Writing the Voice of Philanthropy: How to Raise Money with Words

by
Frank C. Dickerson

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Claremont Graduate University in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate Faculty of Education

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The following is a chapter excerpted from my dissertation that describes the best and worst fund appeals my research identified. This piece examines linguistic substructure of these texts.

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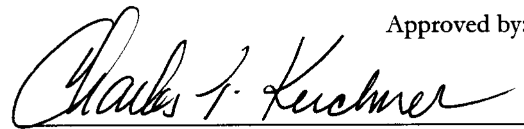

Charles Kerchner

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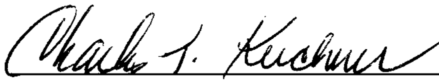

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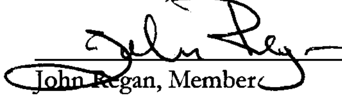

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Writing the Voice of Philanthropy:
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By
Frank C. Dickerson
Claremont Graduate University: 2009

Fund raising is a poor cousin in the family of philanthropic studies, where the focus of serious scholars turns to more esoteric matters. Ignored is the CENTRAL TASK of nonprofit leadership: *writing the voice of philanthropy*—writing discourse that becomes the voice of the needy, thus motivating people to care and to give.

Writing the voice of philanthropy is modeled in this recasting of gospel-writer Luke's story about a kind-hearted traveler from ancient Samaria: "The Samaritan stood in the lobby of a roadside lodge in Jericho, supporting with his shoulder, a weak and badly-beaten man he'd rescued after bandits robbed and left him for dead. The innkeeper listened with wide-eyed, slack-jawed amazement as the Good Samaritan spun the tale of the stranger's brush with death. He then asked the proprietor: 'Please tend to him. I promise to repay anything beyond the 2-denari I'm leaving for expenses.'"

This re-write tells a story, then asks. It reduces the dramatic elements of scene, actors, plot, tension, and resolution to words, then adds an appeal for help—all without losing emotional impact. A difficult task. To measure how well philanthropic discourse accomplishes this task, I…

- Analyze linguistic and rhetorical characteristics in a 1.5-million-word corpus of 2,412 online and paper-based fund-raising texts from 880 leading nonprofits across nine subsectors;
- Survey those who write, or cause that discourse to be written, profiling their education, training, work challenges and joys, ambitions, and advice to newcomers in fund raising;
- Measure the effect on response of hand-personalization, added as a paratextual variable of direct mail envelopes and content to enhance interpersonal involvement—important, since nothing else matters in an appeal if the envelope it comes in doesn't get opened or its content doesn't get read.

The corpus analysis discovered that fund-raising discourse reads like academic prose, lacks interpersonal involvement, and contains virtually no narratives. The survey found the central task of equipping leaders to write the voice of philanthropy is relegated to oral tradition and job-shadowing at best. Six tests confirmed that the paratextual variable of hand-personalizing mail correlates with increased response and higher net income.

> *Marketing and innovation are the foundation areas in objective setting. It is in these two areas that a business obtains results. It is performance and contribution in these areas for which a customer pays.*
>
> *All objectives must be performance objectives, aimed at doing rather than good intentions. In all other objective areas the purpose of doing is to make possible the attainment of the objectives in the areas of marketing and innovation.*
>
> *The best plan is only a plan, that is, good intentions, unless it degenerates into work.*
>
> *Source: Drucker (1973, pp. 103, 128)*

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Regarding which results mattered, there was obviously no room for democracy in the mind of Peter Drucker. Among his key result areas, everything hinged on getting results in marketing and innovation. And performance was not merely a goal written on paper. It had to *degenerate into* that dirty four-letter word *work*. Apart from actual work, Drucker claimed, “there are only promises and hopes but no plan” (1973, p. 128). The nonprofit sector’s cognate of marketing is fund raising. I report on their work by reporting on three studies:

- *Linguistic Patterns Revealed by MD Analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus*
- *Profiles of Those who Write Fund-Raising Discourse Drawn from the Voice of Philanthropy Survey*
- *Measures of Change Attributable to Paratextual Variation in Package among Six Direct Mail Campaigns*

Linguistic Patterns Revealed by MD Analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus

The preceding discussion has shown how linguistic features perform seven kinds of tasks in discourse: *ideational*, *textual*, *personal*, *interpersonal*, *contextual*, *processing*, and *aesthetic*. These tasks are performed by *clusters* of linguistic features that Biber’s original factor analyses (1984, 1985, 1986, 1988) identified as occurring together. He uses these clusters of co-occurring linguistic features to define the five *dimensions of linguistic variation* explicated above. (As noted, this study is limited to only the first five of the seven dimensions of linguistic variation he identified.) These five were illustrated by several exemplar texts I created to illustrate Biber’s dimensions of variation. Each dimension was comprised of and defined by the statistically significant co-occurrence of salient clusters of features that consistently work together to accomplish a specific language tasks. Biber’s resulting dimensions of variation have made it possible to compare any given text register against Biber’s factor scores for 23 genres. Thus, Biber has essentially invented a linguistic ruler. Or more appropriately, he has invented not only a linguistic ruler and six additional linguistic scales as different as

instruments in the physical realm that that measure variation in pressure, weight, volume, temperature, ergs, and lumens.

Now that the linguistic measurement instruments have been invented and calibrated, they are useful for appraising additional sub-genres of discourse. These additional appraisals require determining frequency scores on the same variable clusters that were identified in Biber's original research. The results reported here do just that, measuring dimensional scores for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus and then using the register scores of Biber's original factor analysis as a canon for inter-corpus comparison. To again oversimplify with an analogy, Biber's research has made it possible to quickly size up the texts examined—to see where they stand in comparison to the 23 genres or registers (terms Biber uses interchangeably) in his original MD-analysis. In addition, this study compared the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus with the Connor and Upton ICIC Corpus (2003).

Starting at the end, and working backwards to the data presentation below, the essential question is: *To what end was this discourse domain measured? So what?* The analytic framework of MD-analysis provides a way to *measure*, *compare*, *understand*, and ultimately *use* the data produced to *improve practice*. Biber suggests this application when he writes: "Applications could be useful in rhetorical studies. Teaching writing as a product has fallen into disrepute, and . . . for teachers, several questions . . . arise: "Are there surface textual dimensions which are necessary concomitants to a well-organized essay? Are some of these textual dimensions linguistic features which can be explicitly taught or are they all naturally acquired?" He further suggests: "An analysis of a broad range of student essays within the methodological framework presented here should help answer some of these questions" (Biber, 1984, p. 119). But beyond application to traditional school settings for teachers of writing, Biber concludes: "Finally, the model has applications for models of natural language processing. The textual dimensions identified here can be used in a predictive way" (1984, p. 119).

Since the development of his model, a number of research projects have used Biber's protocols to describe variation in particular text registers. He notes that these "studies apply the dimensions identified in the 1988 MD-analysis of English to some new discourse domain, but they do not undertake a new MD-analysis (i.e. involving a new factor analysis)" (2004, p. 16). Rather, such studies use the metrics Biber has calibrated in order to describe and compare the new discourse domains studied with those characterized in Biber's original study. For example, Connor and Upton did this in their analysis of the ICIC fund-raising letter corpus (2003), which work is the point of departure for the present research. I replicate their work with a larger database, greater geographic representation, and thorough coverage of virtually all of America's largest nonprofit

organizations. While Connor and Upton limited their study to an examination of just the first four of Biber's seven dimensions of variation, the present study expands this scope by adding Biber's fifth dimension—Abstract/Impersonal versus Concrete/Non-Impersonal. I present summary tables that list the dimensional scores from the Connor Upton study, situating my data on tables for each dimension to compare the ICIC Corpus, the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, and the original corpus scores presented in Biber 1988).

For the ICIC and IRS 800 corpora, I have arrayed the mean frequency counts for all the *salient* linguistic features of Biber's first four dimensions. To understand what this data means I first review how Biber's original factor analysis produced the distinct dimensions of variation displayed in the table. After linguistic features had been tagged and counted by computer, factor analysis identified clusters of features that consistently occurred together in Biber's corpus—those that shared similar variance and thus suggested a shared task purpose in texts (e.g. the task of communicating informational content, or conversely the task of attending to an interpersonal relationship). A linguistic feature was considered *salient* (definitionally important) *only* if its factor loading met the minimum threshold of |.35|. This was a level of statistical significance set by Biber (with a coefficient of 0 representing no correlation, and a score of 1 representing perfect correlation) to determine which features would be considered *salient*. To be *salient* meant that a feature was considered influential enough in accounting for a dimension's variation that it was useful in defining the dimension. Conversely, those features which loaded below |.35| were considered *nonsalient,* statistically insignificant, and thus did not warrant a role in defining a dimension. Moreover, several features that loaded at |≥.35| on more than one dimension were considered *nonsalient* even though they were considered statistically significant. This was a strategic omission to ensure the independence of dimensions. That is, a factor was deemed *salient* on only one dimension of variation—the one on which it had the highest factor loading.

The essence of Biber's methodology was based on the assumption that certain linguistic features were found consistently performing one of more of the seven functions noted above. For example, high frequencies of *nominalizations* and *prepositions* seemed to co-occur when the rhetorical task required dense prose like that in academic journals. These features thus seemed to signal a focus on informational content. Conversely, high frequencies of *contractions*, private verbs like *I think* and *I feel*, and *first and second person pronouns* tended to show up in interactive prose and conversation. These features thus seemed to signal a focus on *interaction* and *interpersonal relationships*. The central and unique value of Biber's dimensional scales is the reduction and summarization of 67 co-occurring linguistic variables to seven factors.

Biber's protocol for determining the *salience* of variables excludes those with factor loadings below |<.35| from contributing to the definition of dimensions of variation. However, these *nonsalient* features are reported nonetheless and are displayed on dimensional scales within parentheses (like this). Evaluating Biber's procedure, Francis, Xiao**,** and Tono (2006) note that the positive or negative sign of each factor loading or weight indicates "the direction of the correlation. The greater the absolute value of a loading which a linguistic feature has on a factor, the more representative the feature is of the dimension" (2006, p. 88). Thus as noted earlier, positive and negative signs determine the positioning of linguistic features on opposite ends of continua. For example, on dimension 2, which differentiates between narrative and non-narrative texts, since narrative texts report past events, they tend to use a high number of past tense verbs. Past tense verbs are thus marked with a positive sign. Conversely, such texts use less present tense verbs. Present tense verbs are thus marked by negative signs and are arrayed on the opposite end of the narrative/non-narrative continuum. Such linguistic features occur in *complementary* frequency patterns. When one is present the other is usually not. Declerck, Reed, and Cappelle (2006) offer a complete study of English past tense verb usage.

In this study, I have used Biber's dimensions of variation as benchmarks by which to compare the scores of texts in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. First, in order to prevent skewing due to long and short texts, frequencies of linguistic features within texts were normalized to their average occurrence per 1,000 words of text (cf. Biber 1988, p. 94). Then using descriptive data from the computer analysis (mean counts of features per 1,000 words, measures of standard deviation, and range of data sets), factor scores for the corpus as a whole and the segments subsumed were derived. These scores made it possible to make inter- and intra-corpora comparisons.

Biber illustrates the procedure for deriving a dimensional score stating that "in the present study, all frequencies were standardized to a mean of 0.0 and a standard deviation of 1.0" (1988, pp. 93-97). It is more helpful to operationalize this procedure in terms of determining a frequency count of linguistic features into a z-score, expressed in terms of units of standard deviation and illustrated below in figure 4.1. This process can be used not only to derive a standardized score for a single linguistic feature within a single text or to describe dimensional scores for entire genres of texts. Table 4.1 below reports the standardized scores of the 23 registers in Biber's original research, on six dimensions of variation. This study reports standardized scores for texts in the Dickerson IRS 880 corpus, between subsectors in the corpus, and with those of the ICIC corpus.

How a Dimension (Factor) Score is Derived for One Linguistic Feature Within a Single Text

The following illustrates how ***one*** mean frequency count for ***one*** feature (which has been normalized to reflect its occurrence per 1,000 words of text) in ***one*** document is ***standardized*** to a mean of 0.0 by using the ***z-score*** formula to determine the ***standardized*** value for the feature's ***normalized*** mean.

Six linguistic features on Dimension 2 which mark the presence of narrative focus. (Only *salient* features are listed and Dimension 2 has no negative features.)	**Measures in *this text* of each linguistic feature's normalized frequency of occurrence per 1,000 words of text (χ)**	**Measures in *whole corpus* of each linguistic feature's normalized mean frequency of occurrence per 1,000 words of text (μ)**	**Measures in *whole corpus* of each Linguistic feature's standard deviation (σ)**	***This text's* standardized mean frequency counts, expressed in terms of variance as z-scores (z) $\left(z = \frac{\chi - \mu}{\sigma}\right)$**
1. Past Tense Verbs	113	40.1	30.4	2.4
2. 3rd Person Personal Pronouns	124	29.9	22.5	4.2
3. Perfect Aspect Verbs	30	8.6	5.2	4.1
4. Public Verbs	14	7.7	5.4	1.5
5. Present Participial Clauses	5	1.0	1.7	2.3
6. Synthetic Negation	3	1.7	1.6	1.4
This Text's **Factor** or **Dimension** Score (the sum of all its ***standardized per-thousand mean frequency counts' z- scores***):				+15.9

How to apply the z-score formula to *just one* linguistic feature in a *Single Text*, so that the count of *that* feature's mean frequency of occurrence-per-thousand words of text, becomes a *standardized measure*

For the ***first*** linguistic feature listed above (past tense verbs), the normalized mean frequency count of its occurrence per 1,000 words of text (113) is ***standardized*** by transforming it into a unit of standard deviation, called a z-score. This process is illustrated below:

Definition of Terms In the z-Score Formula

In the adjacent formula, z refers to the standardized z- score being sought; χ refers to the normalized frequency (mean-count-per-1,000 words) for the linguistic feature being considered (113 past tense verbs); μ refers to the mean occurrence of past tense verbs in the corpus as ***a whole***; and σ is the standard deviation score for past tense verbs in the corpus ***as a whole***. The ***standardized*** mean frequenciy for past tense verbs in this text is found by computing their z-score. This process makes possible inter- and intra-corpus comparisons without the skewing long or short texts might create, by translating raw means to units of standard deviation, using the z-scores formula.

The formula used below to calculate the ***standardized** mean count-per-thousand-word* occurrence for just ***one*** linguistic feature (past tense verbs) is also applied above to the ***other five*** remaining features for the text. This sum for ***six linguistic features*** (+15.9) is this text's ***Factor or Dimension Score***.

$$z = \frac{\chi - \mu}{\sigma} \quad z = \frac{113-40.1}{30.4} \quad z = \frac{72.9}{30.4} \quad z = 2.4$$

The standardized score of 2.4 for past tense verbs means that this text has a much higher occurrence of past tense verbs relative to the rest of the corpus: almost 2-1/2 times the mean occurrence of 40.1 per thousand words of text. Biber notes: "This standardized value, reflecting the magnitude of a frequency with respect to the range of possible variation, is a more adequate representation for the purposes of the present study" (1988, p. 95). Summing all of a text's standardized means for all salient linguistic features in any given dimension of variation yields a Factor or Dimension Score for that text on that dimension.

How to apply the z-score formula to an *Entire Genre of Texts*, so that the sum of *all* its texts' standardized per-1,000-word mean scores on all salient features yields for each Factor or Dimension, a *Genre-Wide* Score

The procedure above first derives ***just one*** *z-score* for ***just one*** *salient linguistic feature* in ***just one*** *dimension of linguistic variation*. This procedure is then applied to the ***remaining five*** salient linguistic features in this text. Then the second major step in the procedure involves summing ***all*** the *standardized scores* for ***all six*** linguistic features in the text to provide a ***Dimension or Factor Score*** for ***this one text*** (e.g. ***2.4*** + ***4.2*** + ***4.1***+ ***1.5*** + ***2.3*** + ***1.4*** = ***15.9***). So after standardizing all the count-per-thousand means for ***each*** salient feature by converting them into *z-scores*, this ***Single Text Factor or Dimension Score*** is derived by summing those *z-scores*. Here the result is a score that characterizes the degree to which this text is ***narrative or non-narrative*** (the label for Dimension 2). Computerized analysis of IRS Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus does this for ***54*** salient linguistic features among ***2,412*** texts across ***five*** dimensions of variation, requiring some ***130,248*** *z-score* computations. Then additional multivariate analyses examine statistical significance. Biber's original research similarly summed *mean scores* for ***67*** salient linguistic features among ***481*** texts across ***23*** genres of written and spoken English. At the heart of the process is the two-step procedure described above (1. standardize to *z-scores*, all per-thousand means for salient features, then 2. sum all those standardized *z-scores* for a text). This process of standardizing mean-per-thousand frequencies to derive a Factor or Dimension Score for ***One Text*** can be used to produce standardized Factor or Dimension scores for ***Entire Genres of Texts***: 1.) First, sum ***all Factor or Dimension Scores*** for ***all the texts*** of an ***Entire Genre***. Then 2.) divide this total by the ***number of texts*** in the genre to get a ***Genre-Wide* Score**. "For example," Biber illustrates, "if there were only three fiction texts, having factor scores for Factor 2 of 16.6, 12.0, and 10.4, the mean score for fiction on Dimension 2 (Factor Score 2) would be: ***16.6*** + ***12.0*** + ***10.4*** ÷ ***3*** = ***13.0***" (1988, p. 95).

Figure 4.1. Procedure for establishing dimensional scores for texts and genres.
Note. Adapted from Biber (1984, 988, and 1995).

Table 4.1 **Mean Scores on Six Dimensions of Variation Across Speech and Writing for 23 Genres**

	23 Registers/Genres Scored:	*Standardized* Mean Scores on Six Dimensions of Variation (Frequencies were *Normalized* to Counts Per 1,000 Words of Text)											
		1 Interpersonal *versus* Informational		2 Narrative *versus* Non-Narrative		3 Elaborated *versus* Not Elaborated		4 Overt Argumentation		5 Abstract *versus* Non-Abstract		6 On-Line Info *Versus* Edited Non-Info	
		Mean Score	Std Dev	Mean Score	Std Dev	Mean Score	Std Dev	Mean Score	Std Dev	Mean Score	Std Dev	Mean Score	Std Dev
1	Press Reportage	-15.1	4.5	0.4	2.1	-0.3	2.9	-0.7	2.6	0.6	2.4	-0.9	1.8
2	Press Editorials	-10.0	3.8	-0.8	1.4	1.9	2.0	3.1	3.2	0.3	2.0	1.5	1.6
3	Press Reviews	-13.9	3.9	-1.6	1.9	4.3	3.7	-2.8	2.0	0.8	2.1	-1.0	1.9
4	Religion	-7.0	8.3	-0.7	2.7	3.7	3.3	0.2	2.7	1.4	2.4	1.0	2.4
5	Hobbies	-10.1	5.0	-2.9	1.9	0.3	3.6	1.7	4.6	1.2	4.2	-0.7	1.8
6	Popular Lore	-9.3	11.3	-0.1	3.7	2.3	3.5	-0.3	4.8	0.1	2.3	-0.8	1.8
7	Biographies	-12.4	7.5	2.1	2.5	1.7	3.5	-0.7	1.6	-0.5	2.5	-0.3	2.2
8	Official Documents	-18.1	4.8	-2.9	1.2	7.3	3.6	-0.2	4.1	4.7	2.4	-0.9	2.0
9	Academic Prose	-14.9	6.0	-2.6	2.3	4.2	3.6	-0.5	4.7	5.5	4.8	0.5	2.7
10	General Fiction	-0.8	9.2	5.9	3.2	-3.1	2.3	0.9	2.6	-2.5	1.6	-1.6	1.9
11	Mystery Fiction	-0.2	8.5	6.0	3.0	-3.6	3.4	-0.7	3.3	-2.8	1.2	-1.9	1.3
12	Science Fiction	-6.1	4.6	5.9	2.5	-1.4	3.7	-0.7	1.7	-2.5	0.8	-1.6	1.6
13	Adventure Fiction	-0.0	6.3	5.5	2.7	-3.8	1.7	-1.2	2.8	-2.5	1.2	-1.9	1.7
14	Romantic Fiction	4.3	5.6	7.2	2.8	-4.1	1.6	1.8	2.7	-3.1	1.4	-1.2	1.7
15	Humor	-7.8	6.7	0.9	1.8	-0.8	2.6	-0.3	2.7	-0.4	1.4	-1.5	1.7
16	Personal Letters	19.5	5.4	0.3	1.0	-3.6	1.8	1.5	2.6	-2.8	1.9	-1.4	1.6
17	Professional Letters	-3.9	13.7	-2.2	3.5	6.5	4.2	3.5	4.7	0.4	2.4	1.5	3.6
18	Face Conversations	35.3	9.1	-0.6	2.0	-3.9	2.1	-0.3	2.4	-3.2	1.1	0.3	2.2
19	Phone Conversations	37.2	9.9	-2.1	2.2	-5.2	2.9	0.6	3.6	-3.7	1.2	-0.9	2.1
20	Interviews	17.1	10.7	-1.1	2.1	-0.4	4.0	1.0	2.4	-2.0	1.3	3.1	2.6
21	Broadcasts	-4.3	10.7	-3.3	1.2	-9.0	4.4	-4.4	2.0	-1.7	2.8	-1.3	1.6
22	Spontaneous Speech	18.2	12.3	1.3	3.6	1.2	4.3	0.3	4.4	-2.6	1.7	2.6	4.2
23	Prepared Speeches	2.2	6.7	0.7	3.3	0.3	3.6	0.4	4.1	-1.9	1.4	3.4	2.8

Note. From Biber (1988, pp. 122 – 125)

The *standardized* frequencies in Table 4.1 reflect the patterns of distribution for six clusters of co-occurring linguistic features across the 23 text genres of examined in Biber's original corpus analysis (1988). The raw counts of these clusters of linguistic features were first normalized to their occurrence-per-thousand words of text, then translated into units of standard deviation, using the z-score formula described above. As noted earlier, Biber deemed dimension 7 on *academic hedging* to be too tentative to warrant further consideration, so my corpus is not evaluated on this factor. And even though scores for dimension 6 are presented above for the sake of completeness, because my corpus does not include examples of texts that can be distinguished

regarding *online elaboration*, I do not consider this factor either. The data is limited to inter and intra-corpus comparisons of the degree to which texts vary on the characteristics measured by Dimensions 1-5.

Dimension 1: Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content. As I introduce the results of my analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus on dimension 1, I explain the table structure not only for scores on this Factor, but those presented for the other four dimensions reviewed as well. Several tables make possible inter- and intra-corpus comparisons on the first five of Biber's dimensions of textual variation. Three data sets are compared: 1.) The *Biber* Corpus (1988), 2.) The Connor and Upton *ICIC* Corpus (2003), and 3.) The *Dickerson IRS 880* Corpus. My corpus is subdivided by size of organization (by *amount* of direct public support raised: over $20 Million annually or under $20 Million annually) and by *source* of fund-raising document examined (the *total* corpus, *just* paper documents received by U.S. mail, or *just* electronic documents from web sites). These *dollar amount* and *document source* segments expand the possibilities for inter- and intra-corpus comparisons. All tables follow the pattern defined and illustrated below in Figure 4.2.

Definitions of Header Row Terminology in IRS 880 Inter- and Intra-Corpus Comparison Tables:

1. The **Biber** Corpus   **2.** The **ICIC** Corpus

Dimension 1: Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content											
Fund Raising Discourse by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment:											
	BIBER Corpus	ICIC Total	IRS 880 Total	IRS 880 Paper	IRS 880 Elect	IRS 735 Total	IRS 735 Paper	IRS 735 Elect	IRS 145 Total	IRS 145 Paper	IRS 145 Elect
37	Telephone Conversations 37.2										
36											
35	Face-to-face Conversations 35.3										

3. The **IRS 880** Corpus (***3 Subdivisions***):
- **a. IRS 880** (documents from the ***Total*** **IRS 880** corpus)
- **b. IRS 735** (documents from **ALL** ***735*** organizations that raise ***$20 Million +*** annually)
- **c. IRS 145** (documents from a **SAMPLE** of ***145*** organizations that raise between ***1 - $19.9 Million*** annually)

Total, Paper, Electronic (3 Document *Source* Codes)

Figure 4.2. Exemplar of inter- and intra-corpus comparison tables.

The heuristic value of each table is in its deictic power. Biber positions data by plotting factor scores for 23 genres simultaneously—arraying all 23 together in rank order according to their factor scores on each dimension measured. His seven dimensional continua (again, only five of which are used in this study) thus become similar to the demarcations of inches, feet and yards on a tape measure but with far more content and complexity. Because text types/genres/registers (words used interchangeably by Biber) are displayed along with new sub-genres evaluated (in this case fund-raising texts), and because observers have a general frame of reference by which to judge the new texts measured (e.g. most have a general notion of the difference between a biography and academic prose) general comparisons are enabled. Of course, as the Connor and Upton (2003)

research illustrates, common knowledge is often inaccurate, given what they assumed would be highly interpersonal texts were in fact highly informational). These caveats observed, the following analyses will position fund-raising texts in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus on five Biber first five dimensional scales alongside not only his 23 genres of texts, but also the ICIC Corpus scores.

