argued that such popularity was a consequence of Steve Jobs' mastery of rhetorical techniques.

In this essay, I hypothesize that linguistics is necessary for the fulfillment of persuasive strategies, and it is strongly related to rhetoric. It can be argued that the blend of rhetoric and linguistics is what makes the speech effective, not only as a remarkable commencement speech but also as a marketing strategy to promote the speaker's company –Apple. The company defines a lifestyle inspiring freedom, passion, and dreams, and it has a strong personality associated to the brand after great promotional campaigns. Even if the analyzed speech is apparently detached from the brand, the ideas that the speaker shares with the audience are connected to those that represent his company.

Following Fairclough (1995), in this analysis I will try to explain the social impact of Jobs' speech. In order to identify how persuasion is achieved, some linguistic strategies such as metaphors, modality, and deictics are looked at to see the connection between them and the rhetorical functions described by Aristotle (1984: 90-129): *ethos*, *pathos*, *logos*.

Cultural Background

Steve Jobs' company, Apple Inc., is one of the most famous companies worldwide and it is, according to *Forbes*, the world's most valuable brand nowadays (Forbes.com). Apple was founded in 1976 by Steve Wozniak and Steve Jobs, and since then, the brand has gone through four main phases: its foundation, Steve Jobs' renunciation, Steve Jobs' return, and the era after Steve Jobs' death.

In 1976 Steve Wozniak and Steve Jobs founded Apple when they built the Apple I in a garage. They complemented each other because of their different abilities to run the business. Wozniak was a genius of electronics while Jobs was so eager to succeed that he could inspire others to carry out his ideas (Gillam 2012: 20-24). They were still working in the garage when they launched the Apple II in 1977 revolutionizing the computer industry (Richardson 2008). Since then, the company increased its sales and went public. However, after internal controversies Wozniak left Apple in 1983 and Jobs resigned in 1985 (Linzmayr 2004: 44).

After leaving Apple, Steve Jobs founded a new company, NeXT, which was later fused with Apple in 1997, when Jobs was asked to come back to the latter due to the brand's decline. Jobs' return was followed by a series of changes aimed at restructuring the company and recovering it (O'Grady 2009: 12). His return meant "one of the biggest turnarounds in business history" (2009: 14). This was Apple's turning point and new incorporations, such as music related products and cellular phones made the brand regain the success it had lost. Apple's leader died in October 2011 of pancreatic cancer after naming Tim Cook Apple's new CEO (chief executive office). Even if many critics thought that Jobs' death would mean the end of Apple's success, his legacy still lives on and the values associated to the brand are maintained.

Co-founder of Apple Steve Jobs has been considered a genius who revolutionized technology and society's view of it. He was named CEO of the decade in 2009, and many critics consider that Jobs should have been in fact CEO of the century (Gustin 2013). This success is not a matter of luck, but the result of a charismatic leader able to establish a relationship with the audience through his brilliant speeches. As Weber and Eisenstadt suggest,

The term "charisma" will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or

at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader (1968: 48).

This definition fits Steve Jobs' personality, as he had unquestionably exceptional qualities to transmit his ideas. His rhetorical ability to persuade an audience that his products were better than others (Gillam 2012: 9) also proves that Jobs is a charismatic leader. It can be argued that charisma is connected to language in the sense that the ability to capture an audience through oratory is part of the skills that a charismatic person usually has (Den Hartog & Verburg 1997, 356). Through the use of rhetorical techniques, Jobs does not only seem to build his own character in his speeches, but he also shapes his company's personality.

Jobs was concerned with creating a company which was different from others; a company which was linked to customers. With this purpose in mind, Jobs was able to build a personality around his brand. According to Kapferer, "a brand has a personality. By communicating, it gradually builds up character. The way in which it speaks of its products or services shows what kind of person it would be if it were human" (2004: 183). This is what Steve Jobs managed to create in Apple: a brand with a personality, which was familiar and at the same time challenging and creative, simple but sophisticated, with its own identity and social status. In sum, a brand that was close to the people's needs providing its customers with the identity they were looking for. As some critics suggest, "Apple image was inextricably linked to Jobs persona" (Johansson & Carlson 2015: 9).

By focusing on people's needs, Jobs mastered in inspiring people with the personality that he created in Apple turning technology into lifestyle and offering a vision of how Apple could change their lives. Besides, he was strongly confident about his company, and such conviction was transferred to the audience in every public appearance. Therefore, the feelings of confidence and passion he expressed in his speeches were transmitted to the listeners and also associated to the brand's image (Gallo 2010: 17).