Placement of genres on each scale is not *exact* but only a rough approximation, since space constraints do not allow some scores with the same numeric rank to be entered on the same plane in the table. (In fact, Biber's own published literature omits all numeric markings on dimensional scales, arguing that the purpose is not to define exact measures, but relative positions of texts in comparison to one another.) I have elected to use numbered scales, however, to expedite both inter- and intra-corpora comparisons. Nonetheless, due to space constraints, in the case of two genres with equivalent scores, one may be positioned right above or below the other. Despite this limitation, the deictic value of the visual guide allows for positioning texts relative to one other. More precision is unnecessary and Biber would argue, both artificial and potentially misleading.

In the graphic that follows, I define and illustrate how each table ranks and compares genres of texts on dimensional scales. This data is arrayed to enable inter- and intra-corpus comparison of dimensional scores for *new* text genres in comparison to the *benchmark* scores established for Biber's 23 genres of spoken and written English. I reproduce in Figure 4.3, a portion of the table for Dimension 1 to clarify the elements of the tables that follow. The first score is 37.2, reflecting that the top-scoring genre on this dimension is that of Telephone Conversations. This score indicates that the Telephone Conversation genre is characterized by linguistic features that are common among texts whose purpose is highly interpersonal, affective, and interactive. Conversely, the lowest score on Dimension 1 of the 23 genres studied was 18.1. Official documents, located at the bottom of the continuum, are characterized by the co-occurrence of specific clusters of linguistic features that work together to produce non-interactive unemotional, and impersonal discourse.

Each of Biber's 23 text genres is thus scored and located on a continuum for each of his dimensions of linguistic variation. Connor and Upton's study (2003) compared their text scores with those of the 23 registers benchmarked in Biber's Corpus (1988) on the first four of his dimensions of variation. In the present study, I display the ICIC scores, and add my own scores for texts from the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. This enables comparisons among the ICIC, Dickerson IRS 880, and Biber Corpus, which benchmarked dimensional scores for 23 genres. I also add a fifth scale not included in the Connor Upton study that shows how the Dickerson

IRS 880 Corpus scored on Dimension 5. Figure 4.3 below defines important terms and illustrates how to interpret each of the five dimensional tables that are presented to make inter- and intra-corpus comparisons:

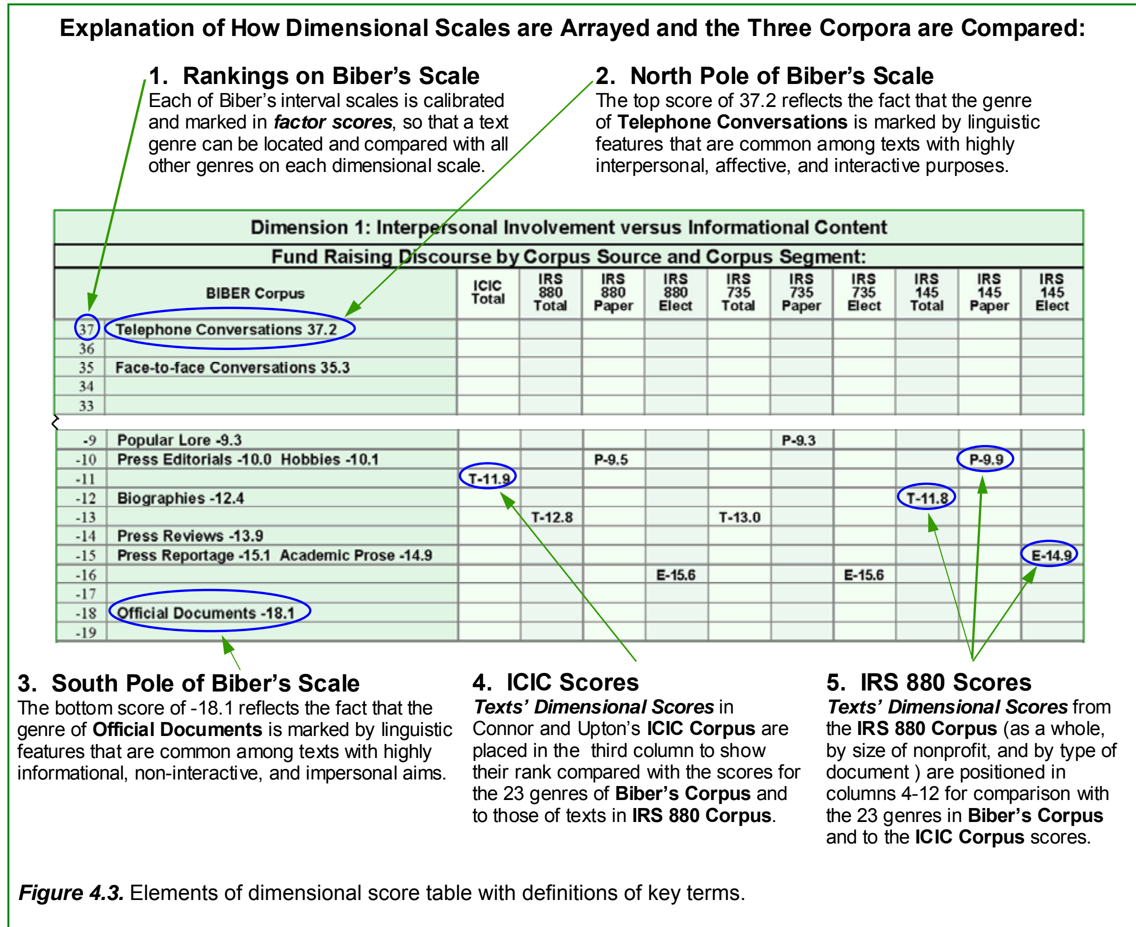


Figure 4.3. Elements of dimensional score table with definitions of key terms.

By tagging text samples with the two criteria—amount of funds raised and type of texts (electronic or paper)—it was possible to make intra-corpus comparisons on each of the five dimensions of variation measured. This was accomplished with the Duncan's Multiple Range Test (DMRT), "a *post hoc* or multiple comparison test which is used to determine whether three or more means differ significantly in an analysis of variance' (Carmer and Howitt, p. 53). Tables 4.2 - 4.7 report the results of this procedure run using the SAS statistical package in evaluating the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus on the first five of Biber's dimensions of variation.

Table 4.2
Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 1

α: .05; Error Degrees of Freedom: 2410; Error Mean Square: 85.10395; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.7393

Group	Mean	Number	DocType
A	- 9.4529	1104	Paper
B	- 15.5524	1308	Electronic

Means with the same letter are not different.

Table 4. 3
Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 2

α: .05; Error Degrees of Freedom: 2410; Error Mean Square: 3.717878; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.2066

Group	Mean	Number	DocType
A	- 3.09758	1104	Paper
B	- 2.89034	1308	Electronic

Means with the same letter are not different.

Table 4. 4 **Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 3**			
α: .05; Error Degrees of Freedom: 2410; Error Mean Square: 15.44698; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373 Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.3150			
Group	**Mean**	**Number**	**DocType**
A	- 1.3394	1104	Paper
B	- 2.9019	1308	Electronic
Means with the same letter are not different.			

Table 4. 5 **Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 4**			
α: .05; Error Degrees of Freedom: 2410; Error Mean Square: 85.10395; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373 Means: 2 Critical Range			
Group	**Mean**	**Number**	**DocType**
A	- 9.4529	1104	Paper
B	- 15.5524	1308	Electronic
Means with the same letter are not different.			

Table 4. 6 **Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 5**			
α: .05; Error Degrees of Freedom: 2410; Error Mean Square: 85.10395; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373; Means: 2 Critical Range			
Group	**Mean**	**Number**	**Doc Type**
A	- 0.5958	1104	Paper
B	- 0.3440	1308	Electronic
Means with the same letter are not different.			

In tables 4.2 - 4.7, the DMRT data indicates that on each of the five dimensions of variation measured, there is a statistically significant difference between in the ANOVAs for paper and electronic documents at the .05 level of probability. The DMRT does not indicate the reasons for these differences. However, a few tentative hypotheses may suggest fruitful areas for additional study. For example, could the relative lack of space constraints in producing online texts encourage writers to write less focused copy that expands to occupy the space allotted, which online can be significantly more space than when constrained by the costs of paper documents? Could the lack of discipline caused by the lack of space constraints cause account for the statistically significant differences observed between paper and electronic documents? Could the educational and training backgrounds of the personnel be significantly different fort those who electronic and paper-sourced fund-raising documents? Are the individuals who write electronic fund-raising discourse more technically but less verbally skilled? Regardless of the reasons, the DMRT data indicate the presence of differences on all five dimensions between paper and electronic documents.

Table 4.7 on the following page presents descriptive statistics comparing dimensional scores from Biber's Corpus of 23 genres with those of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus and the ICIC Corpus on Dimension 1: Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content.

Table 4.7 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 1:

Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content	BIBER Corpus:	Statistical Significance of Variance for 3 Paper/Elect Pairs: Y=Yes; N=No; #=Number of texts									
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: Y	
		#: 316 ICIC Total	#: 2,412 IRS 80 Total	#: 1,104 IRS 880 Paper	#: 1,308 IRS 880 Elect	#: 1,988 IRS 735 Total	#: 841 IRS 735 Paper	#: 1,147 IRS 735 Elect	#: 424 IRS 145 Total	#: 263 IRS 145 Paper	#: 161 IRS 145 Elect
37	Telephone Conversations 37.2										
36											
35	Face-to-face Conversations 35.3										
34											
33											
32											
31											
30											
29											
28											
27											
26											
25											
24											
23											
22											
21											
20											
19	Personal Letters 19.5										
18	Spontaneous Speeches 18.2										
17	Interviews 17.1										
16											
15											
14											
13											
12											
11											
10											
9											
8											
7											
6											
5											
4	Romantic Fiction 4.3										
3											
2	Prepared Speeches 2.2										
1											
0	Mystery Fiction - 0.2 Adventure Fiction - 0.0										
-1	General Fiction - 0.8										
-2											
-3											
-4	Professional Letters - 3.9 Broadcasts - 4.3										
-5											
-6	Science Fiction - 6.1										
-7	Religion -7.0 Humor -7.8										
-8											
-9	Popular Lore -9.3						P-9.3				
-10	Press Editorials -10.0 Hobbies -10.1			P-9.5						P-9.9	
-11		T-11.9									
-12	Biographies -12.4								T-11.8		
-13			T-12.8			T-13.0					
-14	Press Reviews -13.9										
-15	Press Reportage -15.1 Academic Prose -14.9										E-14.9
-16					E-15.6			E-15.6			
-17											
-18	Official Documents -18.1										
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: Y	

IRS 880: DF: 1; Mean Sq: 2273.3229; F: 261.72; Pr > F: < 0.0001; R-Sq: 0.097959; Coeff.Var: -72.29438; Root MSE: 9.225180; Mean: -12.76.58

Pair 1: α: .05; DF: 2410; Error Mean Square: 85.10395; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.7393

Pair 2: α: .05; DF: 1986; Error Mean Square: 83.57318; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 970.4497; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.8139

Pair 3: α: .05; DF: 422; Error Mean Square: 92.35028; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 199.7311; Means: 2 Critical Range: 1.890

Going into this study, I had wondered whether the characterization of texts in the ICIC Corpus as highly informational versus interpersonal was just an artifact of the selection process. That is, I wondered if the texts scored they way they did on Dimension 1 mainly because they were written by highly educated executives from smaller nonprofits who tended to write in the same academic style to which their educational upbringings had acculturated them (which is why I did not write: *which their educational upbringings acculturated them to*). My reasoning was that these organizations probably could not afford to hire direct marketing copy writers who tended to write what I will describe as *feeling copy*. Such writers' *feeling copy* tends to read like way people talk and talk about people. As a result they connect with readers at a very personal level. In addition, many of the linguistic features reflect a more direct Germanic than inflated Latinate style. It's not that their content is vacuous. Rather, it is plainspoken, direct, and affective in tone. It speaks about the implications of lofty ideas to the less lofty everyday lives of everyday people. I had wrongly assumed that larger nonprofits with larger budgets no doubt hired such writing talent, and that as a result all their fund-raising discourse would reflect the skill of these professionals. Thus I anticipated that on Dimension 1, the fund-raising discourse of these larger organizations would probably be highly interactive, interpersonal and affective. For some, yes. But for most, no. The observations (fund-raising texts) in my study scored roughly the same as the ICIC Corpus on Biber's dimensional scales. What was particularly surprising was how much *lower* online-sourced texts scored—a totally unexpected result. My surmise is that this reflects the phenomenon of *nerds gone wild with words*. That is, I am guessing it reflects very technically gifted individuals who, untrained in writing and unrestrained by page limits the medium of paper imposes, seem to have been let loose to express themselves in the virtually unlimited space of their websites.

The mean score for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as a whole on Dimension 1 was 12.8 (compared to 11.9 for the ICIC Corpus). This was not what I had hypothesized. It seemed that the larger nonprofits across the U.S. actually scored worse than the Indianapolis-area nonprofits. However, the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus had been tagged to differentiate by source—paper fund-raising letters received by U.S. mail and online copy derived from web sites. So when measuring these two segments in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus separately, the paper documents in my Corpus did score slightly better than the ICIC Corpus:

Table 4.8 **Comparison of ICIC and Dickerson IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 1**

ICIC Corpus Total	IRS 880 Total	IRS 880 Paper	IRS 880 Electronic
-11.9	-12.8	-9.5	-11.6

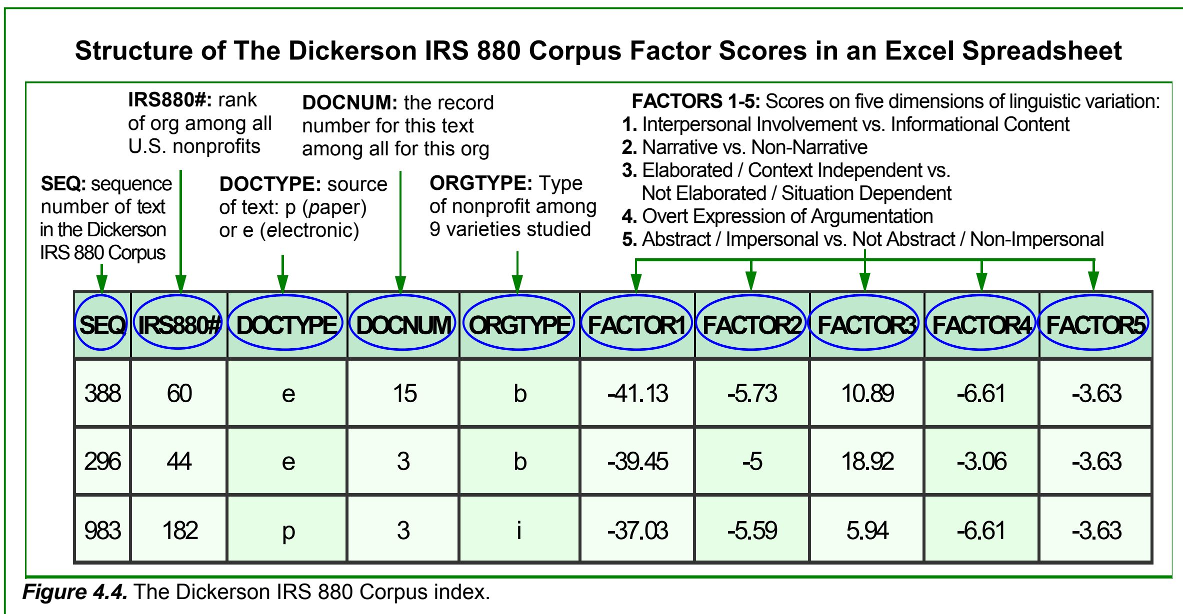
However, between two corpora—neither of which scored well—for one to claim superiority over the other because it is not quite as bad as its counterpart, is not exactly a mandate. Of course, my interpretation here is based on an assumption based on personal experience and the literature of fund-raising practitioners, which holds that fund-raising texts should read less like an academic journal articles and more like a personal letters or face-to face conversations. From this point of view, then, both the ICIC and Dickerson IRS 880 corpora have an inadequate focus on interpersonal involvement—what I call *feeling copy*. This term is not intended to suggest a vacuous or syrupy maudlin style of prose, but rather a style that is built to support a rhetorical aim that puts greater emphasis on connecting person to person and talking more about persons than abstract ideas. The following table summarizes descriptive statistics and statistical significance for the ANOVA

Table 4.9 **Descriptive Statistics for Total Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 1**

	Number of Texts	Per 1,000 Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Mean Square	F-Value	Pr > F
Total	2,412	-12.76	9.71	-41.13	41.55	22273.32	261.72	<.0001

R-Square 0.09759 **Coefficient of Variation -72.29438** **Root Mean Squared Error 9.225180**

The statistics produced by the SAS program includes the standardized ***z***-score sums of per-thousand mean frequencies for five clusters of linguistic features salient for defining each cluster. These clusters of features comprise the five dimensions of variation being examined. By exporting the statistical output to EXCEL, it was thus possible to sort the corpus index on any variable, as Figure 4.4 below illustrates in a description of elements of the index header. In the present example, 2,412 records were sorted in ascending order on the Factor 1 (column 6). This ranked texts in order with negative scores appearing first in the index:



SEQ	IRS880#	DOCTYPE	DOCNUM	ORGTYPE	FACTOR1	FACTOR2	FACTOR3	FACTOR4	FACTOR5
388	60	e	15	b	-41.13	-5.73	10.89	-6.61	-3.63
296	44	e	3	b	-39.45	-5	18.92	-3.06	-3.63
983	182	p	3	i	-37.03	-5.59	5.94	-6.61	-3.63

Figure 4.4. The Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus index.

For each of the five Factors above, I sort the corpus index to identify at least one text that exhibits strong evidence of the cluster of linguistic features associated with it. I then discuss for each text, how its cluster of linguistic features work together to achieve the underlying communicative function Biber associates with that dimension. As Figure 4.4 indicates, the text in the corpus with the highest score for informational focus is defined by fields 2-5 as text 60-e-p-b. In this case the text examined is the 388th item on the list (SEQ), the document comes from the 60th largest nonprofit organization in the U.S. as defined by direct support raised annually (IRS880), it is an electronic document denoted by the letter e (DOC TYPE), it comes from an educational organization as denoted by the letter b (ORGTYPE). For convenience I repeat the labels for organization type here: (A = Arts, Culture & Humanities, B = Education & Research, C = Environment & Animals, D = Health, E = Human Services, F = International, G = General Public Benefit, H = Religion, I = Other: Foundations, United Ways etc.). Text 60-e-p-b is used below to illustrate the negative end of dimension 1 and follow this procedure to select, sample, and discuss texts for each Factor:

1. I sort the index and choose a sample text at one pole of the Factor examined.
2. I list in a table, linguistic features of *some* of the salient linguistic features present which support the dimension of variation the Factor reflects (an illustrative, not exhaustive list). Each feature (usually a single word, word pair, or short group of words) is recorded in the table. If a feature occurs more than once, I record multiple instances to give a visual sense of co-occurrences.
3. I discuss how a writer's choice of linguistic features represents *discourse de jure* (as a matter of law) or discourse *de facto* (as a matter of practice). That is . . .
    a. An experienced writer *consciously knows* going in, what kind of text he or she wishes to write vis-à-vis its affect on the reader. As a result, the writer recruits appropriate linguistic resources to achieve that *chosen* rhetorical aim. For example, pronouns and contractions are marshaled to achieve the goal of *connecting* with the reader at a personal and emotional level. In this choice, the writer follows guiding *rhetorical laws* or *writing rules*. Through studies like Biber's Factor analysis, these *laws* or *rules* establish *precedents*—in this case, that certain linguistic resources contribute to interpersonal communicative aims, while others don't. Experienced writers know this and write *discourse de jure*.
    b. In contrast, an inexperienced writer may *not* consciously think about the effects he or she wishes to produce in the reader (what they want them to know, feel, or do). As a result,

> the writer may unintentionally marshal *inappropriate* linguistic resources to achieve a rhetorical aim that conscious forethought might otherwise have rejected. Like the experienced writer, the inexperienced follows *rhetorical laws* or *rules of writing practice* too. Yet those *laws* or *rules* were appropriate in a *past-bound setting*, dedicated to a *past-bound task* that was targeted to a *past-bound* audience. That is, the *laws* or *rules* their current writing practice follows were quite appropriate in college for writing academic papers. In college, theory-based arguments were appropriate for an audience of one—a professor. Unfortunately, a new audience (donors), and a new writing task (raising money) demands change. Yet, despite these shifts in audience and task, many continue to *write in the past*. They persist in the use of prose concentrated with prepositions, nouns, and precise vocabulary learned in their academic upbringing. Theirs is *discourse de facto*—produced as if the author were still *in fact* in another place at another time, writing for another audience who is no longer there.

For convenience, I repeat the salient features on dimension 1 here in Table 4.10:

Table 4.10 The Twenty-eight Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 1

Positive Features:	DO as pro-verb	BE as main verb	Sentence relatives	**Negative Features:**
Private verbs	Analytic negation	Causative subordination	WH-questions	Nouns
THAT-deletion	Demonstrative pronouns	Discourse particles	Possibility modals	Word length
Contractions	General emphatics	Indefinite pronouns	Non-phrasal coordination	Prepositions
,Present tense verbs	1ST person pronouns	General hedges	WH-clauses	Type/token ratio
2ND person pronouns	Pronoun IT	Amplifiers	Final prepositions	Attributive adjectives

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988).

I now illustrate this style with the text having the strongest negative score on Factor 1 from the University of Wisconsin (UW), which ranks 60th on the Dickerson IRS 880 list, raising $145.1 million in direct support. This text (60-e-15-b) is contained in Figure 4.5 on the following page. It comes from their web site, and is no doubt part of a larger context that may well have included messages that were more interpersonally involving. However, as I browsed their site, this was what my session produced. Even though there may have been other more interpersonally involving texts, this is the one I cam upon, and it left a dominant impression.

Following the text, Figure 4.6 isolates specific salient linguistic features in the copy that support the characterization of the discourse as focused on informational content. In presenting other sample texts and discussing their linguistic features, I will follow this same format—I will first present the text in Figure box, then in another box I will present linguistic features that mark that text as reflecting a dimension particular dimension.

Text 60-e-15-b: University of Wisconsin

Raw Factor 1 Mean Score: - 41.13; Standard Deviation: 9.71; Standardized z-Score: -2.9

The International Institute is a catalyst for international education and is the University of Wisconsin-Madison's portal to the world.

Funding priorities include:

Increasing undergraduate participation in overseas learning through scholarships and internships

Expanding graduate student overseas research and training opportunities through overseas research and study grants

Creating new forms of area knowledge on common concerns of global significance through support for interdisciplinary and cross-regional "Research Circles"

Broadening educational exchange through a distinguished international visiting professors program

Deepening international networks by establishing partnerships with overseas institutions

For information about making a gift to the International Institute, please contact:

Figure 4:5. University of Wisconsin text illustrates high informational content.

Linguistic features that mark text 60-e-15-b as focused on highly informational content

1. Nouns. 27/97 words, or 28 percent:

   Institute, education, University, portal, world, priorities, participation, learning, scholarships, internships, research, opportunities, grants, forms, knowledge, concerns, significance, support, Circles, exchange, program, networks, partnerships, institutions, information, gift, institute

2. Word length. The text scored 14.6 on the Flesch scale which describes any score at 30 or below as being college-level reading. Examples of longer words include:

   International, undergraduate, participation, internships, opportunities, interdisciplinary, and cross-regional, establishing, partnerships

   Similarly the text scored quite high on the Fog scale, which is similar to the Flesch scale in that it evaluates the complexity of texts by identifying those with three or more syllables. A fog score of 5 is considered readable, 10 is rated as hard, 15 as difficult, and 20 is considered a very difficult read. This particular text scored 17.63—towards the very difficult end of spectrum on the Fog scale.

3. Prepositions: 14/97 words, or 14 percent

   for, to, in, through, through, of, on, of, through, for, through, with, about, to

4. Attributive adjectives: 23/97 words, or 24 percent

   International, international, Funding, undergraduate, overseas, training, overseas, research, study, new, area, common, global, interdisciplinary, cross-regional, Research, educational, distinguished, international, visiting, professors, international, International

Figure 4:6. Linguistic features mark University of Wisconsin text for high informational content.

The UW text's Dimension 1 Factor score of 41.13 represents the sum of the per-thousand-words mean occurrences among all its salient linguistic features. The term s*alient* delimits linguistic features tallied to only those which Biber's (1988) Factor analysis determined co-occur and work together to define the degree to which texts are informational or interpersonal.

Dimension 1 has 23 positive and 5 negative features. As an aggregate, they define the underlying dimension of variation measured. The continuum runs from highly interpersonal and interactive on the positive end to highly informational, non-interactive and impersonal on the negative end. The Factor score for text 60-e-15-b above was derived by summing the per-thousand-words occurrences of these salient linguistic features. In this case, the overwhelmingly high number of negative features outweighed the positive, resulting in a negative standardized mean, which indicates this text is highly informational. The standardized score of 2.92173 for text 60-e-15-b means that it has a much higher occurrence of the traits associated with highly informational texts than any other in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. This standardized z-score places it on the normal curve at almost 3 standard deviation units below the mean (with one unit of standard deviation [*σ*] in the above formula's denominator being 9.71). To illustrate the position of this outlier text in relationship to the others in the IRS Corpus, Figure 4.7 plots it on the normal curve and notes both raw scores and the translation of those raw scores into a standard score using the z-score formula:

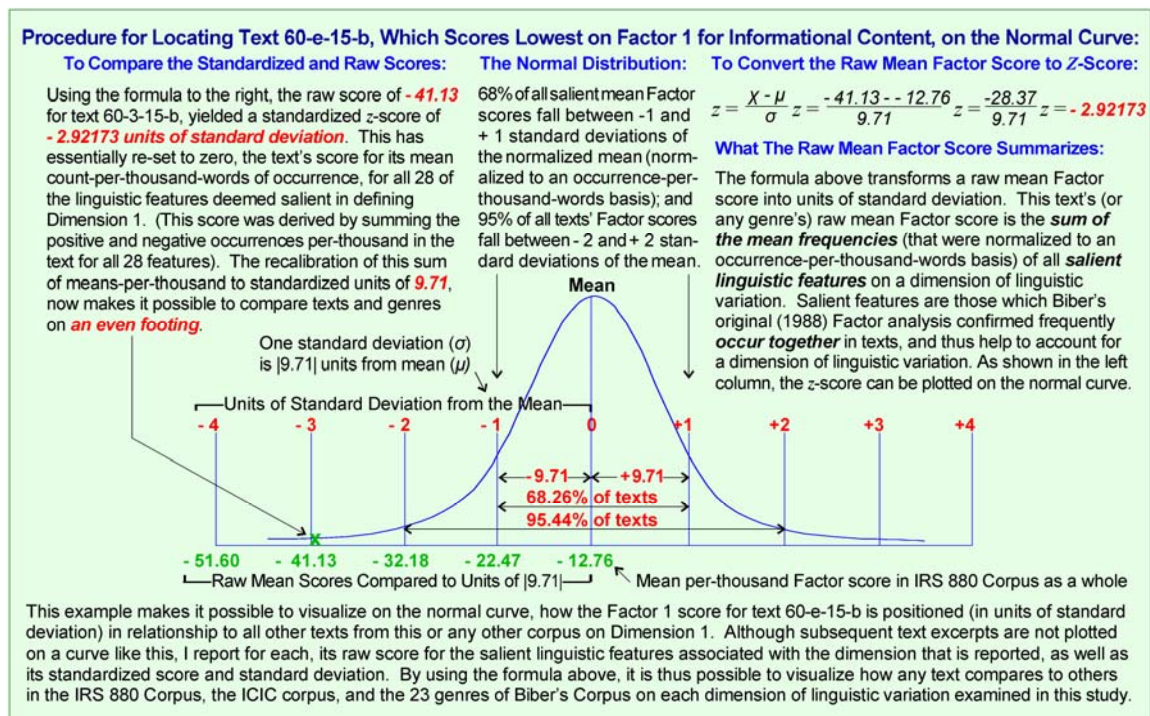


Figure 4.7. Locating factor scores for texts on the normal curve by calculating its z-score.

As the graph in Figure 4.7 above indicates, with a standard score of 2.9 standard deviations below the mean, text 60-e-15-b is a striking example of *highly* informational discourse. While this example has been chosen to illustrate the features that stand out in the text scoring lowest on negative features in Dimension 1. Note that the *low* score actually equates to a *high* informational content score because the informational linguistic features are located on what I call the south pole of the scale. Texts that score near the mean are still considered, when compared to other texts in Biber's corpus, very informational in focus. While not a bad trait per se were such dense information focus appropriate to the task, the text shown was created to raise money, and does not seem to make a connection with the reader, but focuses on enumerating programs and their characteristics. In fairness, this text came from a web site that may have had additional elements that were more interactive or involved. Regardless, the tone of this particular text is not involving. Rather, it is consistent with the distribution of nouns found here for news and academic discourse which Biber et al. observe from their analysis are "the main lexical means of referential specification" (1999, p. 232).

Figure 4.8, taken from *LGSWE,* indicates the higher density of nouns common to the registers of news and academic prose (columns 3 and 4) in the *LSWE* Corpus. This text is consistent with the distribution of nouns found here for news and academic discourse. Biber et al. observe in their analysis that "the main lexical means of referential specification" (1999, p. 232).

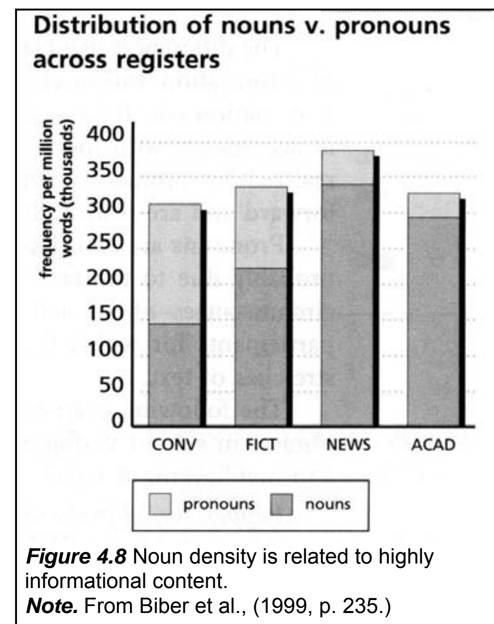


Figure 4.8 Noun density is related to highly informational content.
Note. From Biber et al., (1999, p. 235.)

As noted above, an analytic tool measuring readability uses a battery of ten indices to determine scores for the texts sampled from the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. The first text summarized will Be the discourse sample whose score sets it apart as the most highly informational among 2,412 texts gathered, and conversely, the least interpersonally involving.

Retuning to a passage cited earlier in the literature review, C.S. Lewis offered advice in a letter dated 26 June 1956, written to a young fan of his *Chronicles of Narnia* work, named Joan. Among the items covered in his correspondence with this teen-aged youngster from Florida, he wrote about writing. Particularly relevant here is advice he gave Joan related to what Biber identifies as the top two (of just five) linguistic features that

contribute most to giving a text an informational focus—nouns and word length. Regarding word length, Lewis advised Joan: "Always prefer the plain direct word to the long, vague one. Don't *implement* promises, but *keep* them" and regarding noun forms, he similarly counseled: "never use abstract nouns when concrete ones will do. If you mean 'More people died don't say Mortality rose'" (1985, p. 64). What is all the more interesting about his guidance is that Lewis himself was an academic—a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford from 1925 to 1954 and Professor of Medieval and Renaissance Literature at the University of Cambridge.

Like a building constructed of heavy timber, text 60-e-15-b is thick with nouns that bear the cognitive weight of the author's communicative intent. As the histogram above shows, the genres of conversation and fiction contain far fewer nouns in contrast to texts in the academic prose genre, with which this text seems to share much in common. Conversation and fiction texts contain more pronouns, which are recruited to create a two-way interactive, person-to-person interactive tone.

Adding to text 60-e-15-b's heavy informational focus is the high use of prepositions and attributive adjectives, which at a count of 66 represents 68 percent of the length of the entire text. Prepositions usually are *pre positioned* relative to another word and is used to indicate a temporal, spatial or logical relationship with their objects. Biber et al. (1999) notes that there is great overlap between prepositions and other word classes. In addition to their role as prepositions (e.g. *x worked* ***as*** *a y*) some also can function as verbs (e.g. *x was* ***following*** *y*), subordinators (e.g. ***as*** *x moved*), adverbs, (e.g. *whatever x did* ***before*** *at y*) and adjectives (e.g. *x knocks on the* ***outside*** *y*). Essberger (2007) describes 370 common prepositions but notes that theoretically more could be devised at any time. Their function in the above texts serve as links between prepositional phrases and noun phrases and contribute to the highly informational focus of this discourse. The pattern illustrated by this text is consistent with that documented in *LGSWE*, which lists 22 most common English prepositions: "*about*, *after*, *around*, *as*, *at*, *by*, *down*, *for*, *from*, *in*, *into*, *like*, *of*, *off*, *on*, *round*, *since*, *than*, *to*, *towards*, *with*, *without*" (p. 74).

Figure 4.5 from *LGSWE,* indicates the distribution of lexical classes across registers. In the *LSWE* Corpus, both adjectives and nouns are more prevalent News and Academic prose (columns 3 and 4) than in Conversation and Fiction (columns 1 and 2).

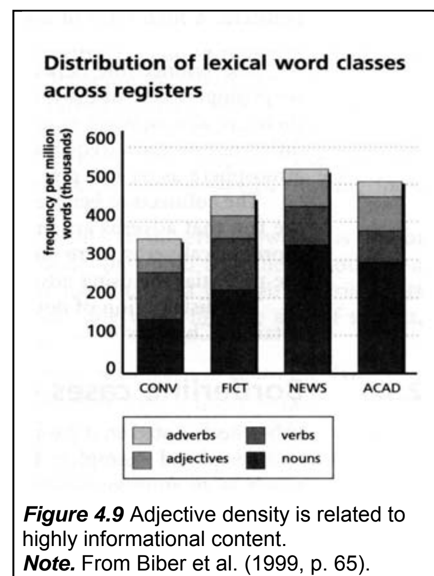


Figure 4.9 Adjective density is related to highly informational content.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 65).

"Adjectives in an attributive role," according to Biber et al., "modify nominal expressions, occurring as constituents of the noun phrase and typically preceding the head noun" (199, p. 505) (e.g. *Expanding* ***graduate*** *student* ***overseas*** *research and* ***training*** *opportunities through* ***overseas*** *research and* ***study*** *grants*). Retuning to C.S. Lewis, in writing about writing he wrote: "In writing. Don't use adjectives which merely tell us how you want us to *feel* about the thing you are describing. I mean, instead of telling us a thing was 'terrible,' describe in so that we'll be terrified. Don't say it was 'delightful'; make *us* say 'delightful' when we've read the description." His rationale: "You see, all those words (horrifying, wonderful, hideous, exquisite) are only like saying to your readers, 'Please will you do my job for me'" (1985, p. 64). Less restrained is E.B. White's reference to adjective forms, especially those that hedge the force of discourse, as "the leeches that infest the pond of prose, sucking the blood of words" (1979, p. 59). But more critical than the use or avoidance of specific lexical word classes is the rhetorical aim of texts: do they focus on ideas or people? The positive side of Dimension 1 scores texts on their people quotient—the degree to which the text contains features that create interpersonal involvement.

I now turn to the top-scoring Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus text on Dimension 1's north pole, a paper fund-raising letter written by leadership at Covenant House of New York (CH). In discussing their text with Tom Manning, their public relations director, after seeing how high it scored, he commented "many years of the people in our their direct response fund-raising department have been there for twenty years" (personal conversation, July 10, 2008). In fund raising, according to a recent doctoral by Horstman (2006), supported by the Association of Fundraising Professionals, the average tenure in fund raising is only 3.50 years among females and 4.17 for males. So the Covenant House direct response fund-raising team is about six times the average, which may account for the quality of their work. CH is ranked 46th on the IRS list (based on the amount of direct support raised at the time data for this study was gathered—$28.8 Million). CH's most recent IRS 990 reports an increase in income of 16.3 percent to 33.5 million. Covenant House is noteworthy for its survival and success in the face of the resignation on February 27, 1990 of its disgraced founder, Father Bruce Ritter, in the face of accusations of sexual misconduct with four residents in the charity's program. According to the organization's website history, the scandal resulted in "severe budget cutbacks, layoffs, and a $22 million drop in private contributions" (Covenant House, 2008).

Jerry Huntsinger, a direct mail fund-raising icon who built his career on the thesis that the best way to write a successful fund-raising letter was to write a good story, recalls the period following the scandal:

> I had always admired the letter writing style of Father Bruce Ritter. His technique was simple, yet profound in that it was impossible to read a letter from him without feeling a deep warmth toward one specific young person.
>
> At first, I didn't believe the charges against Father Ritter, and when the board of directors made a final report I was extremely sad. Then his successor started writing letters—and I was perplexed. I admired her willingness to take over such a tough responsibility, but in her first letter to Covenant House donors, she wrote about the trying situation and the problems and the crisis and the need to continue caring for the kids—she wrote about everything—except for one single kid!
>
> Another letter came, and again she wrote a good letter but she didn't write about the kids! In general, yes, but not in specifics. A third letter came, again, good copy, but no kid.
>
> I wanted to call her on the telephone or write her a letter and say, "write a story about a kid!" But I didn't. I'm sure she had her advisors. After a few months, I lost track of her appeals. Hopefully, by this time someone has told her to write about a kid. (1992, pp. 195-196).

Since those comments were made, the fund-raising professionals Covenant House, to whom their public relations officer, Tom Manning, alluded above, have reoriented their fund-raising program. Tom reports that now their discourse once again reflects the style Huntsinger found lacking. Huntsinger would probably agree that the text 483-p-2-e, reproduced in Figure 4.10 on the following page, probably made readers once again *feel a deep warmth toward one specific young person*.

As with the previous discussion of text 60-e-15-b from the University of Wisconsin, after a discussion of the letter I present in Figure 4.11 a summary of linguistic features co-located in the text from the positive pole of dimension 1—features that create interpersonal involvement.

Text 483-p-2-e: Covenant House

Raw Factor 1 Mean Score: 35.19; Standard Deviation: 9.71; Standardized z- Score: - 2.3

She stood on the curb looking scared and lonely in a skimpy halter top and bright red lipstick. It was two in the morning. A chilly breeze whipped up the street and seemed to make her shiver. She was a child . . . just a child.

We pulled our Covenant House van up to the curb and rolled down the window.

"Hi, what's your name?"

"Janice," she said hesitantly, as if she really had to think about her answer.

"Why don't you hop in, Janice? We've got some hot chocolate and sandwiches. We can talk. You hungry?"

"Yeah, kind of. But not really. I mean, like, I really gotta go. I can't talk now. Maybe later. Will you be back around in a couple hours?"

She glanced nervously up and down the street at the passing cars. We could tell she was dying to jump in, but she was scared. Really scared.

"OK," she finally said. "But only for a minute or two then I gotta go. My boyfriend is gonna be really mad if he finds out I'm doin' this." She climbed in and sat down stiffly across from me. "Your boyfriend?"

"Yeah, he told me he doesn't want me talking to you guys. So I can't stay long. Can I have a sandwich, too? I'm really hungry."

"Sure, but why do you call him your boyfriend if he lets you walk the street at night? Do you mean your pimp?"

"Oh, no, he's not a pimp, he's my boyfriend," she insisted with intensity. "He loves me. He really does. He buys me lots of nice things."

After a few weeks on our Crisis Van, you know when a homeless kid is telling you something to convince you . . . or telling you something to convince herself. This year we'll help rescue 28,000 kids from the street, and we know how to spot them when they're in serious trouble. In Janice's case, her fingers gave her away.

"I'm scared, I'm really scared. Do you think you can help me? My boyfriend beats me up sometimes if I don't do what he tells me. I think ... I think I'm pregnant. Oh God, what am I gonna do?"

We sat there for twenty minutes as Janice's story tumbled out in a torrent of confusion and tears . . . I know Janice's story sounds incredible-almost too incredible to be true. But it's only the tip of the iceberg!

As you read this letter, there are 300,000 homeless kids on America's streets . . . kids who are alone, hungry, tired, and scared.

Please. Will you help us rescue another innocent kid tonight?

You see, by donating what you can to Covenant House today, you can give homeless kids like Janice a new life. Thanks to you our Covenant House vans will be able to search America's streets for homeless kids in trouble . . .

Please pray for them. They need it. And if you can send a gift to help them, I'd really appreciate it. It's been tough lately making ends meet. A gift from you right now would be a wonderful answer to our prayers.

Thank you. May God bless you.
In God's Love,
Sister Mary Rose McGeady, President

Figure 4.10 Covenant House text illustrates interpersonal involvement.

Like the text identified as the highest-scoring on the South pole of Dimension 1, the in Figure 4.10 from Covenant House was identified by sorting the corpus index on Factor 1, but in *descending* order this time. This text's Dimension 1 Factor score of 35.19, and its standardized score of 2.3, summarizes the mean per-thousand-words occurrence of 23 linguistic features and places it on the North pole of Biber's scale. Text 483-p-2-e's frequency of occurrence among this cluster of features gives this discourse its highly interpersonal purpose, interactive style, and affective tone. It sits diametrically opposite the University of Wisconsin text on the normal distribution. While the University text describes programs, the Covenant House text introduces Janice—a cold, scared, and hungry young girl, working as a sex slave for a pimp who beats her. Near its end the letter generalizes (e.g. *As you read this letter, there are 300,000 homeless kids on America's streets . . . kids who are alone, hungry, tired, and scared*). However, its power comes from a seemingly studied avoidance of detours into statistical abstracts about the sex trafficking industry in favor of talk about Janice.

Figure 4.11 on the following page lists a number of features reflecting the underlying characteristic of interpersonal involvement in the Covenant House text.

Linguistic features that mark text 483-p-2-e as focused on Interpersonal Involvement (Raw Factor 1 Mean Score: -0.18; Standard Deviation: 1.93; Standardized *z*- Score: 1.37)

* In this and subsequent tables, brackets [ ] represent words implied but left out (ellipsis)

1. Private verbs:

   Looking [progressive form of verb + ing], seemed, tell, know, think, think, think, finds, want, mean, mean, sounds, need, read, loves, know, know, spot, pray, appreciate, bless

2. Contractions:

   what's, don't, We've, can't, I'm, doin', doesn't, gotta, gotta, gonna, doin', doesn't, can't, I'm, he's, he's, we'll, they're, I'm, I'm, don't, I'm, gonna, it's, I'd, It's

3. Present tense verbs:

   hop, loves, buys, beats, tells, read

3. Second person pronouns:

   Your, you, You, you, You, you, your, you, your, you, you, you, you, you, you, you, you, you, you, You, you, you, you, you, you, you, you

4. Analytic negation

   not really, not a pimp

5. Be as main verb

   It *was* two, She *was* just a child, [*was*] just a child, What*'s* your name, [I *am*] Janice, [*Are*] you hungry, Yeh, [I *am*], But [I*'m*] not really, what*'s*, Will you *be* back, she *was* dying to jump in, she *was* scared, Really [*was*] scared, boyfriend is going to *be* really mad, *I'm* doin, *I'm* really hungry, Do you mean [he *is*] your pimp, he*'s* not a pimp, he*'s* my boyfriend, *is* telling, or [*is*] telling, *I'm* scared, *I'm* really scared, *I'm* pregnant, what *am I* going to do, it*'s* only the tip, there *are* 300,000, kids who *are* alone, will *be* able, *it's* been tough, would *be* a wonderful

6. Discourse particles

   OK, Yeah, Sure, Oh God, I mean, like, I really gotta, Please, Thank You, God bless you, In God's love

7. Indefinite pronouns

   some, something, something, sometimes

8. General hedges

   kind of, not really

9. Amplifiers

   really, really, dying, really, really, really, really, wonderful

10. Possibility modals

    can, can't, can't, Can, can, can, can, can, could, Maybe, May,

Figure 4:11. Linguistic features mark Covenant House text for high interpersonal involvement.

Returning to *discourse de jure* versus *discourse de facto*, this text begs the question: does the pattern of linguistic features clustered here reflect the writer's natural mode of discourse, or did the pattern follow a rhetorical decision that drove her choice of linguistic features? I suggest that the latter is the case. It reflects Tannen's observation that "ordinary conversation in made up of linguistic strategies that have been thought quintessentially literary. These strategies, which are shaped and elaborated in literary discourse, are pervasive, spontaneous, and functional in ordinary conversation. I call them 'involvement strategies' because, I argue, they reflect and simultaneously create interpersonal involvement" (1889, p. 1). But rather than *ordinary* conversation, this is *constructed* conversation written to intentionally *appear* spontaneous, as the following table illustrates.

In the *LGSWE,* what Biber termed *private* verbs in his original study (1988) are described called *menta*l verbs, which Biber et al. suggest "do not involve physical action and do not necessarily entail volition. . . .They include both cognitive meanings (e.g. *think* or *know*) and emotional meanings expressing various attitudes or desires (e.g. *love, want*), together with perception (e.g. *see, taste*) and receipt of communication e.g. *read, hear*)" (1999, p. 366). *Mental* (or *private*) verbs are not common in academic prose, in that they suggest personal stance, which such discourse avoids. In the *LGSWE* mental verbs occur just over 10,000 times per million words of text in the Academic Prose genre.

In contrast, the genre of Conversation has a much higher quantity of *private* or *mental* verbs—almost 30,000 per million, or about triple the frequency for academic prose. This is reflected in text 483-p-2-e, where the first two initial uses of private verbs describes a scene in which the reader meets the main character, Janice (e.g. *She stood on the curb* ***looking*** *scared and lonely . . . A chilly breeze whipped up the street and* ***seemed*** *to make her shiver*. The first verb *looking* is the progressive form of the verb *look* with an *ing* ending to suggest the writer's judgment, reinforced by being paired with the second private verb, *seemed.* The scene reads three ways: 1.) it *seemed* true in the real sense (a description of the weather), 2.) it *seemed* to be true about the weather's affect on a *scared and lonely child* (whose skimpy halter top is more suited to luring *Johns* than protecting from the cold), and 3.)furthermore, it *seemed* true in the context of the letter as a whole (which description foreshadows a more sinister and profound cold described in the text as the effects the cold realities of child prostitution have on the psyche and physical safety of one child we get to know—Janice). The third point about foreshadowing moves beyond discussion of the surface observation that the writer used the private verb *seemed.* Yet Biber describes such observational leaps as part of the interpretive step in the MD-analysis process: "interpretation of the factors as textual dimensions through assessment of the communicative function(s) most widely shared by the

features constituting each factor" (1988, p. 64). While admittedly interpretation, it seems consistent in light of the whole text that takes a personal moral stance about one child victim of the sex trafficking industry.

Additional private verbs pepper the text, indicating that the writer and others with her in the scene care about communicating their impressions and concern (e.g. *After a few weeks on our Crisis Van, you* ***know*** *when a homeless kid is telling you something to convince you . . . or telling you something to convince herself . . . we* ***know*** *how to* ***spot*** *them when they're in serious trouble*). The use of private verbs here accentuates the point that a writer's choice of linguistic features should his or her discourse goals, not the other way round. This view of discourse does not bow to pre-conceived grammatical prescriptions like the prejudicial academic tradition that discourages a priori, personal stance taking. It *seems* that the writer planned her rhetorical aim (to help the reader get to *know* Janice) then chose specific linguistic tools to achieve it. Hers is an apt example of *discourse de jure*

Along with private verbs, another dominant linguistic feature of involved language is the liberal use of contractions. They work to create a tone of personal conversation like one might have with a friend. A conversation with a friend. That succinctly puts what the writer does. Figure 4.12 shows how contractions are enlisted to produce that conversation across the four genres of text described in the *LSWE* Corpus. In second place is fiction. In contrast, Academic Prose and News seldom use contracted forms. It would seem that the rhetorical and linguistic *laws* or *rules* that guide writers in the Fiction genre may well offer the ideal model for fund-raising discourse—not that writers should invent untrue discourse, but rather, that they might do well to consider appropriating fictive style, such as the use of direct reporting which seemed to be applied by the writer of text 483-p-2-e. While beyond the scope of the present study, this suggests a meta-analysis of instructional guides and works by reflective practitioners in the field of Fiction might yield useful guidance to the writers of fund-raising discourse. Stephen King's *On Writing*, for example, was motivated by a discussion he had with *The Joy Luck Club* author Amy Tan. King asked Amy her over lunch "if there was any one question she was *never* asked during the Q-and-A that follows almost every writers talk—that question you never get to answer when you're standing in

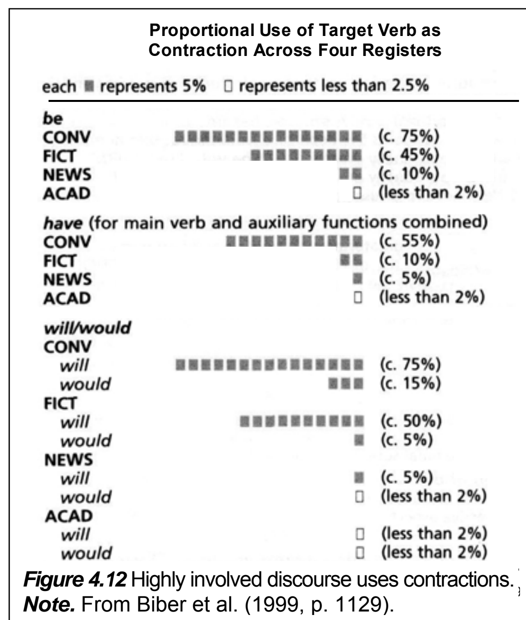


Figure 4.12 Highly involved discourse uses contractions.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 1129).

front of a group of author-struck fans and pretending you don't put your pants on one leg at a time like everyone else." Her answer was the impetus that pushed him to write a book about writing: "Amy paused, thinking it over carefully, and then said: 'No one ever asks about the language'" (King, 2000 p. 8). Once a reluctant high school English teacher himself, he explains how that conversation pushed him to add his voice to those of other successful authors who have codified their reflections on their craft: "Amy was right: nobody ever asks about the language. They ask the DeLillos and the Updikes and the Styrons, but they don't ask popular novelists. Yet many of us proles also care about the language in our humble way, and care passionately about the art and craft of telling stories on paper" (2000, p. 9). His comment about *stories on paper* reflect the tone of the Covenant House letter, which I will discuss from the perspective of its narrative traits with regard to Biber's Dimension 2: Narrative versus Non-Narrative.