Thus, the success of Apple is closely linked to Steve Jobs' charismatic personality. Such a strong self-confidence combined with a successful command of rhetoric and linguistics were the key for his public appearances.

Methodology

In order to analyze the speech, two concepts lie as the basis of this study: rhetoric and linguistics. Rhetoric is the art of persuading through the use of language (Johnstone 1996: 3), while linguistics is the science that studies language by examining the relationship between the language structure and its meaning. The main difference between the two approaches is that linguistics is based on smaller units within the text than rhetoric. As Enkvist suggests, linguistic choices are used in sentence level whereas rhetorical concepts function in a broader level and operate on multiple levels at once, for instance on word, sentence, and discourse level (1985:14). However, rhetoric depends on linguistic devices and therefore, both approaches will be considered in order to understand the persuasiveness of Jobs' speech.

Linguistic devices will be analyzed first, and I will specifically focus on metaphors, modality and deixis. Then, in rhetoric, the focus will be on the three functions proposed by Aristotle (1984: 90-129) and on how the text is structured to observe how linguistics works together with rhetoric.

To start with linguistics, strategies related to the control over the audience's systems of evaluation have been selected for the analysis (Charteris-Black 2005:2). These strategies are the use of metaphors and modality. These devices affect the systems of evaluation in a subtle way, which makes them difficult to detect and therefore, effective in a persuasive speech. Moreover, the role of deixis as a linguistic tool that acquires a persuasive character in context is also going to be analyzed.

Metaphors are mental representations of real world aspects in the process of communication (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 12). As noted by Kövecses (2002: 4), a conceptual metaphor is a linguistic expression within whose scope two concepts are included with the aim of understanding one in terms of the other. This linguistic expression –or keyword– evokes a conceptual organization which is composed by two conceptual domains: the source domain and the target domain. We extract metaphorical expressions from the source domain, which usually refers to a concrete experiential reality, in order to understand the target, normally abstract, domain (Kövecses 2002: 4). Source and target domains are connected through corresponding elements between the two, which are known as mappings. Thus, our experiences in the real world are turned into abstract models which are applied for the understanding of the target

domain, usually unconsciously. As a result the use of metaphors simplifies the task of understanding, and once that the message is clear, empathy can take place.

Metaphor is a very effective means through which potential leaders can communicate with the 'voice within' because it creates evocative representations of the speaker and their policies by arousing emotions and forms part of the process by which an audience reconstructs the causal relationships of an argument (Charteris-Black 2005: 10-11).

This means that a metaphor constitutes a linguistic performance through which speakers can exploit the notions of ethos, logos and pathos, which will be explained below. Metaphors aim to reach the audience's unconsciousness through the association of positive or negative values to given linguistic constructions. Metaphorical constructions will affect the audience's evaluation strategies because through their use, the speaker provides associations to the concept that he is clarifying (Charteris-Black 2005: 15-29).

Modality also plays an important role in persuasion. The speaker expresses his attitude through the use of various modal indicators. On the one hand, the speaker can express his commitment to the proposition, declaring the degree of certainty with which he refers to a specific event. In these cases, epistemic modality is used. On the other hand, deontic and boulomaic modality are seen in textual choices which imply an obligation or carry a sense of duty or necessity, or when desire is expressed (Jeffries & McIntyre 2010: 78). Modality is lexicalized in the use of modal auxiliaries, participial and adjectival constructions, verbs, evaluative adjectives or adverbs, and any other word or construction implying necessity, desirability, or certainty.

Both deontic, and epistemic and boulomaic modality are persuasive devices because the speaker establishes evaluations based on his point of view (Jeffries 2010: 114). In addition, the strategies of evaluation through which the speaker controls the audience are almost undetectable, which increases their success. Modality positions the utterer as an authority able to give commands and evaluate the degree of truth or certainty about what is communicated. Consequently, the conviction that the speaker transmits is expressed by intense emotions which usually trigger a similar response in the audience (Charteris-Black 2014: 108). The projection of a convincing image of the speaker make his arguments unquestionably reasonable

Deixis analyzed in context constitutes a device which encodes powerful persuasive strategies. The term deixis comes from Greek and it means 'pointing' or 'indicating' (Lyons 1977: 636). According to Levinson (1983:54), deixis is the area of language concerned with encoding features of the context surrounding the speech. Within deixis, we can distinguish three main dimensions: person, time and space. These contextual aspects can be indexed in the text through linguistics elements such as demonstratives, pronouns, verbal tense, spatio-temporal adverbs, or any grammatical category that can be directly related to the contextual situation.