A small number of present tense verbs are used in the Covenant House letter, but most are uses of the *historical present*, which Wilson (1993) describes as a usage designed to create a sense of dramatic immediacy. Likewise, the next major linguistic feature, second person personal pronouns dominate the letter, which is consistent with discourse focused on interpersonal involvement. Figure 4.13 documents again the continuing pattern from the *LSWE* Corpus, indicating the presence of personal pronouns in the genres of Conversation and Fiction at almost 140,000 per million words in Conversation and more than 90,000 per million in Fiction. Biber et al. explain: "The high overall frequency of pronouns with human reference in conversation and fiction has to do with the general concern in those registers with individuals and their thoughts and actions….In academic prose, on the other hand, human beings are a more marginal topic" (1999, p. 333). The words *a more marginal* and *topic* in Biber's description seems particularly inappropriate when one considers that the data for the University of Wisconsin texts might fit that mold. That is, it seems that a fund-raising text (whose purpose, it is assumed, is to raise money in order to help people) should not use language that so studiously avoids making a personal connection. Yet text 60-e-15-b's low score on Dimension 1 reflects a greater concern with non-human matters. In contrast, the writer of the Covenant House letter makes a strong personal connection with readers,

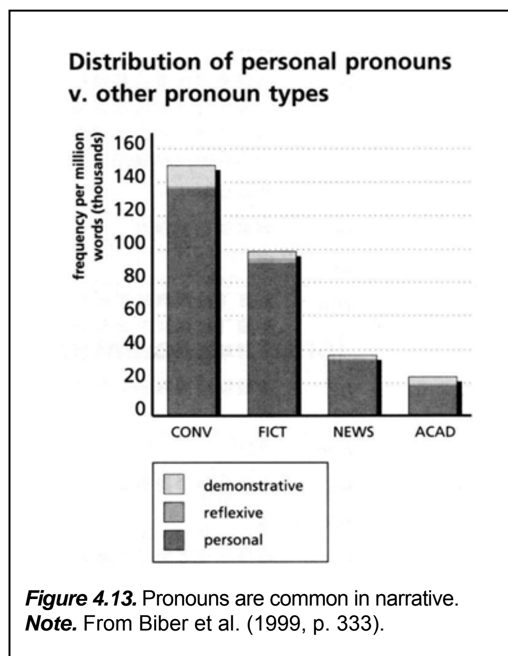


Figure 4.13. Pronouns are common in narrative.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 333).

reflecting its high score on Dimension 1. The Covenant House letter makes a clear connection between the potential donor and the children like Janice who would be helped by their gift is expressed explicitly (e.g. ***You*** *see, by donating what* ***you*** *can to Covenant House today,* ***you*** *can give homeless kids like Janice a new life. Thanks to* ***you*** *our Covenant House vans will be able to search America's streets for homeless kids in trouble*). Four uses of the second person pronoun *you* occurs in the space of just forty words. This request for involvement is also made by clear by the description of Janice, portrayed through sketches of the setting in which she is encountered, her frame of mind, and that of the antagonist who is identified not my name but by Janice as *my boyfriend* then reframed by the writer (e.g. *Do you mean your pimp*). These sketches are made by enlisting the most common and versatile verb in English—the copular verb *be* functioning as a main verb, whose distribution, Figure 41.4 illustrates.

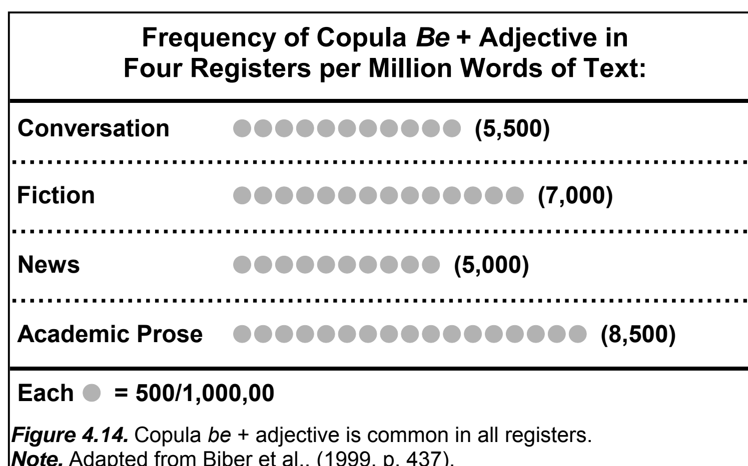


Figure 4.14. Copula *be* + adjective is common in all registers.
Note. Adapted from Biber et al., (1999, p. 437).

Biber et al. note that verbs functioning as copulas "associate some attribute, expressed by **subject predicative** following the verb, with the subjective of the clause" (1999, p. 436). Quirk delimits the words: "The term COPULA refers to the verb BE, and COPULAR verbs are those verbs (including BE and BECOME) which are functionally equivalent to the copula. They are variously called 'copulative,', 'equative', 'intensive', or 'linking' verbs (1985, p. 54). Under the categories of *current* and *resulting LGSWE* designates *be* as a current verb, noting: "As a main verb, *be* is the most important copular verb in English, serving to serving to link the subject noun phrase with predicative or obligatory adverbial" (1999, pp. 428). Text 483-p-2-e has 31 such forms in a 543-word text. The copula creates what Biber et al describe as a "state of existence". Quirk notes that such verbs are followed by a SUBJECT COMPLEMENT . . . or an ADVERBIAL" (1985, p. 54). Current copula *be* main verbs are well suited in this text for describing the setting (*It* **was** *two in the morning* and *She was a child . . . [She* **was***] just a child*). "The copula *be* + adjective occurs over 5,000 times per million words for all registers . . . this is especially common in academic prose and fiction, as Figure 4.14 from *LGSWE* illustrates. The distribution of copula *be* + adjective across registers is highest in academic prose. Next, it is used

7,000 times per million in fiction—just under one percent (0.7%) while its frequency is 8.5 times as great in the Covenant House text (6.0%).

The data seems to support the notion that that although on the surface this text appears to be a simple report of a conversation, there is much *more* to it. The *more* seems to be the intentional recruitment of linguistic resources found in fiction. In addition to painting the scene in the middle of the night, describing the main character as just a child, describing the *boyfriend* as really a *pimp*, the copula *be* as main verb also uses an adverbial to portray Janice's vulnerable state of mind. Quirk differentiates among degrees of centrality among clausal elements, in particular describing adverbials. He notes that they are "both mobile and optional." yet concedes that "there are some which cannot readily be removed from their position in a given clause . . . because they are essential to the 'completion' of the meaning of the verb, such elements are classified by some grammarians as complements" (1985, pp. 51-52). This is certainly the case with the adverbial participial *was dying* (e.g. *she was* ***dying to jump in***) followed immediately by the copula *be* and predicative adjective (e.g. *but she was scared. [She was] Really scared]*). The prose paints a mental picture of a young girl's desperation in both the adverbial and adjective predicative use with the main verb *be*. Although data from the *LSWE* Corpus indicates that copula *be* as a main verb is even more common in Academic Prose, Biber et al. note that it is used to a totally different end in that genre:

> There is notable complementarity between the common adjectives in conversation and those that are common in academic prose. Sensory copular verbs are favored in fiction because of its topical concern with the feelings and appearances of characters in the narrative. The complementary distribution of copular verbs in conversation and academic prose, on the other hand, fits the general preference for short words of Germanic origin in conversation (note *get*, *look*, *feel*, *go*), in contrast to the preference for polysyllabic words of Latin-Romance origin in academic prose (note *remain*, *appear*, *become*) . . . [which] fits with its greater use of existence and occurrence verbs" (1999, p. 438).

Although the Covenant House letter reports a conversation, its use of *be* as a main verb is closer to the usage made of this linguistic feature in the discourse of fiction. Also used as employed by writers of fiction and common in conversation are discourse particles. Stenström describes a list (a few sounding more British than American) in Figure 4.15.

Discourse Particles by Stenström		
actually	*think*	*right*
ah	*mhm*	*sort of*
all right	*no*	*sure*
anyway	*now*	*Q tag*
God	*oh*	*that's right*
goodness	*OK*	*yes/yeah*
gosh	*please*	*you know*
I mean	*quite*	*you see*
I see	*really*	*well*

Figure 4.15 Discourse particles make written text sound conversational and thus create involvement.
Note. Adapted from Stenström (1994, p. 59)

Of these linguistic resources Green writes:

> Discourse particles (little words like *well, uh, like, gosh, oh, I mean*, *Now, OK, And, But*) are far from being the meaningless pause-fillers that some grammar mavens make them out to be. . . . Rather, each conveys something distinct from the others, something non-truth-conditional that helps the hearer know how to take what is being said. Attitudinal discourse markers, which indicate something about how the speaker feels about (how the addressee feels) about what is being said, are distinguished from structural discourse markers, which indicate a structural boundary, and a hint of how what follows relates to what went before. (2002. p. 1)

Biber et al. subsume under the cover term *inserts*, discourse markers and discourse particles (1999, pp, 93-94). *LGSWE*, enumerates eleven types of inserts: interjections, greetings and farewells, discourse markers, attention signals, response elicitors, responses, hesitators, thanks, the politeness marker please, apologies, and expletives. Among those found in the Covenant House text are: *single word inserts* (e.g. *OK*) and *response forms*. (e.g. *Yeah*). Figure 4.16 from *LSWGE* lists the distribution of the top dozen interjections identified in the *LSWE* Corpus, contrasting their frequency of occurrence per million words in British and American English. Blakemore offers a framework for examining discourse markers (2002) noting that they play a central role in creating meaning in discourse. A recent study by Barbieri notes differences in discourse use by age, identifying in the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus, a list of discourse markers based on the American Conversation subdivision of the *LSWE* Corpus. Part of her study differentiates inserts based on their distribution among older and younger speakers—among youth aged 15 to 25 and adults aged 35 to 60. Her data identifies the most common discourse markers among older and younger speakers. I sorted her data to rank the most common discourse markers between younger and older speakers.

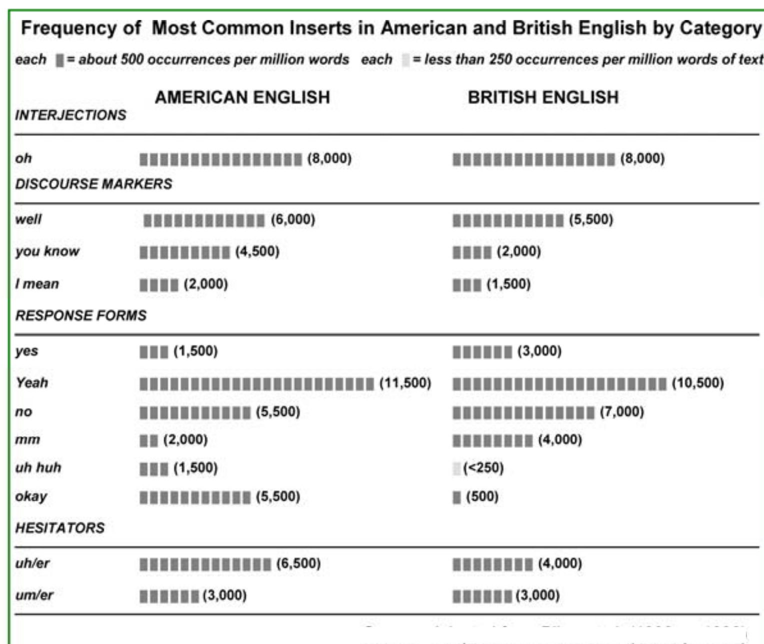


Figure 4.16 Four types of inserts in Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus. ***Note.*** From Biber et al. (199, p. 1096).

Barbieri's summary of markers in Figure 4.17 isolates the top markers among young as *like, yeah,* and *just*, of which there were five occurrences in the Covenant House letter. Also used were word *really* (eight times). Other particles or inserts used include interjections (e.g. *Oh God*), discourse particles (e.g. *I mean, like, I really gotta go*), and three uses of polite speech act devices (e.g. *Please*, *Thank you*, *God bless you*, and *In God's Love*).

Comparison of Frequency of Occurrence of Discourse Markers Between Younger and Older Individuals in the *LSWE* Corpus *				
Discourse Marker	Younger Corpus		Older Corpus	
	Rank	Count	Rank	Count
like	1	1412.5	7	290
yeah	2	1293.8	1	1174.3
just	3	755.9	3	623.9
so	4	567.6	5	570.5
you know	5	554.8	6	488.2
okay	6	430.9	4	574.4
well	7	424.3	2	693
right	8	405.3	8	248.5
I mean	9	251.3	9	181.7
really	10	243.1	10	151.8
kind of/kinda	11	157.7	12	102.3
I know	12	150.5	11	112.6
I guess	14	59.4	13	82.1
sort of/sorta	13	59.4	14	46
like	1	1412.5	7	290

***Frequencies were normed to an occurrence per 100,000 words**

Figure 4.17 Like, yeah, and just most frequent discourse markers among young
Note: Adapted from Barbieri (2008, p. 71). I added a *count* column to Barbieri's data and sorted it in Excel to rank the most common markers by the Younger Corpus.

Another device used by the writer to replicate the sense of personal conversation includes the use of indefinite pronouns.

"The **indefinite pronouns** refer to entities which the speaker writer cannot or does not want to specify more exactly" (Biber, et al 1999, p. 351). Like personal pronouns and contractions, indefinite pronouns are more common in the genres of Conversation, followed by Fiction, News, and Academic Prose, "which far more frequently opt for a more precise expression, consisting of a determiner plus noun" (Biber, et al 1999, p. 353). Figure 4.18, which has been adapted from Biber et al. (1999) and Haspelmath (1997), lists common indefinite pronouns according to their categories. In the Covenant House letter the writer enlists this device in reporting the conversation at the center of the discourse (e.g. We've got *some* hot chocolate and sandwiches, is telling you *something* to convince you . . . or telling you *something* to convince herself, beats me up *sometimes*). The last two categories of features reviewed in this letter share the trait of imprecision with indefinite pronouns—general hedges and amplifiers.

Ontological Categories of Indefinite Pronouns				
person:	*everybody*	*somebody*	*anybody*	*nobody*
thing:	*everything*	*something*	*anything*	*nothing*
place:	*everyplace*	*somewhere*	*anywhere*	*nowhere*
time:	*every time*	*sometime*	*anytime*	*never*
manner:	*every way*	*somehow*	*anyhow*	*no way*
determiner	*every*	*some*	*any*	*no*

Figure 4.18 Ontological indefinite pronouns in the Covenant House letter
Note: From Haspelmath (1997, p. 21) and Biber et al. (1999, p. 351).

General hedges, according to Biber et al. describe hedges as a type of epistemic or knowing adverb that "can be used to convey imprecision. These adverbs are also called hedges. . . .Many hedges occur as adverbials; however, hedges are also very common as modifiers of phrases and words. In conversation they can show the imprecision of word choice. . . . Hedges are also common with number, measurements, and quantities. These forms are also called **approximaters**" (Biber et al., 1999, p. 557). In the Covenant House letter Janice hedges when asked if she was hungry (e.g. Yeah, *kind of.* But *not really*). On the other end of the spectrum in the conversation is the use of amplifiers or intensifiers. Quirk describes this category intensifying adjectives: "Some have a heightening effect on the noun they modify, or the reverse, a lowering affect. At least three semantic subclasses of intensifying adjectives can be distinguished: (a) emphasizers (b) amplifiers (c) downtoners" (1985, p. 429). Biber et al. follow Quirk's classification scheme and describe them as adverbs of *degree* in a semantic classification scheme that includes seven adverb categories (adverbs of place, time, manner degree, additive/restrictive, stance, linking, means/purpose). In the *LSWGE* the adverb of degree *really* is cited as occurring at least 200 times per millions words in the *LSWE* Corpus (Biber et al, 1999 p. 561). However a more focused review of the same corpus by Barbieri (2008) reveals that in the American Conversation subdivision of the *LSWE* Corpus the occurrence among young Americans is 2,431 times per million—a significant jump in frequency. The Covenant House letter reflects an even greater occurrence still, with six occurrence in a text of 543 words. This rate of occurrence translates to a per-million-word basis as a rate of 11,000 occurrences per million words of text—more than four times the norm Barbieri (2009) found in her corpus of 195,400 words of transcribed conversation among American youth aged 15-25. The emotional intensity of the words comes through clearly in their context: (e.g. she *really* had to think about her answer, I *really* gotta go, *Really* scared, My boyfriend is gonna be *really* mad, I'm *really* hungry, He loves me. He *really* does, I'm *really* scared). The contradictions and obvious confusion these amplifiers reflect was summarized when the flow of the conversation is interrupted and the writer repots: "*We sat there for twenty minutes as Janice's story tumbled out in a torrent of confusion and tears.*" In observing the overall structure of this letter, the writer has spent 70 percent of the text (388 of 543 words) illustrating a compelling reason why the reader should care enough to give. Then after painting a scene and allowing the reader to overhear a conversation with Janice (written in fictional *style* but true) the last 150 words request help to assist youth like the one the reader has met through the letter, using modal verbs in the task.

Biber et al. note that English verb phrases can be marked for either tense or modality, but not both. Nine **central modal** auxiliary verbs are used to express modality: *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, *and must*. Figure 4.19 shows the distribution of the nine most common n the *LSWE* Corpus

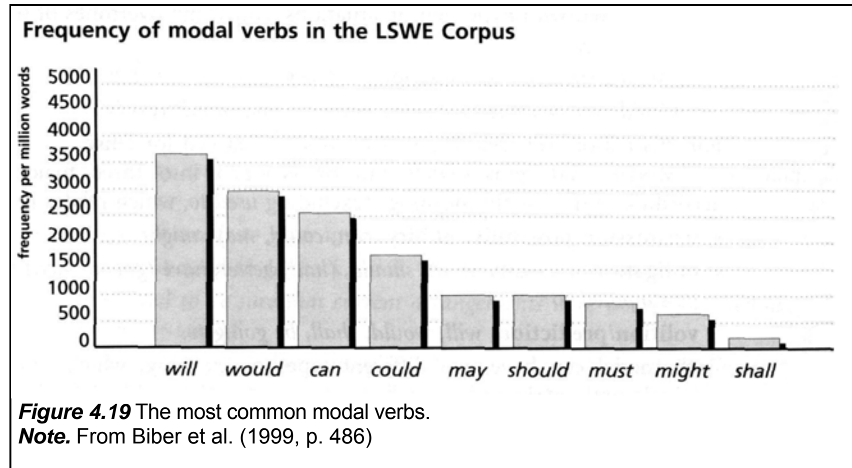


Figure 4.19 The most common modal verbs.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 486)

Modals are particularly useful for expressing emotional content and are most common in the registers of Conversation, Fiction as figure 4.20 illustrates. The Covenant House letter presents conversation in the style of fiction using 11 modals in the closing 150-worda, or 7.3% (e.g. *can*, *can't*, *can't*, *Can*, *can*, *can*, *can*, *can*, *could*, *Maybe*, and *May*).

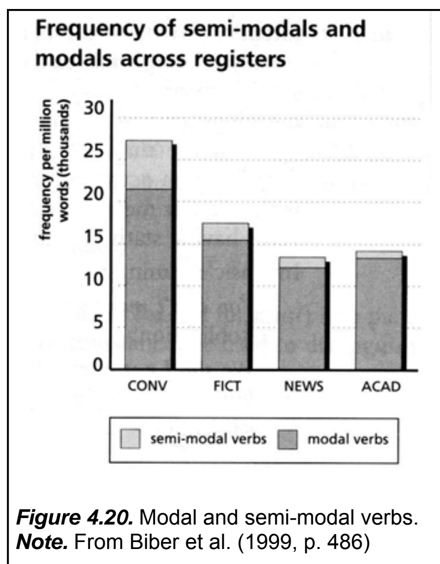


Figure 4.20. Modal and semi-modal verbs.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 486)

Though not counted in the Factor analysis as salient on Dimension 1, a number of semi-modals appear in the conversation between the Covenant House staff and Janice, as the young girl expresses what she feels forced to do, given vulnerability (e.g. *as if she **had to** think about her answer*, *I really **gotta** go*, *My boyfriend is **gonna** be really mad*, *what am I **gonna** do*). Next I turn to the framework that was used to present the Covenant House letter—narrative. Dimension 2 contrasts texts that have a narrative focus with those that do not.

Dimension2: Narrative versus Non-narrative. When I first began this research, several titles came to mind for it that reflected my particular interest in narrative discourse. I had thought of calling the my study *In Search of Narrative* (from Peters and Waterman's *In Search of Excellence*). Admittedly, this potential title suggested the opinion that fund-raising discourse lacks a strong narrative voice—a human voice that speaks on behalf those served by nonprofit organizations. I settled on *Writing the Voice of Philanthropy* for a title, believing that a natural response when someone sees another person in need is to cry out for help. In fact, as a culture we have even engrained

this vocal cry for help into our communication infrastructure. Instead of the old SOS, now the 911 emergency call system lets anyone with a telephone cry for help in a matter of seconds. So I wanted to examine texts to see how effective they serve as *cries for help*. Of course, in philanthropy not all cries are made for help in the face of imminent danger. Some are more moderate requests to elevate the arts and culture, find a cure for disease, educate our youth, or to further any number of worthy causes. Nonetheless, they represent requests for help. Then I borrowed John Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* for the subtitle, modifying it to *How to Raise Money with Words*. This adds to the notion of the *writing the voice of philanthropy* the imperative for such communication to *raise money with words*. Thus such texts accomplish two goals. First they *cut a narrative window* by which a reader can experience a *connecting narrative moment* as they identify with someone for whom the writer's words have caused the reader to care. Second, this discourse asks for money to assist the person, cause, or institution the organization represented. I argue that the extent to which causes and institutions present their needs in terms of how they help *people* their, effectiveness is enhanced. This is based on the assumption that narrative texts contain the rhetorical structure and marshal the linguistic resources to connect with readers, cause them to care, and motivate them to give.

However, in accomplishing these ends, that data seems to suggest that narrative structure is secondary to the feature of interpersonal involvement measured by Dimension 1. For instance, the Covenant House letter, which scored very high on Dimension 1 for interpersonal involvement, was not the highest-scoring text in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus on Dimension 2 (that differentiates between narrative and non-narrative texts). This confirms two central theses of Biber's research: 1.) that variation among texts requires examination of several rather than a single dimension of variation; and 2.) that texts are more accurately described not by dichotomies (e.g. formal or informal, fragmented or integrated, written or spoken) but by continuous parameters of variation which allow for more nuanced descriptions among texts and/or genres as more or less "similar (or different) to differing extents with respect to each dimension" (Biber, 1988, pp. 22-23).

For example, one might assume that the Covenant House letter was a strong example of narrative. However, it scored -0.18 on Factor 2 placing it between Popular Lore (which genre score is -.01) and Face-to-Face Conversations (which genre score is -.06). Defining the whole range of genres, at its south pole is Dimension 2 are Academic Prose (-2.6) and Official Documents (-3.3). At its north pole of the scale are Action Adventure (5.5) and Romantic Fiction (7.2). So the Covenant House letter illustrates that it is not necessary for a text to have an overwhelmingly high narrative score to have a high score for interpersonal involvement score on

Dimension 1. Conversely, many of the texts in the IRS Corpus with very high scores for narrative focus had much lower scores for interpersonal involvement. In the analysis that follows, I resume discussion of the Covenant House text in light of its narrative features. Then I identify and discuss two additional texts that scored higher on Dimension 2 than the Covenant House letter—one from Stanford University (Stanford) which ranks 18 on the Dickerson IRS 880 list, raising $378.3 million in direct support; and another from American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) which ranks 101 on the Dickerson IRS 880 list, raising $95.9 million in direct support. These two texts were texts were identified by sorting the corpus index in on the header labeled Factor 2, which grouped texts with high scores on Narrative in descending rank order. While that initial sort efficiently confirmed the presence of texts marked by the linguistic characteristics Biber identified as associated with narrative, it did not necessarily isolate *interpersonally involved* stories. In this regard, the analysis was somewhat like prospecting for gold where a miner swirls a pan full of rocks, mud and sand in a stream to allow all that isn't gold to flush back into the water. Dimension 2's algorithm, like the miner's pan, retained just the texts with concentrations of feature clusters common to narrative (past tense verbs, third-person pronouns, perfect aspect verbs, public verbs, synthetic negation, present participial clauses). However, as the prospectors pan traps pyrite (fool's gold) and gold alike, what I found always looked like narrative, but was not always necessarily. Certainly nothing was found that sounded as strong as the Covenant House letter's story in terms of *overall effectiveness*. I conclude that this is because Factor 2 mainly isolates texts based on *stage* of action (past tense), not *quality* of action (interpersonal involvement versus informational content). That is, a past action focus does not necessarily mean the text also has a strong human-interest quotient. In contrast, the algorithm for Dimension 1 was specifically designed to isolate texts with strong interactive, sympathy-evoking characteristics that worked as a cluster of linguistic features to create interpersonal involvement. However, a dual selection—with a primary index sort on Factor 1 and a secondary sort on Factor 2—did identify texts with high scores on *both* dimensions. The Stanford and JDC texts are products of this dual sort.

Again I will present samples from the corpus that contain linguistic features Biber associates with narrative texts. Then I will also add evaluation in light of the distinctions Bal (2002) makes regarding narrative texts. She writes:

> A *narrative text* is a text in which an agent relates ('tells') a story in a particular medium . . . . A *story* is a fabula that is presented in a certain manner. A *fabula* is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors. An *event* is the transition from one state to another state. *Actors* are agents that perform actions. . . .To act is defined here as to cause or to experience an event. (2002, p. 5).

Longacre describes narrative texts as having a narrative template:

> Certainly, an essential element of the narrative template is the inciting incident—which is a way of saying that all stories must have a reason for being told. Something happens that breaks a normal expectancy chain and "thereby hangs a tale." Only in such circumstances as witnessing a court of law are recitals without an inciting incident tolerated and relevant. After the inciting incident, the nascent story then proceeds by way of Mounting Tension to a Climax—and beyond Climax to a Denouement. The relation of the last two elements to each other is captured quite well in French where the former is called the Nouement. The metaphor is suggested: Knot it all up proper and then untie it. Commonly such concerns are referred to as plot (2003, p. 4).

While a short fund-raising discourse does not have the space and cannot afford the lack of focus on the purpose of raising money that of a short story, Longacre posits a structural aspect of narrative that will illustrates a pattern relevant even to short narratives bounded by the short space of a letter. In this pattern:

> The storyline of a narrative is moved forward not only by sequential punctiliar happenings as reported in narrative paragraphs such as sequence, simultaneous, reason, result, and the like but in interactional paragraphs . . . . Dialogue paragraphs move the storyline forward by reporting verbal interactions arranged sequentially. . . . Reportative verbs, commonly storyline forms like other action verbs, serve to join the reported speech to the storyline. (2003, p. 11).

Examining texts for levels of narrative is more an exercise in narratology (Bal's specialty focusing on narrative structure) than linguistics. Yet as Biber acknowledges, corpus analyses is a vital first step that must be augmented with additional traditions of textual evaluation. As I began this research, in a discussion with Biber, he suggested as much noting that his software is unable to detect and judge the *effectiveness* of narrative texts. Rather, he remarked, such complex judgments are beyond the ability of corpus analysis which depends on machine-automated tagging of linguistic features. Thus some judgments of the quality of a narrative remain an essentially rhetorical analysis task. Some (Kaufer and Ishizaki, 2006) have attempted to identify *bundles* of linguistic features by which computer analysis can tabulate commonly occurring elements in texts like those apparent in narrative. However, such algorithms risk the loss of data by aggregating linguistic features into bundles, and limiting observations that the programmer can predict will occur, and thus write a routine to identify them. An exhaustive narrative analysis of the Covenant House, Stanford, and JDC texts is beyond the scope of the present study, so after the first step of applying dimensional analysis I only briefly discuss elements of the narrative structure for these three texts, drawing on Burke (1945), Labov and Waletzky (1967) King (2000) and Tannen (1989). For convenience, I repeat the salient features on dimension here in Table 4.11 2.

Table 4.11 **The Six Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 2**

Past tense verbs	Perfect aspect verbs	Synthetic negation
Third-person pronouns	Public verbs	Present participial clauses

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988).

Table 4.12 below compares dimensional scores from Biber's Corpus with those of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus and the ICIC Corpus on Dimension 2: Narrative versus Non-Narrative.

Table 4.12 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 2:

Narrative versus Non-Narrative		Statistical Significance of Variance for 3 Paper/Elect Pairs: Y=Yes; N=No; #=Number of texts									
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: N	
	BIBER Corpus:	N#: 316 ICIC Total	#: 2,412 IRS 80 Total	#: 1,104 IRS 880 Paper	#: 1,308 IRS 880 Elect	#: 1,988 IRS 735 Total	#: 841 IRS 735 Paper	#: 1,147 IRS 735 Elect	#: 424 IRS 145 Total	#: 263 IRS 145 Paper	#: 161 IRS 145 Elect
7.50											
7.25	Romantic Fiction 7.2										
7.00											
6.75											
6.50											
6.25											
6.00	General Fiction 5.9 Mystery Fiction 6.0										
5.75	Science Fiction 5.9										
5.50	Adventure Fiction 5.5										
5.25											
5.00											
4.75											
4.50											
4.25											
4.00											
3.75											
3.50											
3.25											
3.00											
2.75											
2.50											
2.25											
2.00	Biographies 2.1										
1.75											
1.50											
1.25	Spontaneous Speeches 1.3										
1.00	Humor 0.9										
0.75	Prepared Speeches 0.7										
0.50	Press Reportage 0.4										
0.25	Personal Letters 0.3										
0.00	Popular Lore -0.1										
-0.25											
-0.50	Face-to-Face Conversations -0.6										
-0.75	Religion -0.7										
-1.00	Press Editorials -0.8 Interviews -1.1										
-1.25											
-1.50	2 Press Reviews -1.6										
-1.75											
-2.00	Telephone Conversations -2.1										
-2.25	Professional Letters -2.2										
-2.50											
-2.75	Academic Prose -2.6							E-2.8			
-3.00	Hobbies -2.9 Official Documents -2.9	T-3.1	T-3.0	P-3.1	E-2.9	T-2.9	P-3.1				
-3.25	Broadcasts -3.3								T-3.2	P-3.2	E-3.2
-3.50											
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: N	

IRS 880: DF: 1; Mean Sq: 25.713914; F: 6.92; Pr > F: 0.0086; R-Sq: 0.002862. Coeff.Var: -64.59143; Root MSE: 1.92818; Mean: -2.985195
Pair 1: α: .05; DF: 2410; Error Mean Square: 3.717878; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373 Means: 2; Critical Range: 0.1545
Pair 2: α: .05; DF: 1986; Error Mean Square: 3.837418; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 970.4497 Means: 2; Critical Range: 0.1744
Pair 3: α: .05; DF: 422; Error Mean Square: 3.123332; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 199.7311 Means: 2; Critical Range: 0.3476

The mean score for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as a whole on Dimension 2 was -3.0 (compared to –3.1 for the ICIC Corpus). As with Dimension 1, this was not what I had hypothesized. I had assumed that, hand-in-hand with a greater focus on interpersonal involvement, the fund-raising discourse of larger nonprofits would likewise use clusters of linguistic features associated with narrative prose. However, texts from these organizations scored the same as those in the Indianapolis-area ICIC Corpus. Unlike Dimension 1, in which Electronic texts performed noticeably poorer, there was no significant variation among the subsets segments of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus:

Table 4.13 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 2			
ICIC Corpus Total	**IRS 880 Total**	**IRS 880 Paper**	**IRS 880 Electronic**
-3.1	**-3.0**	**-3.1**	**-2.9**

The following table summarizes descriptive statistics and statistical significance:

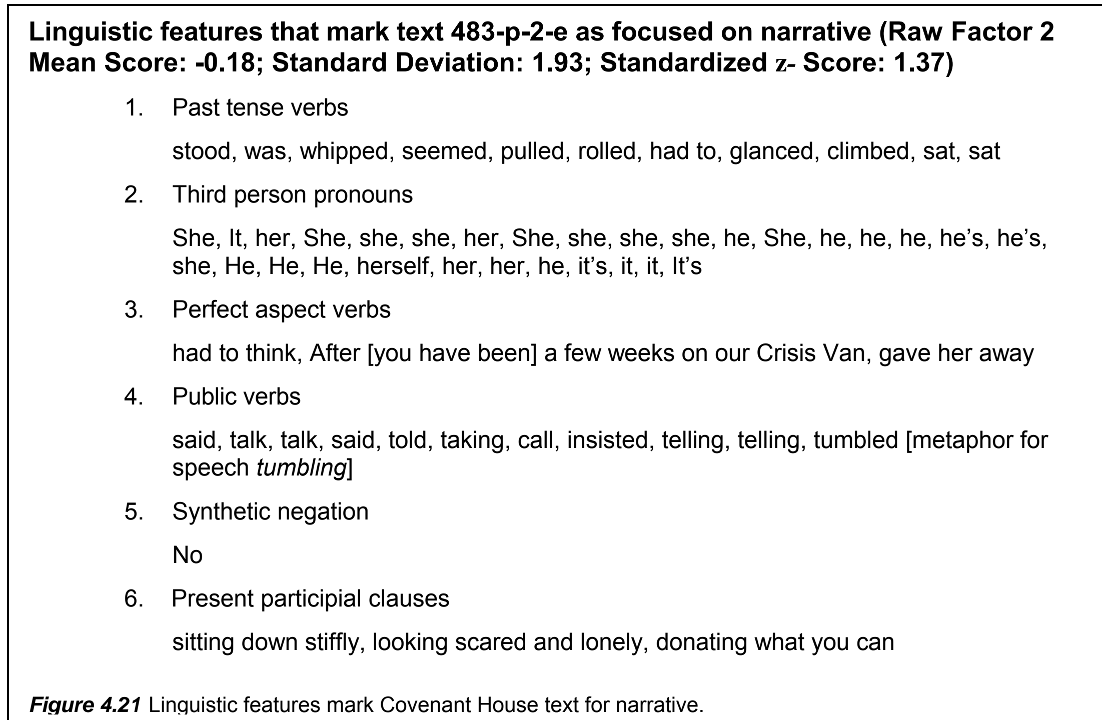
Table 4.14 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 2								
	Number of Texts	**Per 1,000 Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Minimum**	**Maximum**	**Mean Square**	**F-Value**	**Pr > F**
Total	2,412	-2.99	1.93	-5.73	5.68	25.71	6.92	0.0086
R-Square 0.002862			**Coefficient of Variation –64.59143**			**Root Mean Squared Error -2.985195**		

As illustrated above for Dimension 1, by sorting the corpus index on Factor 2, I was able to consolidate texts whose linguistic features are consistent with narrative. First I describe narrative elements in the Covenant House text in detail to illustrate analytic potential, then I examine in more summary fashion the Stanford and JDC texts.

Huntsinger's observation about Covenant House holds for the letter reviewed above: the "technique was simple, yet profound in that it was impossible to read a letter . . . without feeling a deep warmth toward one specific young person" (1992, p. 195).

Rather than speaking for *children* in the plural, the writer replays on paper the dialogue that transpired and thus *cut* a *narrative window* in the text breathed life into the text that allowed the reader to peer into the world of *one* child named *Janice*. Through that *narrative window* a *connecting narrative moment* was created as the Covenant House staff sought to comfort and confront a young teenage prostitute roaming the streets of New York City. You hear Janice recount beatings, express fear of reprisals for just talking to the Covenant House staff. You learn if she doesn't make money for her pimp he gets really mad. She then cries and asks for help. As a reader you imagine how you'd feel were Janice your own daughter, or grandchild, or the daughter of a friend. The text

makes you feel the child's vulnerability, confusion, and fear. It was effective because it did not speak of homelessness and vulnerability as vague sociological constructs (copy that *tells*). Rather, you witness a drama unfold through a *narrative window* as you listen to the dialogue of that play (copy that *shows*). Figure 4.21 lists narrative features contained in in the Covenant House letter.



Linguistic features that mark text 483-p-2-e as focused on narrative (Raw Factor 2 Mean Score: -0.18; Standard Deviation: 1.93; Standardized *z*- Score: 1.37)

1. Past tense verbs

   stood, was, whipped, seemed, pulled, rolled, had to, glanced, climbed, sat, sat
2. Third person pronouns

   She, It, her, She, she, she, her, She, she, she, she, he, She, he, he, he, he's, he's, she, He, He, He, herself, her, her, he, it's, it, it, It's
3. Perfect aspect verbs

   had to think, After [you have been] a few weeks on our Crisis Van, gave her away
4. Public verbs

   said, talk, talk, said, told, taking, call, insisted, telling, telling, tumbled [metaphor for speech *tumbling*]
5. Synthetic negation

   No
6. Present participial clauses

   sitting down stiffly, looking scared and lonely, donating what you can

Figure 4.21 Linguistic features mark Covenant House text for narrative.

Through his dramatistic pentad, rhetorician Kenneth Burke views "language primarily as a mode of *action* rather than a node of *knowledge*" (1978, p. 330). His framework looks at text from five perspectives: "what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose)" (p. 1). Burke's *A Grammar of Motives* presents a rhetorical, not linguistic, framework for text analysis of which he writes: "My job was not to help a writer decide what he might say to produce a text. It was to help a critic perceive what was going on in a text that was already written (1978, p. 330). Yet, if a writer's choice of linguistic features is driven by rhetorical aim reduced to is thus constitutes *discourse de jure* (writing guided by *rhetorical laws* or *writing rules*), then Burke's framework can help identify and understand those linguistic choices.

It would seem that the Covenant House letter's extraordinarily high score on Dimension 1 reflects such *discourse de jure*. I now turn to Dimension 2 and view the writer's linguistic choices vis-à-vis narrative. Using Burke's rhetorical model I suggest how rhetorical aim (and thus motive) guided the choice of narrative format

that the focus of that narrative. I examine how these decisions and focus led to the deployment of specific linguistic features defining Dimension 2's narrative focus on: 1.) *what* was done (the Crisis Van was portrayed almost like a type of Noah's Ark, sent out on a rescue mission that ends with a successful intervention, 2.) *when* and *where* events occurred (the writer decided to picture a scene on a cold night at two in the morning in a part of New York City where young runaways walk the streets and Johns prowl for prostitutes), 3.) *who did it* (the Covenant House confront Janice, intervene, and rescue her, with the reader embedded and along for the ride), 4.) how (through confrontational yet compassionate direct dialogue, food, hot chocolate on a cold night, persistence, and apparently lots of listening) and 5.) *why* (to help a young runaway escape enslavement as sex chattel). Burke's pentadic structure suggests that elements in writing and speech can be arranged to elevate some elements of the pentad and subordinate others, a ratio shift in by which a writer/speaker controls reader/hearer perceptions. For instance, David Ling (1969, 1982) accused Senator Edward Kennedy of manipulating his audience in the speech he delivered on television after crashing his car into the Chappaquiddick river resulting in the drowning of Mary Jo Kopechne. Ling claimed that by shifting emphasis in the rhetoric to what the *scene* (in Kennedy's case, the disorientation caused by the swift dark river) Kennedy essentially became "the victim of a scene over which he had no control" (1972, p.p. 332-333). Ritzenhein applied Burke's pentadic analysis to a 21 fund-raising letters and found that 71 percent "began with descriptions of the scene, expressed either as the social needs the organization was trying to cure or the high quality of the institution itself" (1998, p. 30).

Once the Covenant House writer made her choices about what to write (what to elevate and what to subordinate) the outworking of those choices required marshaling linguistic resources. The scene is set using *past tense verbs* to describe: 1.) the central character of the story (e.g. *She* ***stood*** *on the curb*), 2.) time (e.g. *It* ***was*** *two in the morning*), 3.) conditions (e.g. *A chilly breeze* ***whipped*** *up the street*), 4.) demeanor (*and* ***seemed*** *to make her shiver*). Next a *present participial clause* portrays the main character's demeanor (e.g. ***looking*** *scared and lonely*). Were one filming this episode you would start with a wide-angle establishing shot. In prose this is done through another *past tense verb phrase* (e.g. *We* ***pulled*** *our Covenant House van up to the curb*) 2.) then the camera would zoom in close to frame the Covenant House staff with the main character. Reduced to written form here a *past tense verbs* portrays action (e.g. *and* ***rolled*** *down the window*). These elements parallel what Labov and Waletzky (1967) describe as the orientation phase of a narrative. As the Covenant House letter progresses, the linguistic characteristics common to fiction and conversation, reported in describing Dimension 1, are apparent as the

staff member interacts with the young girl. The narrator describes these again using *past tense verbs* to portray the girl's response in reported dialogue—in this case a using a *public* verb called a *communication* verb in *LGSWE* (e.g. *"Hi, what's your name?" "Janice," she* ***said*** *hesitantly*). The narrator further establishes the demeanor of the girl with a *perfect aspect verb*, which Quirk notes is commonly used to indicate "a state of affairs before the present moment . . . that has continued up to the present time (and may even continue into the future) (1985, p. 190)" (e.g. *as if she really* ***had to think*** *about her answer*). *Perfective construction* is useful to create a sense that this young girl is not even sure who she is anymore. This sense is illustrated in Figure 4.22, and is seen near the end of the story when the writer/narrator uses a *perfective construction*, implied by an ellipsis and marked with brackets (e.g. *After [**having ridden**] a few weeks on our Crisis Van, you know when a homeless kid is telling you something to convince you . . . or telling you something to convince herself*). This device refers to past action (rising on the Crisis Van) to "signify past time 'with current relevance' (Quirk 1985, p. 190)". The use here establishes credibility for their outreach and begins to generalize from the current situation to the future (e.g. *This year we'll help rescue 28,000 kids from the street*).

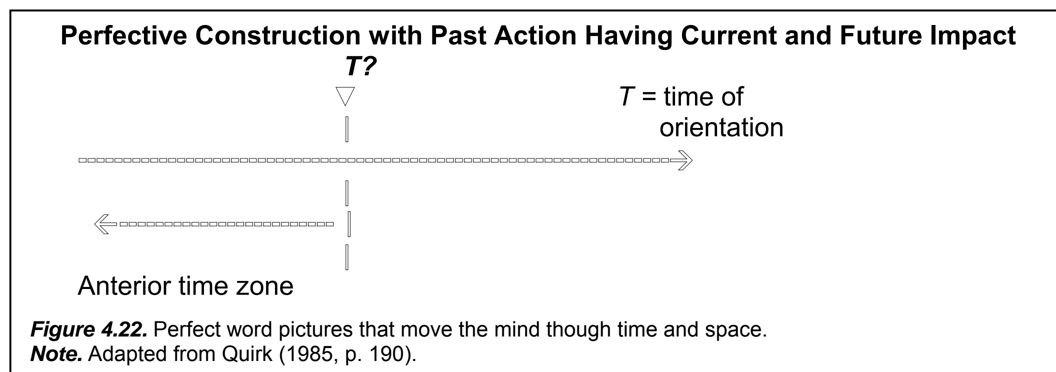


Figure 4.22. Perfect word pictures that move the mind though time and space.
Note. Adapted from Quirk (1985, p. 190).

Biber cites Thompson (1983) who "characterizes these participial clauses as detached in their syntactic form and shows how they are used to create vivid images in depictive discourse. The grouping of features seen on this factor thus indicates that narrative discourse is often depictive; that the narration of past events is often framed by the vivid imagery provided by present participial clauses (1988, p. 109).

Returning to the flow of the earlier part of the discourse, the narrator recounts more events in *past tense* (e.g. *She* ***glanced*** *nervously up and down the street*). Here Labov's use of the term complicating action is useful. Labov and Waletzky's narrative framework consists of six elements: 1.) an *abstract* (a summary at the beginning), 2.) *orientation* (setting the action in time, at a specific place, involving specific persons), *complicating action* (a sequence of events that leads up to a *reportable* event), *evaluation* (discussion of the *significance* of actions), *result* or

resolution (how the story ended), and *coda* (a commentary by the story-teller). As the Covenant House letter begins, it immediately starts with complicating action as Janice is approached and the staff strike up a conversation with her.

However, the story skips step one of the Labov and Waletzky framework—abstract. Their six-part framework grew out of a sociological survey of African American Vernacular English in South Harlem York in 1966. As such it reported how those in their study population told stories of personal experience in naturally-occurring conversation. Such stories invariably began with a preface that signaled that the speaker was claiming the floor to relate his or her anecdote. In contrast, the Covenant House letter is a constructed example of *discourse de jure* in that it uses communication techniques closer to those operative in the production of a cinematic film, episodic television, or fiction than naturally occurring conversation. Therefore, setting or action begins *immediately* without an abstract in which the writer interjects a comment about what is to be said. Instead the reader is immediately immersed in action, which is important light of studies that indicate that a written piece like a direct mail fund-raising letter has only seconds to capture reader attention before it is abandoned. The commonality between the Covenant House letter and Labov and Waletzky's framework is found embedded in the other five elements of their framework. Similar elements are also found in the Mieke Bal's narrative paradigm.

Bal's paradigm posits a tripartite structure for narrative : 1.) a *fabula* (the raw materials from which a story can be constructed, comprised of "a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors" (Bal 1997); 2.) the *story* (the concrete product that evolves from the choice of certain reportable raw materials from the raw material of the underlying fabula; this raw material gets distilled into a particular manner of presentation by, for instance, selecting only certain events or rather than straight chronology, flashing back in time for dramatic effect); and 3.) a *narrative text* (the kind of end product we read in the Covenant House letter whereby "an agent relates ('tells') a story in a particular medium" (Bal 1997 p. 5). Although from the text there is no way to understand the thoughts that guided the writer's choice of events to feature in her, it is apparent that those choices were deliberate and served the purpose of developing a compelling interpersonally focused narrative. Using Bal's framework, the writer's work can be considered in three ways. 1.) the writer probably had many *fabulas* that might have been the source of something to written about; yet like most of real life, most were probably not the stuff from which extraordinary and compelling stories would come. 2.) However, the encounter with Janice seems to have stood out to the writer as *a story*

worth telling—what Labov and Waletzky would call a *reportable event* because it was *non-trivial*. This essential story probably had more than one version, because it seems that more than one Covenant House staff member was in the Crisis van that morning. Thus, like the biblical gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (described as synoptic because they view the life of Christ from four vantage points), no doubt there were synoptic versions of the encounter with Janice. Each person in the Crisis van probably took away different details, with different aspects of the situation standing out to him or her, yet there was one underlying story. 3.) Finally, it came time to report this event in a fund-raising letter and the text no analyzed was written. In so doing, the writer arrayed elements of actions, setting, agent, agency, and purpose to shape a story then linguistic resources to convey it on the printed page. Thus far I have illustrated the use of *past tense verbs* in the text to set the scene, capture dialogue, and the use of *perfective construction* to reveal the demeanor of Janice and suggest the credibility and importance of he Covenant House work of rescuing youth on the streets of New York. Next *past tense* verbs are used to further describe, using Labov and Waletzky's term, the *complicating action* that will lead up to the *reportable event*. The narrator writes of the critical complicating event using a past tense construction. After Janice hesitated to get into the van the writer reports that in the complicating action of the episode, Janice finally makes a critical move (e.g. *She* ***climbed*** *in and* ***sat down*** *stiffly across from me*).

Up to this point in the story, nine occurrences of the *third person pronoun* ***she*** have been used and two occurrences of the *third person pronoun* ***her*** have been used. Biber's factor analysis associates its common occurrence I narrative discourse as the key resource by which "to mark reference to animate, typically human, referents apart from the speaker and addressee" (1988, p. 109).

In both Conversation and Fiction, the occurrence of the third person personal pronouns in the *LSWE Corpus* is much higher than in the News and Academic Prose genres.

Because so much of the Covenant House letter and narrative discourse as a genre reports direct speech, public or communication verbs are quite common. The public verb *said* was mentioned above. It was the first public verb used in the text to describe Janice's response to the conversation initiated by the Covenant House staff. There are a total of eleven public or communication verbs in the Covenant House letter. The distribution of the top twelve communication or public verbs in the *LSWE* Corpus are listed in the Figure 4.23. The single case of synthetic negation comes when Janice denies that she is really working for a pimp (e.g. *Oh,* ***no****, he's not a pimp, he's my boyfriend*). An *adverbial participle* describes Janice's discomfort and nervousness at meeting with the Covenant House staff (e.g. *sitting down stiffly*). Then an *ing* present participle in

the closing of the letter acts as complement to the preposition by, indicating how readers can reach out to more youth like Janice (e.g. *by* ***donating*** *what you can to Covenant House*).

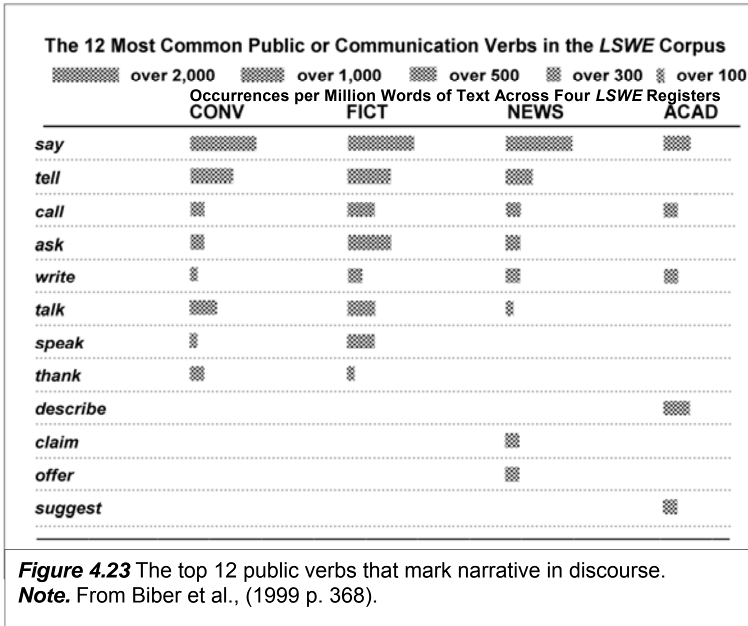


Figure 4.23 The top 12 public verbs that mark narrative in discourse.
Note. From Biber et al., (1999 p. 368).