In this essay, I will focus on person deixis for the analysis of Steve Jobs' speech because it can be argued that this linguistic device can reinforce the speaker's character depending on its use in context. This dimension refers to the participants involved in the text, and its most common linguistic realization is personal pronouns. The use of a first, second or third person pronoun may point to different participants within the context of utterance. Depending on the choice of pronoun, the connotations vary and may allow the speaker to manipulate the audience.

Specifically, the use of the first person singular I plays a powerful role in persuasion because this pronoun codifies the authoritarian image of the speaker. The first person singular pronoun establishes the speaker as the head of the ideological values he represents, highlighting his leadership (Blas Arroyo 2000: 4-7). On the other hand, when the speaker addresses the hearers using the second person pronoun you, he takes advantage of his authoritative figure to control the audience through deontic modality. The inclusion of the listeners in the speech makes them feel as part of it and thus invites them to share the speaker's perspective. Consequently, deictics are tools which can be employed for the audience's guidance through the speaker's point of view.

The relationship between linguistics and rhetoric is going to be established by considering the three main Aristotelian functions and the speech's structure. Aristotle proposed a distinction of three categories conveyed by the orator –speaker– to persuade the audience. He called these functions *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*, and this nomenclature has been since preserved. According to this description, the orator needs to master the three of them in order to convey an effective speech and reach a persuasive end (1984: 90-129).

To start with, *ethos* is the persuasive means to establish the orator's reputation. This means that the utterer tries to gain credibility by positioning his own figure as a reliable source. The goal of *ethos* is to get the audience's respect, and therefore, their predisposition to follow the speech. *Pathos* addresses the audience's emotions with the aim of persuading the audience by

arising passions and feelings. Hence, the orator tries to get the audience's sympathy dispensing a set of values, emotions and beliefs that act as a hook that links them with the speech. Finally, logos is related to reason. A speech needs to be well- organized in order to be effective. Therefore, the message has to be uttered in a clearly and ordered manner to provide an easy progression of ideas for the audience to follow. Likewise, the arguments have to be reasonable and logical in order to be trusted (Cole 1991: 131-132).

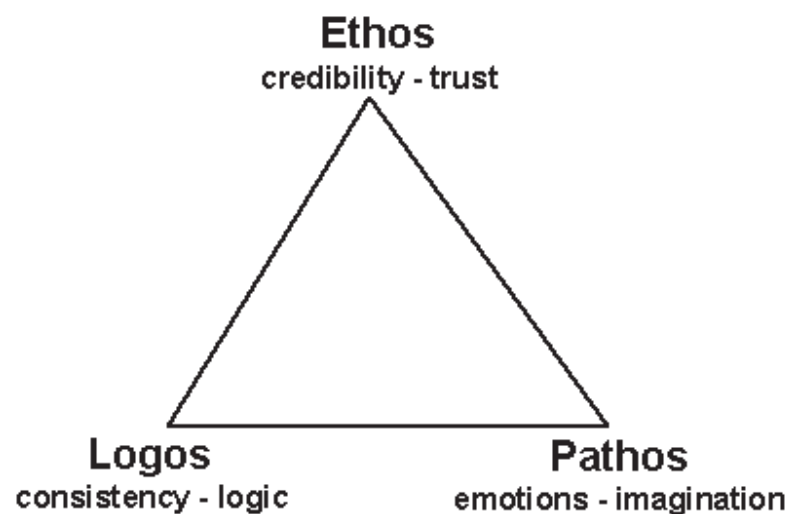


Figure 1. Rhetorical triangle based on Aristotle (Cummings, Robert E. 2006)

As shown in Figure 1, the three functions are represented in a triangle symbolizing perfection and balance. Thus, persuasive goals can be fulfilled when the three functions are properly used in a speech.

The second concept under consideration within rhetoric is a speech's arrangement or dispositio. This Greek word refers to the internal structure of a speech, and to its division into five parts: exordium, partition, narration, argumentation, and peroration. It is not necessary to use all parts in every speech and they need not be in the same fixed order. The first part of dispositio is the exordium, where the utterer states what the text is about thus approaching the audience for the first time with the aim of gaining their goodwill. Partition consists on presenting the audience the order that the speech will follow. In the following parts, narratio and argumentation, the main ideas are exposed and defended. Finally, the climax of the speech comes in the peroratio, where the conclusion is stated. Like the exordium, it needs to be appealing to the audience.

Analysis

The speech given by Steve Jobs in 2005 for the commencement ceremony at Stanford University is organized according to the Greek division of the dispositio. First of all, Jobs' commencement speech starts by approaching the audience introducing himself, which is the exordium. In this first part, he is already looking for the audience's goodwill by appealing to pathos. He compliments his listeners expressing that it is an honor for him to be there and he states that Stanford is one of the best universities in the world. Moreover, he continues getting closer to the audience by declaring that he had never graduated in a humorous way. Hence, the exordium allows Jobs to connect emotionally to his audience through flattery and humor.