In addition to public communication verbs and other linguistic features and rhetorical structure discussed thus far, important perspectives are offered by discourse analysts such as Deborah Tannen, who proposes that the reason reports such as that in the Covenant House works is the fact that "storytelling . . . is a means by which humans organize and understand the world, and feel connected to each other. Giving voice to the speech of people who are depicted as taking part in events . . . creates a play peopled by characters who take on life and breath" (1989, pp. 102-103). As a pattern of presentation, stories like the Covenant House letter about Janice derive their effectiveness, according to Tannen, because "telling a story in conversation can itself be an involvement strategy. . . .I found that speakers whose styles I characterized as 'high involvement' told more stories. . .their stories were more often about their personal experiences; and their stories more often included accounts of their feelings in response to events recounted" (1989, p. 28). One of the elements in the narrative that drives its effectiveness as a story is the element of concrete detail. Tannen develops the notion of detail citing the work of Chafe (1984, p. 1099) who compares very different ways of expressing the same event in academic prose and conversation in Figure 4.24.

Wallace Chafe's Compares the same story told by the same speaker in two modes	
From a Scholarly Article	**From a Conversation**
. . . at dinner every evening	. . . we were sitting around the dinner table

Figure 4.24 Description creates concrete images in discourse.
Note. From Tannen (1989, p. 27). Elements of imageability in discourse are used to create a setting and set a mood.

Tannen remarks that Chafe observed events expressed as conversation exhibited "a tendency toward concreteness and imageability . . . concreteness and imageability are associated with particularity" (1989, p. 27). narration, which moves the story from point A to point B and finally to point Z; description, which creates a

sensory reality for the reader; and dialogue, which brings characters to life through their speech" (2000, p. 163). An alcoholic, King illustrates sensory reality in recounting the first time he bought booze during his *senior class trip* to New York City in 1966. The use of particular details makes his recollection stand out:

> A bunch of us more adventurous boys found a package store around the corner from the hotel. I cast an eye over the shelves, aware that my spending money was far from a fortune. There was too much—too many bottles, too many brands, too many prices over ten dollars. Finally I gave up and asked the guy behind the counter (the same bald, bored-looking, gray-coated guy who has, I'm convinced, sold alcohol virgins their first bottle since the dawn of commerce) what was cheap. Without a word, he put a pint of Old Log Cabin whiskey down on the Winston mat beside the cash register. The sticker on the label said $1.95. The price was right. (2000, p. 88).

The Covenant House letter begins immediately with sensory reality (e.g. *She stood on the curb looking scared and lonely in a skimpy halter top and bright red lipstick. It was two in the morning. A chilly breeze whipped up the street and seemed to make her shiver. She was a child . . . just a child.*) The *present participial clause* paints pictures of aloneness (*on the curb looking scared and lonely*) and allure (*a skimpy halter top and bright red lipstick*). The weather that morning is even positioned as a character that seems to foreshadow the deeper cold that Janice's life choices have brought. Specific image words chosen create specific effects: cold (e.g. *chilly breeze*), disturbance (e.g. *whipped*), discomfort (e.g. *make her shiver*). In contrast to the particularity of the Covenant House letter's opening, the text excerpt Connor and Upton (2003, p. 78) chose to illustrate the typical letter in the ICIC Corpus is a generalized exposition. The two styles are compared in Figure 4.25:

Contrast Between Covenant House Particularity in ICIC Corpus Girl Scout Letter and Generality

Covenant House Sentences Set the Stage	Girl Scouts Sentences Set the Stage
She stood on the curb looking scared and lonely in a skimpy halter top and bright red lipstick. It was two in the morning. A chilly breeze whipped up the street and seemed to make her shiver. She was a child . . . just a child.	*Young women are growing up in an ever-changing society. As a contributor to the Council in past appeals I know that you are aware of our mission—to prepare girls with ethical values, character, a desire to succeed and a commitment to their community.*

Figure 4.25 A tale of two tales: the difference between showing and telling.

Note. The Girl Scouts letter is from Connor and Upton (2003, p. 78) and the Covenant House letter is from the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. The Girl Scouts letter ***tells*** the reader about problems at the conceptual level with no characters or real-life conflict. In contrast, the Covenant House letter ***shows*** the reader a real problem faced by a young girl who is described in memorable detail, who is placed in a hostile environment filled with conflict, and who faces imminent danger. The former reads like a like a sociological while the latter reads like a like a short story.

The Girl Scouts letter's generality is not necessarily negative per se. For instance, for those strong supporters who are already convinced of the worthiness of the cause, further reinforcement through interpersonally involving narrative text may not be as necessary to prompt them to give. Yet those not yet convinced may need more in order to be moved to respond to the fund appeal—note I did not say need more

information but need more to be *moved*, suggesting something like a *narrative.* The style exhibited in the Girl Scouts letter may not motivate a response. Worse yet it might not even get read.

Beyond motivating an immediate gift, as an organization develops a relationship with a donor as one person would with another, it would seem important to continue to reinforce that upon which the relationship is based from time to time. In the same way it is wise for a wife or husband to say *I love you* to their spouse, despite the fact that it was stated explicitly for the record in their wedding vows, it would seem wise to write texts that reinforce donors' original motivations for giving. The two excerpts contrasted above represent diametrically divergent means to that end. One is an example of *mimesis* from the Greek *μιμεῖσθαι* (Arndt and Gingrich 1957, p. 523), which Aristotle used in describing the actors task of *showing* through drama. The other is *diegesis* from the Greek for narrative, *διήγησις* (Arndt and Gingrich 1957, p. 194), which Aristotle used to describe a narrator *telling* a story. In the Covenant House letter, the line between *showing* and *telling* is blurred. While narrated (and thus *heard/read*), the vividness of the description and direct quotes allow the reader to reenact in his or her mind (and thus *see*) the characters and actions as if it the scene had been reenacted on a stage. In contrast, the Girl Scouts letter excerpt is pure exposition, appealing to important yet abstract notions (ethical values, character, success, commitment). Of such texts Connor and Upton conclude that while "letters of this type can be interactive (e.g., using first and second person pronouns), . . . their primary focus is informational rather than involved . . . direct mail letters very much have this characteristic" (2003, p. 78). The generality of their statement seemed justified, given the evidence of dimensional scores for the ICIC corpus. However, the questions remains—were the texts representative of the best in the nonprofit sector or average for organizations within a 50-mile radius of Indianapolis, Indiana? Regardless, the data suggests that ICIC texts are uninvolving and non-narrative with little or no dialogue.

Connor and Upton do not suggest the lack of constructed dialogue as a problem for fund-raising letters. They seem to simply accept that that is they way fund-raising letters are constructed. However, while not commenting on fund-raising discourse, Tannen argues for the superiority of another type of discourse:

> When speakers cast the words of others in dialogue, they are not reporting so much as constructing dialogue. Constructing dialogue creates involvement….Dialogue is particular, and particular enables listeners (or readers) to create their understanding by drawing on their own history of associations. By giving voice to characters, dialogue makes a story into drama and listeners into an interpreting audience to the drama. This active participation in sensemaking contributes to the creation of involvement. Thus understanding in discourse is in part emotional….A major form of mutual participation in sensemaking is creating images: both by the speaker who describes or suggests an image in words, and the hearer or reader who creates an image based on that description or suggestion. . . . Images, like dialogue, evoke scenes because they are composed of people in relation to

each other, doing things that are culturally and personally recognizable and meaningful" (1989, p. 133, 135).

Tannen's identifies two strategies—dialogue and image. They work, she argues, because they evoke scenes to which people can relate. These elements are illustrated below in scenes from the Covenant House letter. Using Labov and Waletzky's steps of reported personal narrative, the following figures illustrate the progression of the text through *complicating action* to *result* and finally to *coda* in Figures 4.26 to 4.29. The turn-taking in dialog and narration is represented in the cells' 1-11 numbering scheme—the story's order of presentation.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">A. Tension rises as complicating action reaches a turning point and Janice is invited to step inside the crisis van</th></tr>
<tr><th>Narrator</th><th>Janice</th></tr>
<tr><td>1. Why don't you hop in, Janice? We've got some hot chocolate and sandwiches. We can talk. You hungry?</td><td>2. Yeah, kind of. But not really. I mean, like, I really gotta go. I can't talk now. Maybe later. Will you be back around in a couple hours?"</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Narrator Evaluation</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">3. She glanced nervously up and down the street at the passing cars. We could tell she was dying to jump in, but she was scared. Really scared.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Figure 4.26 Labov and Waletzky's complicating action stage in narratives of personal experience.

Note. The steps of reported personal narrative were first presented in Labov and Waletzky (1967) and the model has been refined (cf. Labov, 1975) and in Labov's "Narratives of Personal Experience" (forthcoming).</td></tr>
</table>

The details of hot chocolate and sandwiches and Janice's nervous double-mindedness create tension through six sentences that total just 26 words, averaging just 4.6 words apiece. Janice's nervous tension is portrayed rather than simply stated with an abstract statement such as "she was nervous." The writer observed the admonition of C.S. Lewis that "instead of telling us a thing was 'terrible,' describe it so we'll be terrified" (1985, p. 64). From the opening scene where Janice is *pictured* standing in the cold on the street, to this point of rising tension and culminating confrontation, the writer *shows* (mimesis) rather that *tells* (diegesis) through dialogue. Then the narrator interjects what Labov and Waletzky call *evaluation*—discussion of the significance of events. First the evaluation reports action, and then with very short sentences succinctly repeats the dissonance apparent in the dialogue 1.) she may have been to see if her pimp was nearby, 2.) the Covenant House use repetition to heighten he tension, ending with a two word sentence employing ellipsis that requires the reader to fill in the missing words, which in this case I have inserted in brackets (e.g. . . . *but she was scared. [She was] Really scared.*)

Next the conversation moves to Labov and Waletzky's *reportable event*—first in dialogue, then in evaluation by the narrator:

B. The reportable event surfaces	
Covenant House Staff	**Janice's Response**
	4. "*OK," she finally said. "But only for a minute or two then I gotta go. My boyfriend is gonna be really mad if he finds out I'm doin' this."*
5. *She climbed in and sat down stiffly across from me. "Your boyfriend?"*	6. *"Yeah, he told me he doesn't want me talking to you guys. So I can't stay long. Can I have a sandwich, too? I'm really hungry."*
7. "Sure, but why do you call him your boyfriend if he lets you walk the street at night? Do you mean your pimp?"	8. "Oh, no, he's not a pimp, he's my boyfriend," she insisted with intensity. "He loves me. He really does. He buys me lots of nice things."
Narrator Evaluation	
9. *After a few weeks on our Crisis Van, you know when a homeless kid is telling you something to convince you . . . or telling you something to convince herself. This year we'll help rescue 28,000 kids from the street, and we know how to spot them when they're in serious trouble. In Janice's case, her fingers gave her away.*	

Figure 4.27 Labov and Waletzky's most reportable event in narratives of personal experience.

The reportable event paints a picture of Janice's *Alice-In-Wonderland* state of mind in which up is down—in this case, where she is convinced her pimp is her boyfriend. Her demeanor is described in the *adverbial participial* (*sitting down stiffly*) and then the narrator pricks the balloon of her perceptions with a question. Only a two-word sentence, you can almost hear the pitch of the first syllable of the second word rise to express incredulity (marked here with capital letters): (*Your* ***BOY****friend?*). The back and forth dialogue then moves to a point of does not show the Covenant House staff trying to refute the proof Janice pleads to refute their claim that he is really her pimp by equating boyfriend with one who buys things for her (e.g. *"Oh, no, he's not a pimp, he's my boyfriend," she insisted with intensity. "He loves me. He really does. He buys me lots of nice things.*"). The evaluation amplifies what has transpired in the dialogue, and uses a parallel construction to draw a contrast that takes a step back from the unfolding drama and frames it as symptomatic of many encounters between Covenant House ant those they help. Plus, it helps establish the organization's credibility as skilled in discerning truth from fiction in (e.g. *After a few weeks on our Crisis Van, you know when a homeless kid is telling you something* ***to convince you*** *. . . or telling you something* ***to convince herself****. This year we'll help rescue 28,000 kids from the street, and we know how to spot them when they're in serious trouble.*) The letter reaches the last two elements in the Labov and Waletzky framework—*Result or Resolution* and *Coda,* a dénouement that ties things together.

The resolution comes as Janice has had someone confront her, make her feel safe, and takes time to listen. The summarizes for the team, the emotional outpouring that resulted. She uses a metaphor for speaking as they depict Janice's response (e.g. *Janice's story tumbled out in a torrent of confusion and tears*).

C. Result or resolution is reached
10. *We sat there for twenty minutes as Janice's story tumbled out in a torrent of confusion and tears . .*
Figure 4.28 Labov and Waletzky's result or resolution stage in narratives of personal experience.

Returning to Burke's pentad of act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose, the *coda* or dénouement in Labov and Waletzky's narrative structure ties things up by affirming and enlarging the work of the *agent* of rescue in the story. The text portrays Covenant House as the agent and the Covenant House vans as the *agency*—the way the organization does its work (e.g. *Thanks to you our Covenant House vans will be able to search America's streets for homeless kids in trouble*). The *coda* marks a clear movement in the story from a focus on Janice to a much larger context in which thousands of children just like Janice need help too (e.g. *I know Janice's story sounds incredible-almost too incredible to be true. But it's only the tip of the iceberg! As you read this letter, there are 300,000 homeless kids on America's streets . . . kids who are alone, hungry, tired, and scared.*)

D. Coda
11. *I know Janice's story sounds incredible-almost too incredible to be true. But it's only the tip of the iceberg! As you read this letter, there are 300,000 homeless kids on America's streets . . . kids who are alone, hungry, tired, and scared.* *Please. Will you help us rescue another innocent kid tonight?* *You see, by donating what you can to Covenant House today, you can give homeless kids like Janice a new life. Thanks to you our Covenant House vans will be able to search America's streets for homeless kids in trouble . . .* *Please pray for them. They need it. And if you can send a gift to help them, I'd really appreciate it. It's been tough lately making ends meet. A gift from you right now would be a wonderful answer to our prayers.* ***Figure 4.29*** Labov and Waletzky's coda stage in narratives of personal experience.

The fifth element in Burke's dramatistic pentad, *motivation*, is made clear in the two actions the letter seeks to elicit—giving and praying. By giving and praying, the reader is offered the opportunity to essentially become *co-agents* with the organization in their work of rescuing street children. Earlier the Crisis van was earlier depicted as the *agency* (the answer to the question of *how* Covenant House rescues street children). The second agency (the means of accomplishment in Burke's schema) is suggested at the end of the letter as the reader is given the chance to become *co-agent*: (e.g. *Please pray for them. They need it. And if you can send a gift to help them, I'd really appreciate it. It's been tough lately making ends meet. A gift from you right now would be a wonderful answer to our prayers.*)

The Covenant House letter accomplishes much in the space of 543 words on one side of an 8-1/2 x 11 sheet of paper. As noted above, its Raw Mean Factor score on Dimension 2 is -0.18 and its standardized score is 1.37, positioning it on Biber's ranking of 23 genres between Spontaneous speeches (standardized score of 1.3) and Biographies (standardized score of 2.1). Two other additional texts are now featured, both from their respective organization's web sites. Both scored higher on narrative focus than the Covenant House letter, but lower on Dimension 1, which measures Interpersonal involvement. Both are noteworthy because like the Covenant House letter, they use a story that creates a *connecting narrative moment*. In each the writer punches a *narrative window* in the text so the reader can relate to another human being helped.

The next text presented in Figure 4.30 is 18-e-8-b from the website of Stanford University. At only 293 words, it ranks 46th out of 1,308 electronic texts on Dimension 2, and 50th out 2,412 texts overall (electronic and paper texts together). The Raw Factor 2 Mean Score for text 18-e-8-b is 1.99 and its standardized *z*- score is 3.54, placing it a little beyond the mirror position on the opposite side of the curve from the mean Dickerson IRS 880 score on narrative of -3.0. While not the highest narrative score, this text offers a useful comparison to the University of Wisconsin (UW) text viewed above vis-à-vis Dimension 1 in Figure 4.5. The UW text's Raw Factor 2 Mean Score on Dimension 2 is -5.73 and its standardized z- score is off the scale at -4.18. Following the text, Figure 4.31 describes features which mark the text for narrative.

Instructive about the narrative in this text is its brevity. It has parallels with the excerpt of Jesse Jackson's 1988 Democratic National Convention speech, which created what I called a *connecting narrative moment* over a very brief span. Similarly the Stanford text connects with a brief *connecting narrative moment* in the first sentence. It passes quickly in the discourse, yet lingers as invisible background. Almost subliminally it sets the stage for the rest of the discourse. It informs the reader in the same way Jesse Jackson's speech reminded his audience that he *understood* their plight by repeating the words *I understand* several times. But rather than relying on those abstract words, Jackson *illustrated* that he understood what it meant to grow up poor through an anecdote. He recalled how his mother carved Turkey on Thanksgiving day, but not in their home. She was carving Turkey across town in the role of domestic help at another family's house. In the Stanford letter, in two sentences of 52 words the family 's circumstances that made a scholarship important slap the reader. These situating comments kick-start the text with a *connecting narrative moment*. Figure 4.31 will then list specific features that illustrate narrative, then following that I will use Burke's dramatistic pentad to illustrate the flow of the narrative similar to the exposition given above using Labov and Waletzky's steps of reported personal narrative.

Text 18-e-8-b: Stanford University

Raw Factor 2 Mean Score: 1.99; Standard Deviation: 1.93; Standardized z-Score: 3.54

When the auto salvage business that Darwin “Trey” Miller's father ran in the 1990s went under, it could have spelled the end of Miller's academic aspirations. Instead, the business upset turned into prime motivation for the native of Waco, Texas, who wanted to understand the market forces that affected his family's lives.

Miller earned his undergraduate degree in economics at the University of Texas, Austin, and is pursuing his PhD at Stanford, studying industrial organization and game theory. With the inability of his family to provide financial support, he is grateful to the donors who made graduate education possible for him.

“I feel lucky to be here,” Miller says. “If it weren't for people giving money to programs like this, I would have never made it this far. I don't know if I would have been able to come here if I didn't have funding.”

And there is no place he would rather be to pursue his doctorate. “Stanford is the best place to go for what I want to study,” he says. “The economics department here is incredibly strong. That's why I chose to come here.”

Miller receives departmental funds, including full fellowship support for the first two years as well as a guaranteed teaching or research assistant stipend for five years. Without such support, pursuing his dream at Stanford might have been out of reach.

“The first year in the economics doctoral program is your rite of passage. It's pretty stressful,” he says. “There's no time to do anything but study. When you're not sleeping or eating, you're basically studying. There's no way I could have had a part-time job on top of that.”

Find out more about graduate fellowships and other campaign priorities in the School of Humanities and Sciences.

Figure 4.30 Stanford University text illustrates narrative.

Linguistic features that mark text 18-e-8-b as focused on narrative (Raw Factor 2 Mean Score: - 0.18; Standard Deviation: 1.93; Standardized z- Score: 3.54)

1. Past tense verbs:

   ran, went under, turned into, wanted, affected, earned, made, chose

2. Third person pronouns:

   his, his, his, his, he, he, his, he, his, he

3. Perfect aspect verbs:

   is pursuing, [is] studying, people giving

4. Public verbs:

   says, says, says

5. Synthetic Negation

   there is no place he would rather be, There's no time to do anything but study, There's no way I could have had a part-time job on top of that

6. Present participial clauses:

   is pursuing, [is] studying, people giving, you're basically studying

Figure 4.31 Linguistic features mark Stanford University text for narrative.

The following describes how of the Stanford text can be sketched using Burke's pentadic framework.

1.) *Act*—*What* was done? On one hand, the focus is on the *act* of help—Darwin "Trey" Miller received a scholarship from Stanford and its donors. Together they have helped to make Trey's graduate studies possible. In addition, a second *act* exists in the reciprocity of thanking donors who made gifts. Thus Trey Miller and Stanford together pay donors back with a report of how their kindness has made a difference.

2.) *Scene*—*When* and w*here* did the action occur? In contrast to the drama of the Covenant House setting, the notion of a student receiving a scholarship and expressing thanks for it does not conjure up cold streets past midnight in the red-light district of New York City. Rather, it suggests past and future scenes of all-nighters in a college dormitory; a past scene when Trey Miller stood at his mailbox, opened a letter, and smiled, cried or whooped at seeing that he had been awarded a scholarship; a present scene as a donor reads the message of thanks online. So while radically different than the sex-slave trafficking stage in the Covenant House letter, there are dramatic scenes of other kinds. For example, the reader reads a word picture of a Ph.D. student's first-year rite of passage: (e.g. *"The first year in the economics doctoral program is your rite of passage. It's pretty stressful," he says. "There's no time to do anything but study. When you're not sleeping or eating, you're basically studying. There's no way I could have had a part-time job on top of that"*). And in keeping with the notion of reciprocity, a scene can be framed in which a donor responds, upon understanding how their gift is helping Trey and those he represents.

3.) *Agent*—*Who did it*? In contrast to Covenant House's Crisis van, the heroes of this drama are the individuals who gave money to make Trey's scholarship possible and the university development staff who asked for the gift. Another agent is Trey Miller and his co-agents at Stanford who thank donors. In addition, Trey's father, the text suggests, is an important *fallen hero* whose business has failed, thus evoking sympathy.

4.) *Agency*—*how was the act accomplished?* Together donors gifts were the critical empowering *agency* that made Trey's dream of graduate school come true (e.g. *Miller receives departmental funds, including full fellowship support for the first two years as well as a guaranteed teaching or research assistant stipend for five years.*) However, that action is past, and the real focus now is the *agency* of paying the donor back for their kindness through a very personal story of one student, realized textually First through a biographical précis (*When the auto salvage business that Darwin "Trey" Miller's father ran in the 1990s went under, it could have spelled the end of Miller's academic aspirations*). Then Trey elaborates what the gift of a scholarship has meant to him (e.g. *"If it weren't for people giving money to programs like this, I would have never made it this far. I don't know if I would have been able to come here if I didn't have funding."*). The university also becomes an agency reinforcing Trey's comments (e.g. *Without such support, pursuing his dream at*

Stanford might have been out of reach.) Finally the university uses the act of thanking as an opportunity to enlist those reading as *co-agents* by making a gift to help more students like Trey. (e.g. *Find out more about graduate fellowships and other campaign priorities in the School of Humanities and Sciences*.)

5.) *Motive—why*? Burke developed his pentad as his heuristic device for literary criticism to tease out of a text, "what is involved, when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it" (1945, p. 1)? His pentad was designed to discern the *whats* (acts of individuals) and the *whys* (motives for their acts). In the Stanford text these questions can be answered by turning again to the elements of Burke's *pentadic ratios* to discern which elements among the five rise to dominance in the discourse. Those that dominate include sections on the personal biography of Trey and his experiences at Stanford. Anyone reading this who had given a scholarship is immediately *paid* what Kotler calls a psychic benefit in his philanthropic exchange model (1988, pp. 6-8). In return for their kindness, those who read this text hear how a deserving student, whose hard-working family has faced business reversals, is using the opportunity afforded by their generosity to the fullest. They see in his story, an example of why they were originally motivated to make a scholarship gift. In comparison, the University of Wisconsin text reviewed in connection with Dimension 1 refers to *categories* of human beings, not to any individual people. Even then, it uses the category words of graduate and undergraduate not as *head nouns*, but as *attributive adjectives* in connection with the real focus—programs (e.g. *undergraduate participation* and *graduate student overseas research and training opportunities*). While the University of Wisconsin's focus is on programs, Stanford's focus is on people—direct quotes by the beneficiary of scholarship help are used to reinforce the importance of the *agent's acts* by giving. In addition, a poignant yet brief biographical sketch becomes an *agency* of thanks as it paints a picture of a student whose family has experienced life-altering economic loss, creating a need. Additional statements by the narrator (which Labov and Waletzky describe with their term *evaluation*) further reinforce the value of scholarship help.

So the *motive* of the writer here is to portray an appealing character (Trey Miller) who needed a help (family business went bust), and those who helped made the dream of one student (Trey) come true (he is able to study full time, rather than having to also hold down a job). Of course, underlying that thanks and the story is the hope that the communication will engender additional gifts as evidenced in the closing line of the screen. While two sets of acts (the donors giving and the recipient's act of thanking) are evident here, the real focus is not on the gift (which is past), but on the act of thanks and solicitation (which is present). The following

describes linguistic features identified in this text, which are associated with narrative discourse. First I treat the linguistic features per se. Then after I comment on the copy from the perspectives of other discourse analysts.