He develops his arguments and ideas in the shape of three stories of his life, as we will see below, and the first story marks the beginning of the speech's body. Finally, the climax of the speech comes in the peroratio, where he concludes the speech summarizing the main ideas developed in the talk and addressing the audience directly.

Throughout the narration of the stories, Jobs displays several metaphors which appeal to the hearer's emotions (pathos) providing reasonable arguments (logos) while offering his point of view on life (ethos) (Charteris- Black 2005: 13). Steve Jobs is able to conceptualise his point of view towards diverse topics through metaphors. Metaphors provoke unconscious emotional responses being then effective persuasive elements (Charteris-Black 2014: 160).

The first significant metaphor appears in the introduction to the first story: "The first story is about connecting the dots." This linguistic expression conceptualises the notion that LIFE IS A PRE-DESIGNED DRAWING because it evokes the concrete reality of a drawing, the source domain, to understand the target domain, life, which is an abstract concept (Kövecses 2002: 4). Assuming that life is similar to a drawing that has already been pre-designed drives us to the concept of fate or destiny. Hence, Jobs is expressing his point of view about the belief of predestination, which is that our destiny was decided even before we were born.

A series of metaphors can be also found in the narration of the second story, which deals with success and failure. Steve Jobs explains the difficulties of starting his company and also the impotence of being fired from it. After telling that he was out of his own company, he reflects on success saying "The heaviness of being successful was replaced by the lightness of being a

beginner again, less sure about everything.” Two related metaphors appear in this statement. Jobs reinforces the idea that LIFE IS A JOURNEY associating various ideas to this metaphor. He establishes a contraposition between “being successful” and “being a beginner”. Through the association of lightness to beginners, the statement triggers another metaphor, GOOD IS UP, because something that is light will go up more easily. It can be argued that Jobs is trying to say that to reach success, one needs to travel light. However, heaviness is related to strength and power. Thus, he, as a successful person, is stronger than unsuccessful people. Consequently, he dispenses the graduates a moral lesson about not giving up by demonstrating to them that failure can be a prelude of success, and he relates his professional failure with the beginning of something new, which turned out to be a great success. Jobs’ audience, as newly graduates are beginners in the “real world” so they can feel identified with the speaker’s story.

When Steve Jobs describes the period when he was out of the company, he says that “something slowly began to dawn on me” which is a metaphorical way of saying that KNOWLEDGE IS SEEING. The connotations implied in this expression are full of meaning in the particular context of a commencement speech. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*¹, the dawn is “the first appearance of light in the sky before sunrise, or the time when it appears”. Hence, it is related to the beginning or rising of something within Jobs. This is linked to light and, as stated by Lakoff and Johnson, light is needed for knowledge (1980:48). In addition, ‘light’ is bonded to good and then, it carries a positive evaluation (Charteris-Black 2005:51). In this respect, the metaphor transmits a strong evaluation affecting the listeners’ view towards what Jobs is saying and also appealing to ethos. Jobs states that something was dawning on him and consequently, the ideas of light and knowledge are associated to his figure because he is narrating how the process of dawn was emerging on him.

The second story is united by recurrent statements telling that he loved what he did. The recurrence of the word “love” is not hazardous at all. Instead, it acts as a subconscious reminder that Apple was developed under positive emotions such as love. In this way, the values that he associates to the brand are reinforced. Moreover, linguistic expressions such as “Apple had grown,” or “the heart of Apple” evoke the metaphor APPLE IS A HUMAN BEING. This interconnection is likewise closely related to the values of the brand. If Apple inspires human desires such as freedom, passion, and dreams, the personification of the brand will reinforce and

¹ All the definitions in this essay have been taken from the 2015 online edition of the Oxford English Dictionary available at <www.oed.com>

facilitate the association of emotions to it. In addition, these linguistic expressions do not refer to random human facts. The first expression is connected to growth, connoting the process of development and evolution and the second alludes to passion and deep emotions by attributing a heart to Apple, thus attaching a wide range of positive emotions to this metaphor. The function of ethos is inherent to this linguistic device because Steve Jobs is the image and representative of the brand and then, whenever Apple is mentioned, his figure is fused with it.

In relation to success and failure, Jobs asserts, “It was awful tasting medicine, but I guess the patient needed it”. Here, he is again using a metaphor to explain the difficulties of achieving success by implying that FAILURE IS A DISEASE. The connection of failure to a disease quickly triggers negative connections. However, asserting that “the patient needed it” suggests that what seems to be negative or adverse, can be a prerequisite for healing up. Thus, he explains through this metaphor that failure is sometimes needed to meet success. It is worth mentioning that even if he was talking about himself, he says “the patient” instead of “I”. Rather than using a personal pronoun, he depersonalizes the statement. In this way, he is able to maintain himself as the evaluator who assesses that the one who failed –that is now away from the speaker– needed that breakdown. Moreover, this metaphor is a mapping of APPLE IS A HUMAN BEING because failure is to a company what a disease is to a human being. In this case, Jobs identifies himself with “Apple” in a blending that implies that both the company and Steve Jobs suffered the disease of failing. Also, when the speaker includes the adverb “awful”, he is evaluating the statement stressing the hardness of failure.

The third story is about death. It is the most emotional part of the speech because the speaker tells the audience about his battle against pancreatic cancer. This may arouse strong emotions from the audience and then establish a deeper connection between the orator and his listeners. Right before the third story, Jobs uses a series of metaphors about life, which in the third story are interspersed with metaphors about death.

For instance, in the last part of the second story, Jobs expresses that LIFE IS A RECIPIENT when he says that “your work is going to fill a large part of your life” implying that life is empty and it needs to be filled up. The audience may infer that life itself has no meaning and the meaning needs to be created by making one’s own choice about the content that fills life. Moreover, he attributes some characteristics to life which give way to the topic of the following story, death. Jobs personalizes life expressing “Sometimes life hits you in the head with a brick”.

In the same way that he does with Apple, he attributes human actions to life in an attempt to clarify the abstract concept of life.

In order to explain what death is, he compares it to life relying a series of metaphors. He offers a completely different vision of death from the conventional one which considers death as a bad and highly feared concept. Instead, Jobs presents death as something that gives meaning to life and improves it. The inclusion of the metaphor LIFE IS TIME saying that “your time is limited” associates life to something that is measurable, and this emphasizes the idea that life is short and time should be wisely used but it is also inferred that life can be quantified. Once that something can be quantified, it has got a value and Jobs is attributing it to life.

He describes death as a journey in expressions such as “Even people who want to go to heaven don’t want to die to get there. And yet death is the destination we all share. No one has ever escaped it.” The description of death as a journey implies that LIFE IS A JOURNEY because life is the path that drives us to death, which is the final destination of the trip. This is related to the first metaphor analyzed which evoked also predestination. In this way, the ideas are interconnected providing the speech with coherence. The concept of “journey” immediately draws a connection with religion offering the idea of the good life, moral choices and the relationship between humans and God. The last point is crucial for the analysis of Jobs’ speech because he is giving advices and moral lessons. Thus, by introducing echoes of religion, Jobs brings the figure of God to audience’s mind, allowing them to establish a connection between the orator and God. This association is very powerful because at this point, his eligibility to give moral lessons will not be doubted because of the association of his person to God.

Nevertheless, right after this religious reference, he recalls that DOCTRINE IS A PRISON when he recommends the audience not to be trapped by dogma. This metaphor codes Steve Jobs’ mantra “Think different”. Stating that doctrine is a prison, he encourages his listeners to escape from it to let passion and feelings drive them. In this call to emotions, ironically Apple’s doctrine is beneath. While he is encouraging people to escape from doctrine, he is inviting them to share his company’s set of beliefs.

Finally, he gives an ultimate advice in the form of a metaphor, which is repeated three times in the last few seconds: “Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish”. These words suggest that, to be successful, one needs to fill oneself with information, new horizons, passions, and instead of feeling full one should be ambitious to continue improving. As Kövecses (2003: 78) suggests, we have the

metaphor DESIRE IS HUNGER. The abstract concept of “desire” is conceptualised in terms of the human physiological necessity of being nourished. Such force is related to the animal instinct which moves the hungry individual to get food. On the one hand, this equation between desire and hunger implies a response of the individual to achieve what is wanted instead of remaining conformist. Nevertheless, taking a deep look at this metaphor, it is also tightly linked to Apple. The company’s name and logo recall the Bible’s Forbidden Fruit representing temptation, and how the man is driven by desires. In this sense, the speaker’s request to stay hungry evokes the biblical passage in which Jobs assumes the role of God giving instructions to the human beings, while the desired element to which humans cannot resist is Apple.