The writer of the Stanford text immediately grabs reader attention by painting a word picture in the *orientation* of his family's economic circumstances. Like the Covenant House letter, there is no abstract signaling what is to come. Rather, the first words set the scene immediately using *past tense verbs* (e.g. *When the auto salvage business that Darwin "Trey" Miller's father* ***ran*** *in the 1990s* ***went*** *under, it could have* ***spelled*** *the end of Miller's academic aspirations*.) Next additional *past* scenes are described out of Trey's educational background (e.g. *Miller* ***earned*** *his undergraduate degree in economics at the University of Texas, Austin, and is pursuing his PhD at Stanford, studying industrial organization and game theory.*) The *past* tense is used to acknowledge past gifts from (e.g. *he is grateful to the donors who* ***made*** *graduate education possible for him*) and finally to describe his choice of Stanford for graduate education (*that's why I* ***chose*** *to come here*).

The evidence of narration by use of ten third person pronouns: (*With the inability of* ***his*** *family to provide financial support,* ***he*** *is grateful to the donors who made graduate education possible for* ***him***.) These elements parallel what Labov and Waletzky (1967) describe as the orientation phase of a narrative.

Public verbs signal the tone of reported speech. The tone, unlike the Covenant House letter, has the ring of News and thus misses some of the intimacy of the Covenant House text using the student's last name or a the pronoun (e.g. *Miller* ***says****; he* ***says****; he* ***says***), despite the familiar beginning (*Darwin "Trey" Miller's father*).

Three instances of synthetic negation (no, neither or nor versus the use of not) create a dramatic sense of the rigors of life at Stanford as a graduate student, emphasizing how important the gift of scholarship assistance has been to Trey (e.g. *there is* ***no*** *place he would rather be, There's* ***no*** *time to do anything but study, There's* ***no*** *way I could have had a part-time job on top of that*).

Adding to the sense of intensity of synthetic negation are participial constructions (e.g. *is* ***pursuing*** *his PhD at Stanford,* ***studying*** *industrial organization and game theory*; ***giving*** *money to programs;* ***including*** *full fellowship;* and ***pursuing*** *his dream; When you're not* ***sleeping*** *or* ***eating****, you're basically* ***studying***). Together these eight participles depict an image of intense activity, demonstrating that when a student gets a scholarship, they recognize it an incredible gift and work hard to be worthy of it. While the Covenant House letter painted a picture of imminent danger and offered readers the chance to rescue children from slavery, the Stanford text paints a picture of imminent success that was just out of Trey's reach, but then nudged within grasp by the kindness of strangers who gave so he could attend graduate school at Stanford. In the former instance donors

become saviors, in the latter they become benefactors joining a tradition dating back to the like those who were benefactors to the English medieval universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Cobban, 2001). In both cases the rhetorical structure conceived is realized at the micro level by word choices and syntax that cut *narrative windows* into the text and create *connecting narrative moments*.

Parsing the text's opening sentence in light of Labov and Waletzky's framework of narrative construction, the prose skips their step of *abstract* in which a speaker signals a verbal move to claim the floor in the turn-taking cycle of conversation before beginning a narrative. Because this is written prose, the floor is already held. But for how long? The challenge is to keep it. That means moving immediately into Labov and Waletzky's *orientation* stage. Stanford's text does this with a 26-word opening sentence that is multi-layered. First it transports the reader to a past loss (e.g. *When the auto salvage business that Darwin "Trey" Miller's father ran in the 1990s went under, it could have spelled the end of Miller's academic aspirations*). What is not explicitly stated but brought to mind are several poignant images associated with the business going under. First is the iconic metaphor of *going under*. Though a cliché, it works because it is conveys such a familiar tragic image. Adding to the familiarity is the emotion implied—a son who witnessed his father's struggle to keep the family business afloat. Trey had stood by powerless to help as his father finally succumbed to the current and his business was dragged beneath the surface. One senses the son's fear, anger, and helplessness. Several additional images are brought to mind by the event: a family whose accomplishments exemplify Americans' commitment to industry, entrepreneurial willingness to sacrifice and take risks, the fulfillment of a family's dream of self-sufficiency achieved through their own enterprise, then the loss of that dream and the family's livelihood. The context suggests that the business reversal may have been beyond the father's control—perhaps due to the effects of global out-sourcing. Regardless of cause, the reader feels that everything this family has worked for now hangs in jeopardy—perhaps their home, and certainly the dream of helping their son pursue graduate education. The latter is stated explicitly (*it could have spelled the end of Miller's academic aspirations*). But much is left to readers' imaginations. And for some, their minds continue to churn through the images the writer has suggested by deliberately sketching this evocative scene. Others may have simply glossed over the first sentence unaffected. But the image was intended for the first group of readers, many of whom may own their own businesses and understand what it is to struggle. They identify.

The text then turns quickly to the positive (e.g. *Instead, the business upset turned into prime motivation for the native of Waco, Texas, who wanted to understand the market forces that affected his family's lives.*) Even though the text has

moved on, for those who *did* identify with the scene, many may be pausing now to re-trace what they just read. They may be reflecting on all that loosing a business means to a family. Like grief over the death of a loved one, the implications the initial scene etched are probably still lingering. The reader may be feeling the family's grief even though the text has moved on. This lingering effect of the Stanford text's first line has the impact that the opening scene of a film seeks to create. The Stanford letter's scene evokes what Aristotle describes in *Rhetoric* as *pity*: "a feeling of pain caused by the sight of some evil, destructive or painful, which befalls one who does not deserve it. We pity those who are like us in age, character, disposition, social standing, or birth; for in all these cases it appears more likely that the same misfortune may befall us also" (1954, Book II, 8). So the Stanford text's opening scene, a small 26-word *narrative window*, makes *emotional contact* like the opening scene of the film *Contact* does because, as Aristotle concludes, "what we fear for ourselves excites our pity when it happens to others" (Aristotle, Book II, 8).

Just as the category of *abstract* in Labov and Waletzky's narrative framework was ignored in the Stanford text, similarly the *orientation* gets short shrift, with the setting of Waco and Austin only briefly occurring in the first two sentences concurrent with the *complicating action* of family business collapse. The *reportable event*, the fact that the family's financial setback jeopardized Trey's chance to earn his PhD, as discussed above, is mentioned in the first clause, but not developed, yet the metaphorical power of the story makes it work. Then the *result or resolution* comes as the text fast forwards past his undergraduate studies at UT Austin to the time of the text, his first year in the PhD program at Stanford. The resolution is articulated by the university development officer who wrote the text (e.g. *Miller receives departmental funds, including full fellowship support for the first two years as well as a guaranteed teaching or research assistant stipend for five years.*) The same author/narrator provides a point of *external evaluation* to the flow of the narrative (*Without such support, pursuing his dream at Stanford might have been out of reach.*) And Trey provides *embedded evaluation* that is part of the ebb and flow of his story (e.g. *There's no way I could have had a part-time job on top of that*). Finally the narrator offers a *coda* of sorts by referring to the university's web site to learn more about helping students through scholarship gifts (*Find out more about graduate fellowships and other campaign priorities in the School of Humanities and Sciences*). This Stanford text's standardized score of 3.54, among more 2,412 texts whose average standardized scores are –3.0 on Dimension 2, is quite good. Yet as good as it is by comparison, it still lacks detail. The text, which follows does not have as high a narrative score as the Covenant House or Stanford samples, nonetheless makes up for what it lacks with

the details and a strong and more explicit story line, elements Tannen (1989) claims create interpersonal involvement.

Text 101-e-6-f, presented in Figure 4.33 on the following page, is from the web site of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC). At only 309 words, it ranks 349th out of 1,308 electronic texts on Dimension 2, and 537th out 2,412 texts overall (electronic and paper texts combined). The Raw Factor 2 Mean Score for text 18-e-8-b is -1.70 and its standardized *z*- score is -1.5, placing it on Biber's Dimension 2 scale between press reviews, which scored -1.6, and personal conversations, which scored -2.1. Compared to the very low mean score of - 3.0 for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as a whole on narrative, this text, while not scoring as high as the Covenant House or Stanford samples, is sill more than 1.5 standard deviations above the average Dickerson IRS 880 text. And what the text lacks vis-à-vis linguistic markers associated with narrative, it more than makes up for in the vivid detail that Tannen (1989) argues, make texts more involving. The text contains elements that linguistic tagging is unable to capture, demonstrating that corpus linguistics methods must be used in concert with qualitative judgments. The JDC text was chosen to illustrate narrative fund-raising discourse because it has a particularly moving narrative, made effective by its level of detail, plot, tension, and other elements Longacre (1996) associates with the *grammar of discourse*. Unlike the iconic images evoked by the Stanford, this text is explicit. Yet like the Stanford text, the *connecting narrative moment* does not take pages of copy to present. However, though the text is short, it may have many hours to create. Because several Yiddish, German, Ukrainian and Hebrew words and place names may make reading the text difficult for those not among its intended audience, I have supplied a brief glossary below in Figure 4.32. Following the presentation of the text, Figure 4.34 will list salient linguistic features supporting narrative, then I will once again discuss the discourse using Kenneth Burke's dramatistic paradigm.

Word	Key Word Definitions for JDC text
Einsatzgruppen	The German word for *task force*. Refers to paramilitary groups formed by Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich, and operated by the SS and SD as death squads, killing Jews, gypsies and citizens of Soviet lands before and during World War II. (Rhodes, 2002)
shtetl (ש טעטל)	The word for a small town with a sizable Jewish population in Central and Eastern Europe.
Hesed (חסד)	The Hebrew word for lovingkindness and loyalty. *MobileHesed* is a coined word used by JDC for its *mobile* program that assists the needy among needy Jews throughout Central and Eastern Europe in places like Ukraine.
Korostishev **(now Korostyshev)**	A 500 year-old town near Kiev in Ukraine. It has a population of about 20,000. In 1900 the Jewish population was 4,160 and it was about 5,000 just prior to World War II, and there were six synagogues in the village. During the war, 2,000 Jews from this community were killed and there are presently only about eighty Jews still living in Korostishev, located at 50°19' N, 29°04' E.

Figure 4.32 Definitions of key words in Jewish Joint Distribution Committee text

Text 101-e-6-f: Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
Raw Factor 2 Mean Score: -1.70; Standard Deviation: 1.93; Standardized *z*- Score: -1.5

Born in a small Ukrainian town, Syla learned to speak German from neighbors. This was rare among Jewish girls—so rare, in fact, it would eventually save her life and those of countless others. In 1941, Hitler's army occupied Ukraine. Einsatzgruppen, the Nazis' mobile killing squads, went from shtetl to shtetl in Ukraine and Belarus and murdered nearly every Jew they found. Speaking German without any trace of an accent, Syla managed to convince the occupiers that she and her three children were German. So the Germans gave her amnesty.

Syla often opened her home to Einsatzgruppen officers passing through. Serving food and beer, she paid close attention as the Nazis boasted about upcoming massacres. Syla created a crude but effective warning system for Jews in neighboring shtetls. Through her two sons—they made regular rounds under the cover of darkness—Syla delivered bags of salt to the doorsteps of Jews targeted for slaughter. Upon seeing the salt, the neighbor knew he and his family had less than 24 hours to flee eastward.

It's impossible to know how many Jews Syla saved. But we do know that this woman does not live like she should. She is widowed. Two of her three children have died, and she does not have contact with the third. Her dilapidated, two-room hovel in the shtetl of Korostishev has neither electricity nor running water. Due to leg ulcerations and arthritis, she is almost completely immobile; she also suffers from asthma.

Through JDC's HesedMobile, which delivers life-sustaining materials and services to elderly Jews in more than 2,200 remote locations throughout the Former Soviet Union, Syla receives homecare, Meals-on-Wheels, holiday food packages, medication and medical consultations, emergency home repairs, blankets and heating fuel for the bitter winter months.

“I want to thank people like you,” Syla says “for not forgetting people like me.”

How could we?

Figure 4.33. Jewish Joint Distribution Committee text illustrates narrative.

Linguistic features that mark text 101-e-6-f as focused on narrative (Raw Factor 2 Mean Score: -1.70; Standard Deviation: 1.93; Standardized *z*- Score: -1.5)

1. Past tense verbs

   learned, was, occupied, went, murdered, managed, were, gave, paid, created, made [past progressive aspect], delivered, saved

2. Third person pronouns

   Her, she, her, she, her, he, she, She, her, she, Her, she; she

3. Perfect aspect verbs

   opened, targeted, had less than 24 hours, children have died, does not have contact

4. Public verbs

   boasted, says

5. Synthetic negation

   has neither electricity nor running water

6. Present participial clauses

   Speaking German, passing through, Serving food and beer, upcoming massacres, neighboring shtetls, seeing,

Figure 4.34. Linguistic features mark Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for narrative content.

I again use Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad to analyze he JDC text rhetorically and linguistically.

1.) *Act—What* was done? As with the Stanford text, two notable *acts* are present in this narrative. First, there are the courageous *acts* carried out by Syla and her two sons who, under cover of darkness during World War II, left bags of salt at the front doors of Jewish homes in neighboring small towns (shtetls) to warn families that they were next on the Eisnsatzgruppen's hit list of families to kill. Second is a current-day act of reciprocity carried out by JDC which is helping Syla as she once helped those who were in dire straits (e.g. *Syla receives homecare, Meals-on-Wheels, holiday food packages, medication and medical consultations, emergency home repairs, blankets and heating fuel for the bitter winter months.*) In addition to the example of assistance Syla receives, JDC bridges from the one individual to the larger scope of their charity work (*life-sustaining materials and services to elderly Jews in more than 2,200 remote locations throughout the Former Soviet Union*).

2.) *Scene—When* and *where* did the action occur? Unlike the Stanford letter, much more detail is provided in the JDC text. The location comes in the first words of the story (e.g. *Born in a small Ukrainian town*). Then as the action unfolds, the stage of action is expanded and set in the time frame of historical context is set (*Hitler's army occupied Ukraine. Einsatzgruppen, the Nazis' mobile killing squads, went from shtetl to shtetl in Ukraine and Belarus and murdered nearly every Jew they found*). Then the scene focuses (*in neighboring shtetls*) and expands once again (*the neighbor knew he and his family had less than 24 hours to flee eastward*). Finally, the historical context is replaced with a modern-day *scene* in Ukraine (*Her dilapidated, two-room hovel in the shtetl of Korostichev has neither electricity nor running water*). Then the scene grows to include the larger scope of their charity work note above (e.g. *more than 2,200 remote locations throughout the Former Soviet Union*).

3.) *Agent—Who did it*? In the Covenant House letter the agents were those on the Crisis van team, in the Stanford text the agents were donors and the Stanford development staff who made Trey Miller's scholarship possible, in the JDC letter, Syla and her sons in the truest sense of the word are hero-agents and now the narrative fast forwards to current day Ukraine where JDC is supporting these forgotten heroes. JDC and those who support their good work are modern-day hero agents, coming to the aid of those whose helped those in dire need in the past.

4.) *Agency—how was the act accomplished*? Secretly, Syla and her sons warned neighbors they were on the Eisnsatzgruppen's hit list (e.g. *Through her two sons—they made regular rounds under the cover of darkness—Syla delivered bags of salt to the doorsteps of Jews targeted for slaughter.*) Today, JDC delivers to Syla what she can no longer provide for herself in her old age and failing health. Through the moral equivalent of he crisis van described in the

Covenant House letter, JDC reaches out to Syla and others through their mobile assistance program (e.g. *Through JDC's Hesed*Mobile*, which delivers life-sustaining materials and services to elderly Jews).*

5.) *Motive*—*why*? Burke observed that the element of dramatistic pentad were "in their sparseness much like the so-called 'Journalistic W's'—*who, what, where, when, why, etc.*—except that mine were chosen to accentuate the 'dramatistic' nature of the lot, with 'act' as 'foremost among equals'" (1978, p. 331). He adds that he derived his questions from the mediaeval Latin hexameter: *quis* (who), *quid* (what), *ubi* (where), *quibus auxiliis* (by what means), *cur* (why), *quomodo* (how), *qunado* (when)" (1978, p. 332). However, as helpful as the simple set of questions is in analyzing a text, Burke clarifies:

> But my stress is less upon the terms themselves than upon what I would call the "ratios" among the terms. . . .Insofar as men's actions are to be interpreted in terms of circumstances in which they are acting, their behavior would call under the heading of a "scene-act ratio." But insofar as their acts reveal their different characters, their behavior would fall under the heading of an "agent-act ratio." For instance, in a time of great crisis, such as a shipwreck, the conduct of all persons involved in that crisis could be expected to manifest in some way the motivating influence of the crisis. Yet, within such a "scene-act ratio," there would be a range of "agent-act ratios," insofar as one man was "proved" to be cowardly, another bold, another resourceful, and so on. (1978, p. 332-333)

Burke's analogy of a shipwreck vis-à-vis *pentadic ratios* parallels quite well with the JDC text about their client Syla's World War II experiences. That *scene* had been dominated by Eisnsatzgruppen death squads, which threatened Syla's neighbors. In that *scene* she had exhibited inventiveness (pretending to be German), acting skills (feigning hospitable motives in entertaining the task force members), perceptivity (listening intently and overhear the death squad's plans), stealth (not drawing attention to her covert activity) bravery (willingness to risk her life and the lives of her sons to help neighbors). In Burke's terms, the *scene* certainly *proved* the person—that she recognized evil and took action to work against it.

Burke notes that his pentadic ratios allow for ten views "scene-act, scene-agent, scene-agency, scene-purpose, act-purpose, act-agent, act-agency, agent-purpose, agent-agency, and agency-purpose" (1945, p. 15). In considering the relationship between an act and the agent, he cites a former White House cabinet member who observed that "the sheer nature of an office, or position, is said to produce important modifications in a man's character" (1945, p. 16). The *act* (of having to rise to the occasion of occupying such a position of profound responsibility), Burke argues, influences the *agent* (the political *candidate* now turned *commander-in-chief*) who grows quickly to fill the role. The act transforms the person. In another way of viewing the ratios, Burke alludes to the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union at the time of Syla's bravery. Some commentators of the time explained the Russian people's *act* (resistance) in terms of, and as a result of the *scene* (these commentators

suggested the resistance was motivated by the context of Soviet's commitment to communism). While these pundits viewed the resistance in terms of a *scene* motivating an *act*, others believed Russian resistance to the Nazis reflected an *agent-act ratio* and thus located the motivation at a more basic level. Burke cites news reports in a major newspaper that asked

> if Hitler failed "to evaluate a force older than communism, more instinctive than the mumbling cult of Stalin—the attachment of the peasant masses to 'Mother Russia,' the incoherent but cohesive force of Russian patriotism." And it concluded that "the Russian soldier has proved the depth of his devotion to Russian soil." Patriotism, attachment to the "mother," devotion to the soil—these are essentially motives located in the agent (1945, p. 17).

Similarly, Syla's resistance to the Nazis in neighboring shtetls (which was contemporaneous with Burke's writing in the early 19402) can be explained using the perspective of the *agent-act ratio*. While *scene* of Eisnsatzgruppen terrorists necessitated her *acts* (scene-act ratio), her *motivation* to take the great risks to which Syla and her family were deeper too. Her acts were understandable not as the press suggested of Russian patriots (committed to the land) but were more basic still—commitment to the value of human life. Syla's motivations become clear when the story is evaluated in terms of the underlying values that drove her brave actions (an evaluation from an agent-act ratio). Her values drove her action. In a simplistic but effective analogy, like a toothpaste tube, when people are pressured, what's is inside comes out. In Syla's case, the presence of the Einsatzgruppen brought out the best in her. It revealed her belief in and commitment to the value of human life.

In anything *but* a simplistic analogy, the roots of the Jewish tradition of *hesed* to which the JDC text appeals (Burkean *agent-act* ratio found in loving kindness and loyalty) are exemplified in the biblical story of Ruth, summarized below. *Hesed* explains the motive not only behind the text of this fund appeal and JDC's larger *acts* of charity through the *agency* of its *Hesed*Mobile. First a comparison with the previous letters reviewed. The Covenant House text gave the reader a sense of the presence of a deeper subtext analogous to the Arc of Noah, built to save humankind. The Covenant House version may have been a Dodge van, but it was a rescue vessel too—saving children from prostitution. Stanford's text contained iconic images of American entrepreneurship, overpowering market forces that drowned a business, and Trey's rescue by generous donors. The deeper subtext in the JDC narrative lies in the Jewish the notion of *hesed* exemplified in another biblical story from Hebrew and Christian scriptures which recounts how Naomi, an Israelite who has lost her husband and two sons in the land of Moab, decides to return to Israel. Her daughter-in-law, Ruth, expresses her loyalty

to Naomi by committing to return with her mother-in-law to Israel, despite the prospect that life would be hard. Ruth refuses to abandon Naomi and makes a moving commitment reflecting *hesed*:

> Don't urge me to leave you or to turn back from you. Where you go I will go, and where you stay I will stay. Your people will be my people and your God my God. Where you die I will die, and there I will be buried. May the LORD deal with me, be it ever so severely, if anything but death separates you and me. (Ruth 1: 16, 17)

The story of Ruth goes on to mention other concrete examples of *hesed*, with which notion readers who had been brought up in a Jewish families would have been familiar. *Hesed* was expressed as Ruth helped the older Namoi by gleaning for left-over grain—assuming from the context, that the Naomi may have been unable to work (as Syla in the JDC text was no longer able to work and was in poor health). The custom of gleaning itself was an ancient provision in Levitical law, designed as a face-saving charity mechanism, whereby the needy were afforded a way to could provide for themselves, and is itself a fundamental example of *hesed* that also allowed the needy to maintain their dignity.

The writer of the JDC text was probably aware that his or her readership was quite aware of the biblical story of Ruth, and its multiple examples of *hesed*. The story of Syla is not dissimilar from that of Naomi. A widow who survived the terrors of World War II. A woman now too old to care for herself. A widow who needs a redeemer like as Boaz, who redeemed Ruth and her mother-in-law Naomi. A redeemer in JDC who acts as a surrogate kinsman for those who have survived their loved ones and are now unable to care for themselves.

Shared knowledge like that assumed by the writers of the preceding three narratives is described by Schiffrin (1987) as a component of the discourse's *information state*. That is, writers are often aware of their readers meta-knowledge, which Schiffrin defines as "what speakers and hearers know about their respective knowledge, and what parts of each knowledge base one knows (or assumes to know) the other to share" (p. 28). In the end, the message is mediated by very specific linguistic features that are deployed to draw on that knowledge to paint word pictures that move the reader to know, feel, and in the case of a fund-raising letter, to do—to give.

Delivering the story of Syla to the reader is a web of linguistic features that again strongly mark the text as narrative. The following isolates some of the linguistic features in this text deployed to these ends. Most were salient features on Biber's Dimension 2, measuring features that co-occur in texts with narrative focus. A few were non-salient but useful in analyzing the text from the perspective of Labov and Waletzky's narrative

framework and Burke's dramatistic pentad. As noted above, non-salience while related to then statistical profile of a text in terms of frequencies of linguistic features does not equally suggest irrelevance. It simply means that non-salient terms were not used to calculate a text's *z*-score.

The first linguistic feature in the text is actually a past participle opening clause that is noteworthy for its function of establishing the birthplace of the protagonist, Syla. It serves the Labov and Waletzky framework function of *orientation* and describes what Burke's dramatistic pentad calls the *scene* (e.g. *[Having been]* ***born*** *in a s mall Ukrainian town*). The verb born is one of few verbs that Biber et al. note "occur idiosyncratically only in the passive" (1990, p. 479).

Next the writer presents another critical *orientation* fact for the story, expressed in simple past tense (*Syla* ***learned*** *to speak German from neighbors*). A nonsalient verb that scores higher on Dimension 1 (the copula be used as a main verb) links the demonstrative pronoun *this* with the attributive adjective *rare* to describe more about Syla (*This* ***was*** *rare among Jewish girls*). Then the writer repeats herself (*so rare, in fact, it would eventually*). Halliday and Hasan (1976) calls this usage *reiteration* that helps give the text cohesion in which "one lexical item refers back to another, to which it is related by having a common referent" (1976, p. 278). Tannen (1989) similarly refers to repetition as an important *conversational* technique used to create involvement. Here the repetition also adds to a description of the *scene* that will be important in giving her story additional *coherence* because it underscores Syla's ability to gather intelligence. Longacre describes the use of such repetition as *rhetorical underlining* in which the "narrator does not want you to miss the important point of the story so he employs extra words . . . one of the simplest and most universal devices for making the important point not only of a narration but of other sorts of discourse as well" (1996, p. 39). Fitting this into the Labov and Waletzky framework, the narrator here gives a foreshadow of what the story is going to tell in this brief *evaluative* section of copy.