The second part of the sentence, “Stay foolish” is not independent from the former. Without this remark, Jobs would be urging his listeners to be rational and reject desires and human instincts because the verb “stay” should keep them away from moving towards the fulfillment of their desires. However, as the definition of “foolish” by the *Oxford English Dictionary* states, this adjective means “lacking good sense or judge”. Thus, the combination of both statements incites the audience to be insatiable and senseless enough to go after their desires. In this way, Jobs summarizes his speech in a short and easy motto which highlights the importance of following passions and instincts to stand out from the common. This metaphor becomes the speech’s peroration.

Beneath the metaphors that Jobs provides in the speech, the three rhetorical functions can be observed. The speaker establishes his character or ethos in the metaphors because his own experience underlies them. By merging his person with Apple, he is reinforcing his personality in every reference to the brand. Likewise, he appeals to pathos by triggering strong emotions and feelings which make the speech persuasive by conveying a marketing process. The emotional response that the metaphors evoke, affects the way in which hearers evaluate the brand. Since the associations inferred from the metaphors are positive, the brand’s evaluation will be positive as well. Logos is appealed through the logical organization of such linguistic device. Ideas are arranged in order to clarify the abstract concepts and hence, the arguments that the speaker provides through metaphors are more reasonable.

Like metaphors, modality affects the audience’s evaluative systems facilitating Jobs’ expression of his attitude throughout the speech. Steve Jobs speaks transmitting a high level of conviction so that he conveys certitude and authority (Charteris- Black 2014: 108). This usage of

modality appeals to ethos because the speaker transmits a strong image of himself that leaves no doubts about his credibility. Moreover, such intensity in the utterance triggers emotions in the audience and thus, it appeals also to pathos (2014: 108).

The paragraphs that follow each of the three stories present a high degree of commitment by the speaker sounding convincing because the expressions he uses do not show any hesitation. If we consider for instance the paragraph after the first story, Jobs uses the epistemic modal verb “can” both in affirmative and negative form to express a high degree of certainty. Hence, he establishes the truth about the statement. Moreover, he uses the present simple tense, which strengthens the degree of commitment. When he introduces the future tense formed with the modal verb ‘will’, the speaker is not hypothesizing but predicting what the future will bring (Jeffries & McIntyre 2010: 79). Besides, he employs adjectives and adverbs such as “only”, “never”, or “all” that imply categorical assertion leaving no space to hesitation or doubtfulness.

Again, you can't connect the dots looking forward; you can only connect them looking backwards. So you have to trust that the dots will somehow connect in your future. You have to trust in something— your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever. This approach has never let me down, and it has made all the difference in my life

In the same lines, we can also observe deontic modality because once that he has exposed what the truth is, he has the authority to express obligation. Deontic modality communicates the necessity of doing something (Lyons 1977: 823). Jobs expresses epistemic modality to establish his subjective truth, and then, he uses deontic modality to tell the audience what they need to do in response to the epistemic reality. Hence, by the strong certainty conveyed, Jobs establishes his subjective point of view as an objective truth. As a result, the probability that his listeners will accept his point of view is very high because it is presented as an objective evidence rather than a personal opinion, and consequently, could influence their evaluation systems (Jeffries 2010: 115-116).

It is important to mention how Steve Jobs employs modality as a marketing strategy to influence in the audience's consideration of his brand. To do so, Steve Jobs creates a positive shading (Jeffries 2010: 120) using verbs of feeling, and adjectives and adverbs which provide a positive evaluation. He achieves the positive shading by describing the calligraphy classes through positive adjectives and adverbs: “It was beautiful, historical, artistically subtle in a way

that science can't capture, and I found it fascinating". With this statement, he orients the listeners to think that there is not a better typography than the one he learnt, which, as he declares later, was eventually used in the Mac. Thus, the positive shading that he had previously created is transferred to his product. In addition, he certifies that "Windows copied the Mac" and accordingly, Jobs is establishing himself as the creator of the "wonderful typography" that every personal computer has got, expressing certitude in "it's likely that no personal computer would have it". Thus, he implicitly asserts that Windows was a copy of Apple's creativity, and establishes Apple as the firm responsible for such typography on every personal computer.

In the last story, he supports his ethos through epistemic modality. He persuades the audience to accept that his authority is real: "Having lived through it, I can now say this to you with a bit more certainty [...]" The term "certainty" is associated with the speaker's portrayal of himself, an authoritative character that will influence in the evaluative system of the audience.

When Steve Jobs gives advice, his attitude relies on deontic modality because he is suggesting the audience that they should follow his lessons. Once that the audience is persuaded about his point of view, he gives orders. We can see that, for instance, in one of the last statements, "don't waste it living someone else's life. Don't be trapped by dogma— which is living with the results of other people's thinking. Don't let the noise of other's opinions drown out your own inner voice." In this case, Jobs tells the hearers what they cannot do, so he expresses what they should do with a negative construction. This utterance is very effective because of the linguistic combination of negation and the imperative form and it appeals to the three Aristotelian functions. First of all, the character or ethos of the speaker is clear and his personality is displayed as authoritative. Then, the strong involvement of Jobs in the utterance is transferred to the audience, which should and will eventually share the speaker's emotions. Finally, due to the credibility transmitted by the orator, the arguments are perceived as logical and reasonable, appealing to logos.

Therefore, through modality he creates effective statements appealing in most of the cases to ethos, pathos and logos. Modality is crucial for the speaker's expression of his ethos because through the attitude that he shows, the audience is able to figure out the utterer's personality. Thus, modality is crucial to achieve the persuasive goals, and what is more, its subtleness makes of it a tool able to reach the hearers' evaluation systems.

The way in which Jobs points to the elements in the surrounding context with deictics is also worth analyzing as a tool for persuasive means. The listeners will most likely be unaware of the importance of deictics for rhetoric purposes. However, personal pronouns are linguistic elements which may help in the creation of ethos, pathos and logos.

In Steve Jobs' speech, there is a clear predominance of the first person singular pronoun I. Its use is logical because it appears in the narration of the speaker's personal experiences, and it is also relevant to state the speaker's character. The recurrent use of I prevents the listeners from forgetting who is leading the utterance. This way, Jobs establishes himself as the moral authority controlling the direction of the speech (Blas Arroyo 2000: 4-7) and assumes the full responsibility of his words, expecting to receive full credit for his speech, as we can see in the example below:

After six months, I couldn't see the value in it. I had no idea what I wanted to do with my life and no idea how college was going to help me figure it out. (...) The minute I dropped out I could stop taking the required classes that didn't interest me.

According to Poggi (2005: 314), there is a need of "self-representation" for the creation of ethos, and the use of this pronoun allows it. Throughout the stories, Jobs only makes use of the first person singular pronoun but in the last part of each story, there is a predominance of the second person pronoun, you. This particular display of the deictic elements is meaningful because the speaker includes the second person pronoun you only once that he has attributed himself the leading character:

Again you can't connect the dots looking forward; you can only connect them looking backwards. So you have to trust that the dots will somehow connect in your future. You have to trust in something—your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever.

Thus, using the first person singular he tells his experience creating ethos because he narrates how he has overcome difficulties along life. Then, once that he has identified himself as a person that the speakers should trust, he addresses the audience with a deontic attitude in order to give them instructions about what they should do.

This speech has been adapted to communicative media because it has been filmed and published on the Internet, which has multiplied its audience. The notion of context refers to the social environment or situation of language use involving the categories of setting, participants, actions and cognitions (Van Dijk 2008: 74). Context, then, is closely related to the knowledge that the speaker shares with the addressee (Widdowson 2007: 21). Following Van Dijk (2008: 71-82), there are five categories of knowledge ranging from narrow to broad. Interpersonal knowledge refers to the personal information that a participant decided to share in a previous communication. When information is socially shared and acquired between the members of a group, it is called group knowledge. Similar to group knowledge is institutional or organizational knowledge, which is a type of knowledge shared by the members of an institution or an organization. In a broader sense, when knowledge is about specific events of a country, and it is shared by its citizens, it is considered to be national knowledge. Finally, the broadest category of knowledge is cultural knowledge which covers tradition, history and other cultural features that the members of a same culture will share. Particularly important in order to understand how this speech spread on the web is the notion of cultural knowledge

The assumption of some kind of shared knowledge in Jobs' speech is meaningful. When the speaker points to something, he provides information about it in order to establish a context of shared knowledge with the audience (Widdowson 2007: 21). For instance, when Jobs talks about NeXT, or Pixar, he clarifies that they were his companies "I started a company named NeXT, another company named Pixar (...)".

However, in some cases the knowledge is already shared and therefore, the speaker will just need to activate it in the audience's minds rather than create such context (Widdowson 2007: 21). This can be seen in the first reference that Jobs provides about Apple: "Woz and I started Apple", which has a similar construction to the previous examples, but the way in which he assumes that knowledge is already shared contrasts with the former. Jobs assumes that the knowledge about his company is already shared with the audience, so he does not provide information explicitly in the text about what Apple is. Similarly, in the statement "when we were designing the first Macintosh computer (...)," the speaker does not clarify the referent of the personal pronoun because he assumes that such information is already clear for every listener. Likewise, the use of a definite article preceding the name of the product, also presupposes that the product is well-known and familiar to the audience. In this way, some frames of knowledge

are activated. This means that the speaker assumes that the audience had previous knowledge about what he is referring to. Such assumption stresses the idea that Apple is part of worldwide cultural knowledge.

The role of context in the speech does not work only in benefit of the brand, but, it also explains how the speech spread. Due to the lack of referents that set the speech within a particular context (Widdowson 2007: 20), the speech uttered in 2005 for the Commencement ceremony at Stanford University can be listened by people who did not share the same situational context. This is also possible because Jobs activates universal frames of knowledge by talking about concepts that are shared by every human, being such as life stages. Thus, everyone who listens to Jobs' speech in whichever situation will understand the message dispensed by the utterer.

The only reference that Steve Jobs makes to the situational context comes in the exordium where he introduces a temporal reference to the day of the utterance "today". After this, the speech remains atemporal, and the notion of time is only used to refer to Jobs' personal experiences. As a result, nowadays, 10 years after its utterance, this speech is still a popular video on the Internet. The absence of place deictics also benefits the speech's reproduction in a different context from the original without a loss of meaning.

The fact that Jobs chose as the speech's main topics love, loss, death, success and failure allows universality. Such topics are not specific to graduate students but common to every human being. Thus, everybody can feel identified with the speaker's narration because he activates universal knowledge which allows the audience to link Jobs' life to their own previous experience. In addition, these topics represent the general concerns of humans, so, a set of advices addressing such preoccupations attracts many people's attention. Universality, then, has allowed Jobs' commencement speech to be heard and understood by thousands of viewers on the web. The speaker's use of the second person pronoun to refer to the audience lacks an explicit referent through most of the speech. It is only explicit that the speaker is uttering the speech for Stanford's graduate students in the exordium, where we can see a reference to them: "I am honored to be with you today at your commencement from one of the finest universities in the world" and in the peroratio, "And now, as you graduate to begin anew, I wish that for you". However, through the speech, the utterer does not mention to whom he is speaking, which allows the listeners to choose which the referent that the person deictic is indexing is. Thus, the potential

listeners of the speech can feel as the addressee of Jobs' words in a different context from the one of the original utterance.

Due to the universality which lies beneath the speech, it can work at three different levels. Firstly, it is an instance of discourse for a specific audience –Stanford's graduates. As the speech is recorded and uploaded to YouTube, it can be reproduced in different contexts, and social networks' users can post Jobs' speech in platforms such as Facebook or Twitter to share it, allowing the speech to be heard at multiple contexts

Conclusion

The analysis of Jobs' Commencement speech shows how the three rhetorical functions of ethos, pathos and logos– which are vital for persuasive means– are created through linguistic devices. The most relevant strategies identified are related to the control of the audience's evaluative systems through metaphors and modality together with the array of deictics.

Metaphors help to organize complex and abstract ideas in terms of easier concepts. Through the speech, Jobs presents several metaphors associated to the human experience, making the speech understandable and close to every listener. The metaphors displayed in the speech can be summarized in the last statement "Stay hungry. Stay foolish". This short statement condenses what the speaker has been transmitting through the speech, urging the hearers to follow their desires even if they may seem unreasonable. In this way, he is giving an advice to his audience that is tightly related with his company's ethics. The speech is structured through metaphors, providing logos to the utterance, as well as pathos due to the great amount of emotional mappings that can be inferred from every metaphor, and ethos because Jobs is constantly emphasizing his personality. In this way, rhetoric and linguistics are blended in Jobs' use of metaphors providing the speech with persuasiveness.

Through the subtle use of modality and deictics, the utterer is expressing his character and creating ethos. With the certainty and confidence that Jobs expresses through his utterance, he projects his subjective point of view as the objective truth that the audience should trust. Hence, Jobs' use of linguistic devices is directed to the establishment of his character as a leader that

dispenses valuable lessons. As a result of the high degree of conviction expressed, he transmits such feeling to the audience, appealing to pathos.

The discursive genre is adapted to the new mass media, which allows hearers to reproduce Jobs' speech even if they are not sharing the same context. The speech works in different contexts because the lack of referents together with the use of general topics has allowed it to be directed to a wider audience, allowing it to become a viral video through the web.

Finally, it has been observed that this apparently unceremonious speech acts as a marketing tool for Jobs' company. By prompting the audience to be passionate and follow their animal instincts, he is highlighting Apple's traditional associations to strong emotions. Thus, Steve Jobs is recommending the hearers to adopt a way of life in which his company fits perfectly. This study shows how the command of linguistic techniques can affect social practices, and how the blend of rhetorical and linguistic devices allows Jobs to provide an effective speech that is worldwide known due to mass media technology.

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