Next the *scene* is further established by more *orientation* that cites the iconic symbol of evil in twentieth century—the Third Reich's army on the march. Here the *past tense* verb fixes the event with a specific date (e.g. *In 1941, Hitler's army* ***occupied*** *Ukraine*.) Then two more past tense verbs describe the antagonists (e.g. *the Nazis' mobile killing squads,* ***went*** *from shtetl to shtetl in Ukraine and Belarus and* ***murdered*** *nearly every Jew they found*). Then another past participial construction, though was not salient for calculating Dimension 2's score, was useful in setting the *scene* through *orientation* (***Speaking*** *German without any trace of an accent*). Linguistically, this participial construction is described by Biber et al. as a *verb of facilitation*, and "although they are most common

in post-predicate position, *ing*-clauses can also occur in subject and subject predicative positions" (1999, p. 739). The next *past tense* verb controls an infinitival complement clause (*Syla* ***managed to convince*** *the occupiers that she and her three children were German*). Biber et al. categorizes such clauses into ten major semantic domains:

> Speech act verbs (e.g. *ask*, *tell*, *warn*); other communication verbs (e.g. *show*, *prove*); cognition verbs (e.g. *assume*, *consider*, *expect*, *find*); perception verbs (e.g. *feel*, *see*, *hear*); verbs of desire (*hope*, *wish*, *like*); verbs of intention or decision (e.g. *decide*, *choose*, *plan*); verbs of effort (e.g. *try*, *manage*, *fail*); verbs of modality or causation (e.g. *help*, *let*, *persuade*, *get*); aspectual verbs (e.g. *start*, *continue*, *cease*); verbs of existence/occurrence, or some with a probability meaning (e.g. *seem*, *appear*, *happen*, *turn out*). (1999, p. 693)

The controlling *verb of effort* for the infinitive *to convince* was *manage*. Its use here caused the copy to flow like a short fictional story by establishing the fact that Syla's ruse worked, as succinctly put in five words (e.g. *So the Germans gave her amnesty*.) Linguistically, the linking adverb *so* completes the definitional work begun in the previous sentence and establishes the foundational premise of Syla's cover story. Biber et al. identify six semantic categories of linking adverbials: enumeration and addition; summation; apposition; result/inference; contrast/concession, transition (1999, pp. 875-589). These uses are prominent in narratives such as Syla's story in "having a primary function of marking the relationship between two discourse units" (Biber et al., 1999, p. 879). The use of adverbs to connect and move the flow of discourse is not unlike the use in Academic Prose, where adverbial linking reflects the importance of marking "the connections between ideas and explicitly showing the development of logical arguments" (Biber et al., 1999, 562). In Syla's story it serves the narrative purpose of establishing a foundational fact upon which the story will be built.

The *scene* having now been set and the *orientation* to the reader complete, the next paragraph develops the story of what her position as a spy enabled her to accomplish, not with a simple *past tense* but *past progressive aspect verb* describing what she actually *did* (*Syla often* ***opened*** *her home to Einsatzgruppen officers passing through*). About the progressive aspect, Biber et al note; "The progressive aspect is used to describe activities or events that are in progress at a particular time, usually for a limited duration" (1999, p. 471). Then a *past participle* along with another *past progressive aspect* verb and a *past tense mental verb*, moves the plot further along. Together they describe yet another *complicating action* in the Labov and Waletzky framework (e.g. ***Serving food and beer**, she* ***paid close attention*****).** which is placed in context by an adverbial subordinator that describes the *scene* as one of terrorists planning their next killings (e.g**. *as the Nazis boasted*** *about upcoming massacres*). This clause also contains elements Labov and Waletzky describe as an *evaluative* element—here the word *boasted* clearly reveals Syla's view of the comments made. Biber classifies the verb *boasted* alternatively as a *public* verb (1988) and a

communication verb Biber et al. (1999). Quirk categorizes *public verbs* as one of two categories of *factual verbs*, which he notes "introduces what one might generally describe as factual or propositional information" (1985, p. 1180).

Another *complicating action* in the narrative is introduced by the *past tense verb* describing how Syla devised a system by which to save Jews who were next on the Einsatzgruppen officers' extermination list *(Syla* ***created*** *a crude but effective warning system for Jews in neighboring shtetls*). Then the non-salient past progressive aspect verb signals an ongoing activity that adds drama to the plot of the story, describing the efforts of Syla to warn neighbors about the Einsatzgruppen's upcoming activities. The drama peaks as the context places the agent (Syla) in dramatic tension against the story's antagonists (the Einsatzgruppen). First the ongoing aspect of her work of rescue is signified by use of *past progressive* (e.g. *Through her two sons—they* ***made*** *regular rounds under the cover of darkness*), then the past tense signals the actions taken (e.g. *Syla* ***delivered*** *bags of salt to the doorsteps of Jews targeted for slaughter.*) In the Labov and Waletzky narrative framework, this seems to be the reportable event—that Syla ran a covert warning system to circumvent the work of the Einsatzgruppen officers.

Quirk describes the use of past tense in three modes—an event, a state in the past, and as action that occurs habitually in the past in Figure 4.35. In the story of Syla, the work of warning Jews in neighboring shtetls is used in the sense of a habit of activity. Quirk distinguishes between two uses of past tense. In the first instance, the event or state "must have taken place in the past, with a gap between its completion and the present moment," and in the second, "the speaker or writer must have in mind a definite time at which the event/state took place" (1985, p. 183). The use here is deictic in the sense that it *points* to the past from a specific time in the present. However, the perfect or progressive aspect, which are not stated relative to the present (Quirk, 1985 p. 189).

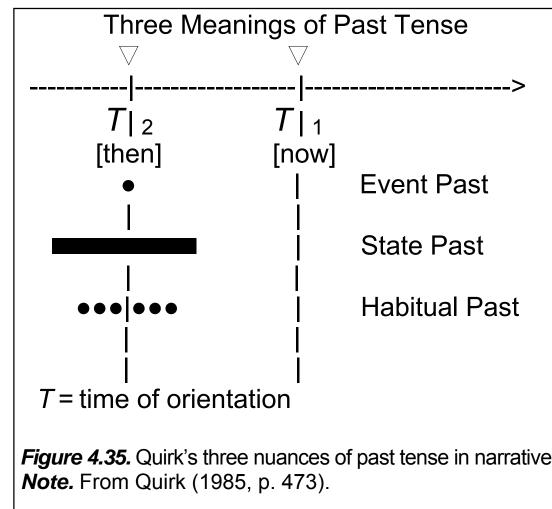


Figure 4.35. Quirk's three nuances of past tense in narrative. ***Note.*** From Quirk (1985, p. 473).

The evidence of narration is clear by use of thirteen third person pronouns (e.g. *Two of her three children have died*). In Labov and Waletzky's framework, the *result or resolution* in the story of Syla is summarized with a *past tense private verb of cognition*, used with an *adverbial participial* (e.g. *Upon seeing the salt, the neighbor knew he and his family had less than 24 hours to flee eastward*).

Labov and Waletzky's *coda* follows this dramatic description of the effect of Syla's work. The narrator summarizes the impact of her work, referring to her actions in the *habitual past tense* (e.g. *It's impossible to know how many Jews Syla saved*). The text then shifts to the present tense with the story serving as a point of reference from which the charity outreach to Syla and others like her is described. Use of *synthetic negation* underscores the impoverished conditions in which Syla, a true heroine, now lives (*Her dilapidated, two-room hovel in the shtetl of Korostichev has* ***neither*** *electricity* ***nor*** *running water*). The parallels to the story of the theme of lovingkindness from the biblical text of Ruth and the widow Naomi are implicit in the text, which captures a sense of her gratefulness for the help she receives from *Hesed*Mobile (e.g. "I want to thank people like you," Syla says "for not forgetting people like me"). Then the dramatic and succinct closing of the text adds a final *coda* and narrator *evaluation* in response to Syla's words of thanks. As if answering Syla directly following her thanks "for not forgetting people like me" the narrator replies (e.g. *How could we?*).

Dimension 3: Elaborated/Context versus Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent. Biber's third dimension of linguistic variation distinguishes between texts that contain more text-internal elaboration, thus making them more independent of context versus those texts that contain less text-internal elaboration, thus making them more dependent on context for understanding the writing or speech. Biber labels one end of the continuum on which text genres are arrayed on this dimension as labeled Elaborated / Context Independent. The other end of the continuum is labeled Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent.

As Table 4.16 illustrates, on the highly elaborated end of the continuum are official documents, professional letters, press reviews, and academic prose—texts that must stand apart from context. On the opposite end of the continuum are broadcasts and telephone conversations. For convenience, I repeat the salient features on Dimension 3 here in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 The Eight Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 3

Positive Features:			Negative Features:	
WH relative clauses on object positions	WH relative clauses on subject positions	Nominalizations	Time adverbials	Adverbs
Pied-piping constructions	Phrasal coordination		Place adverbials	

Table 4.16 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 3:

Context Independent versus Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent		Statistical Significance of Variance for 3 Paper/Elect Pairs: Y=Yes; N=No; #=Number of texts									
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: Y	
	BIBER Corpus:	N#: 316 ICIC Total	#: 2,412 IRS 80 Total	#: 1,104 IRS 880 Paper	#: 1,308 IRS 880 Elect	#: 1,988 IRS 735 Total	#: 841 IRS 735 Paper	#: 1,147 IRS 735 Elect	#: 424 IRS 145 Total	#: 263 IRS 145 Paper	#: 161 IRS 145 Elect
7.50											
7.25	**Official Documents 7.3**										
7.00											
6.75											
6.50	**Professional Letters 6.5**										E6.6
6.25											
6.00											
5.75					E5.7			E5.6			
5.50											
5.25											
5.00									T4.9		
4.75		T4.7	T4.6			T4.5					
4.50											
4.25	**Press Reviews 4.3 Academic Prose 4.2**										
4.00										P3.8	
3.75	**Religion 3.7**										
3.50											
3.25				P3.2							
3.00							P3.0				
2.75											
2.50											
2.25	**Popular Lore 2.3**										
2.00	**Press Editorials 1.9**										
1.75	**Biographies 1.7**										
1.50											
1.25	**Spontaneous Speeches 1.2**										
1.00											
0.75											
0.50											
0.25	**Prepared Speeches 0.3**										
0.00											
-0.25	**Press Reportage - 0.3 Hobbies - 0.3**										
-0.50	**Interviews -0.4**										
-0.75	**Humor - 0.8**										
-1.00											
-1.25											
-1.50	**Science Fiction - 1.4**										
-1.75											
-2.00											
-2.25											
-2.50											
-2.75											
-3.00	**General Fiction - 3.1**										
-3.25											
-3.50	**Mystery Fiction -3.6 Personal Letters - 3.6**										
-3.75	**Adventure Fiction -3.8**										
-4.00	**Face-to-Face Conversations - 3.9**										
-4.25	**Romantic Fiction - 4.1**										
-4.50											
-4.75											
-5.00											
-5.25	**Telephone Conversations - 5.2**										
-5.50											
-6.0											
-7.0											
-8.0											
-9.0	**Broadcasts - 9.0**										
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: Y	

IRS 880: DF: 1; Mean Sq: 3830.06935; F: 247.95; Pr > F: < 0.0001; R-Sq: 0.093286; Coeff. Var: 86.04833; Root MSE: 3.930265; Mean: 4.567508

Pair 1: α: .05; DF: 2410; Error Mean Square: 15.44698; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373 Means: 2; Critical Range: 0.3150

Pair 2: α: .05; DF: 1986; Error Mean Square: 15.88645; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 970.4497 Means: 2; Critical Range: 0.3549

Pair 3: α: .05; DF: 422; Error Mean Square: 12.80447; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 199.7311 Means: 2; Critical Range: 0.7038

The mean score for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as a whole on Dimension 3 was 4.6 (compared to 4.7 for the ICIC Corpus). Once again, there is no significant difference between the scores of the ICIC Corpus and the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Unlike the differentiations between texts located at diametric ends of their respective continua for Dimension 1 and Dimension 2, the linguistic features comprising dimension 3 reflect less about the essence of their content than their *context independence* or *situation dependence*. These notions are signaled by the presence (or absence) of specific linguistic features in the text, features that reflect the degree to which a text is *complete and portable and framed*.

First, the notion of *completeness* goes to the need to have enough detail to contain the author's intent without text-external reference so that would not need to be present for an utterance to make sense. For example, the statement "*please pass it down the row"* would make sense in a conversation where the speaker is pointing to an object the hearer sees. However, the lack of a visual cue when read by someone at a later time who is removed from the scene lacks the impact of the original utterance for those in a speech situation. To be adequate, the scene would need to be described to make the context clear. But even though this would help the reader *understand* the identify of the deictic reference, if the *it* were referring to a collection plate, for example, being passed down a row at a religious service, it does not further the purpose of the text to raise money. The notion of a text being complete in the sense of enabling the reader to respond by making a contribution is essential to effective fund-raising discourse. That is, a *context independent* document would include practical instructions about how to respond to the appeal that is built into the text (e.g. *I have enclosed an envelope with which you can send your tax-deductible gift*). In contrast, at a religious service where a collection is being made the situation would be *context dependent* (e.g. *when the collection plate is passed to you, please give as generously as you can*). In this case, the text internal reference while explicit, refers to a text external factor and would not apply to a reader for whom there is no plate being passed. Similarly, asking an individual in a letter to log on to an organization's website, while explicit, may be less convenient and somewhat annoying for a donor who does not have convenient access to a computer, or who simply might prefer the convenience of a return envelope at the very moment a letter is read (not to mention that having just read an appeal, the urge to give might be highest at that moment, which would suggest greater response would be gained by not making the reader take extra steps to give). So for fund-raising discourse, Biber's (1988) contrast between *context independence* and *situation dependence* is related to the degree to which texts are complete (have enough detail to act by sending a gift).

A second notion related to a text's *context independence* versus *situation dependence* characteristics is that of *portability*. While *completeness* is concerned with a text having enough information to enable a reader to act, *portability* is concerned with the extent to which a text can be read by any number if individuals at different times in different places without loss of meaning). For texts such as academic prose, a book of fiction, instructions on assembling a contraption, and other genres, *portability* is an important goal and reader benefit. However, the degree to which a fund-raising text is *portable* it is not *personal*. In the field of fund-raising, the folk wisdom expressed in the cliché *everyone's job is no one's job* makes sacrificing *portability* a good bargain if the more restricted text creates a text that would score higher on Dimension 1 for interpersonal involvement. That is, when asked personally individuals are more likely to give than when he they believe many have been asked, and they feel someone else will respond. This leads to the third implication of a discourse's score on dimension 3.

A third factor that evolves from the contrast between *situation dependence* and *context independence* is that of *audience/action frame*. Frame has two functions—to narrow the *audience* and narrow the *time of action*. For example, using variable data, *elaboration* in text can specify a reader with a vocative of direct address and a second person personal pronoun (e.g. ***Jack**, hope **you** can send a gift by June 30 when our fiscal year ends*). This works directly against the notion of a text being portable. However, the assumption justifying *constraining portability* is the argument that narrowing readership heightens the Dimension 1 (interpersonal involvement) character of the text. Second, *elaborating* the time frame by which a response is desired has a similar effect. On one hand, if a reader misses the deadline, that elaboration may dissuade a response at a later time since the time. On the other hand, tying an appeal to a specific need at a specific time, it is argued, heightens the dramatic tension, a feature effective narrative seeks to create that is particularly effective with matching appeals in which a donor agrees to match dollar for dollar responses to an appeal that are received by a specified time (e.g. *a generous donor has pledged to match any amount you give with an equal amount, meaning your gift of $1,000 will automatically be worth $2,000. But this applies only to gifts postmarked by August 3*).

The salient linguistic features on this dimension led Biber to interpret this dimension of features as representing a dimension that distinguishes "highly explicit and elaborated, endophoric reference from situation-dependent, exophoric reference" (1988, p. 142). The Greek roots of endophoric and exophoric illustrate the essential sense of the difference between high and low elaboration. Endophoric refers to that which is sourced within (*ἔνδοθεν* within + *φέρω* to carry or to bear) versus exophoric (*ἔξω* outside + *φέρω* to carry or to bear) (Chase and Phillips, 1972, pp. 200, 210). Thus the meaning of an endophoric text is carried

within the text itself, while endophoric discourse depends on meaning that is carried *outside* the text in circumstances related to the time, place, and persons responsible for the utterance.

So the degree to which texts are *context independent* or *situation dependent* affects text's *completeness*, their *portability*, and their *audience/action frame*. While the overall score for Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus texts was essentially the same as the ICIC Corpus, differences did exist between the Dickerson IRS 880 paper and electronic sub segments. Table 4.17 describes these differences:

Table 4.17 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 3

ICIC Corpus Total	IRS 880 Total	IRS 880 Paper	IRS 880 Electronic
4.7	4.6	3.2	5.7

Table 4.18 summarizes descriptive statistics and statistical significance:

Table 4.18 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 3

	Number of Texts	Per 1,000 Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Mean Square	F-Value	Pr > F
Total	2,412	4.57	4.13	-14.90	28.85	3830.06	247.95	<.0001

R-Square 0.093286 Coefficient of Variation 86.04833 Root Mean Squared Error 3.930265

I sorted on the standardized factor mean score field to rank order texts whose linguistic features are consistent with *elaborated* and *non-elaborated* text. The highest-ranking text for high elaboration is document 3-3-7-b from the Harvard School of Public Health. Conversely, the lowest ranking text on Dimension 3 for low elaboration is document 296-e-16-e from The Greater Boston Food Bank. I reproduce each text below in turn in Figures 4.36 and 4.38, noting the salient linguistic features of each in Figures 4.37 and 4.39 respectively, along with a discussion of findings.

The Harvard text presented in Figure 4.36, contains only 293 words and comes from the organization's website. It ranks first among 2,412 texts for high elaboration. The Raw Factor 3 Mean Score for text 3-3-7-b is 28.85 and its standardized *z*-score is 6.71, marking its level of elaboration as an extremely rare occurrence among the texts in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Following presentation of the text, I list linguistic features that mark the text for context independence in Figure 4.37.

Text 3-3-7-b: Harvard University School of Public Health
Raw Factor 3 Mean Score: 28.85; Standard Deviation: 4.13; Standardized *z-* Score: 5.88

A gift to the Harvard School of Public Health is a gift to improve the world's health.

Learning
Your donation provides scholarships and program support for many of the more than 900 highly qualified and committed students who come to the School each year—33 percent of whom are from outside the U.S., and many of whom could not come to Harvard without significant financial support.

Discovery
Your gift supports the research and programs of more than 370 faculty members addressing the world's greatest public health threats in more than 80 countries worldwide.

Innovation and Communication
Your donation funds faculty efforts to strengthen health capacities and services for communities, to inform policy debate, to disseminate health information, and to increase awareness of public health as a public good and fundamental right worldwide.

Figure 4.36. Harvard School of Public Health text illustrates elaborated/context independent.

Linguistic features that mark text 3-3-7-b as elaborated and context independent

1. *WH*-relative clauses on object positions
   who

2. Pied piping construction
   of whom, of whom

3. Phrasal coordination
   and, and, and, and, and, and, and

4. Nominalizations
   donation, Innovation, Communication, donation, awareness

Figure 4.37. Linguistic features mark Harvard School of Public Health text elaborated/context independent

In describing what Dimension 3 measures, Biber notes that

> three different forms of relative clauses are grouped as the primary positive features on Factor 3: WH relative clauses on object positions, WH relative clauses on subject positions, and pied piping constructions. In addition, phrasal coordination and nominalizations have smaller positive weights on this factor. The three forms of WH relative clauses can all be considered as devices for the explicit, elaborated identification of referents in a text. (1988, p. 110)

Biber notes that sentence structure can be *extended* with noun phrases and prepositional phrases. His tagging routines successfully identify in the Harvard text, three grammatical extensions in the form of *WH*-relative clauses that add greater definition to those coming to the school (e.g. *committed students* ***who*** *come to the School each year*). Next, Biber refers to pied piping construction in which a *WH*-phrase that drags along with it a

noun or prepositional phrase to again increase informational load. Biber's tagging algorithm isolates prepositions along with *WH*-pronouns *who*, *whom*, *whose* and *which* (e.g. *33 percent* ***of whom*** *are from outside the U.S., and many* ***of whom*** *could not come to Harvard without significant financial support*).

Next, Biber's algorithm tallies *and* as a phrasal coordinator that are used to connect phrases or clauses (e.g. *scholarships* ***and*** *program support*; *qualified* ***and*** *committed*; *from outside the U.S.,* ***and*** *many of whom*; *research* ***and*** *programs*; *health capacities* ***and*** *services*; *to disseminate health information,* ***and*** *to increase awareness*; *public good* ***and*** *fundamental right*).

Finally, Biber's algorithm for Dimension 3 identifies nominalizations and "interprets their function as conveying highly abstract (as opposed to situated) information0 (1988, p. 227). Tallied are all words ending in -*tion*, -*ment*, -*ness*, or -*ity*. The Harvard text contains four instances of nominalizations (e.g. *Your* ***donation*** *provides;* ***Innovation*** *and* ***Communication****; Your* ***donation****; to increase* ***awareness***).

As a whole, the linguistic features associated with the positive end of the Dimension 3 continuum give the Harvard School of Public Health text independence from situationally-bound exophoric deictic references. The opposite end of this spectrum s illustrated next using a text from The Greater Boston Food Bank. The Harvard text illustrates the flip side of the strength that is text independence. The flip side of text independence is the weakness that situational separation brings when that separation also means separation from human elements. While it would certainly have required more work to illustrate with a narrative *showing* an instance in which *your donation provides scholarships and program support*, it would certainly have given the text greater human-interest value. It seems that the writer may not have considered the value to the reader of a brief *connecting narrative moment* like that provided by the Stanford Text, which features how one person (Darren Trey Miller) benefited from financial help to pursue his Ph.D. in economics. Having written and consulted with executives who write fund-raising texts since 1969, I have observed that it is much more difficult to show the results of giving through specific examples (what some would call testimonials). It is far easier to describe generic categories of activities grouped as the Harvard text is under like paragraphs with neat topic headers, which form a deictic structure that reads like an academic text (*Learning, Discovery, Communication and Innovation*). It is easier to organize discourse in this fashion in that it can be done without bothering to be in touch with real people who may have been the beneficiaries of the gifts donors have given. Finding individuals, taking the time to meet or call them, preparing questions that cause interviewees to respond with rich detail—all that is very hard work that requires interviewing skills that do not come naturally to most people. I surmise that the writer

of the Harvard School of Public Health text 3-3-7-b may not have thought about the value of approaching the writing task from a more human-interest narrative approach. And as the survey data presented in this study shows, most executives in fund-raising at America's largest and most financially successful nonprofits receive scant formal training on writing the discourse of fund raising. So texts such as the one just analyzed are written for lack of organizational development resources to which Kotter, Schlesinger and Sathe (1986) refer in their research in the field of organization development and organization design. The training development component of organization design seems to be weak across the nonprofit sector in the area of writing the discourse of fund raising. Other areas are strong. This area is weak. What seems to be needed are educational and training resources from which guidelines and standards of performance in the area of communication can be developed. I take the example of analysis of this particular text to underscore this point, since one would assume that what is arguably the leading educational institution in the world would produce exemplary fund-raising text. I would argue that reputation and history competence do not guarantee. While text *independence* and *portability* between readers is important, this text ignores the need to ground philanthropy in the *anthropos* (human) part of the word *philanthropy* (*friend of human*). Harvard is a unique organization. It has a level of prestige that attracts funding probably no matter how well or poorly it communicates with its donors. Its reputation and history are its primary assets. Its most recently posted direct support level was $521.6 million. Overall revenue was $6.3 Billion. And excess of revenue after expenses was $3.3 Billion. Thus for Harvard, the issue of how their fund-raising discourse reads is really not a critical issue. However, other organizations with less robust reputations and less well-endowed benefactors must prove their worthiness to donors by what they *write*. And what they write must work hard to *show* (*μιμεῖσθαι*) versus just *tell* (*διηγέομαι*) the *human* (*ἀνθρωπος*) factor. Abstract categories of activity as shown in the Harvard text are long on the conceptual and short on human content. For lesser organizations, text *independence*, *portability*, and *audience/action frame* factors must not obscure the need to write about people in such a way that other people connect, care and give. The next text does a better job of achieving these three aims.

The Harvard text contains only 293 words and comes from the organization's website. It ranks first among 2,412 texts for high elaboration. The Raw Factor 3 Mean Score for text 3-3-7-b is 28.85 and its standardized *z*-score is 6.71, marking its level of elaboration as an extremely rare occurrence among the texts in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus.

The Greater Boston Food Bank contains 115 words and comes from the organization's website. It ranks first among 2,412 texts *lack* of elaboration and highest for *exophoric situational dependence*. The Raw Factor 3 Mean Score for The Food Bank text 296-e-16-e is -14.9 and its standardized *z*-score is 6.71, marking its level of elaboration as extremely rare in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as Harvard's converse characteristics of high elaboration make it rare. Figure 4.38 Presents the Greater Boston Food Bank text and Figure 4.39 lists linguistic features supporting it as not elaborated and situation dependent.

Text 296-e-16-e: Greater Boston Food Bank
Raw Factor 3 Mean Score: -14.90; Standard Deviation: 4.13; Standardized *z*- Score: - 4.7

Wanda's Story

"I'm not thinking clearly," she said. "When I was in prison, I got 3 squares a day. I'm having trouble getting by out here." "You're not going to try to go back in, are you?" asked Wanda's friend. "No way I'm going back there. I guess I just didn't expect it to be so hard out here." Wanda eventually found a homeless shelter in Lowell that receives its food from The Greater Boston Food Bank. For Wanda, food is an essential part of rebuilding her strength, keeping off the streets, and getting on the path to self-sufficiency.

This story is based on true events. In many instances, names and photos have been changed.

Figure 4.38. Greater Boston Food Bank text illustrates not elaborated/context dependent.

Linguistic features that mark text 296-e-16-e as not elaborated and situation dependent

1. Time adverbials
   when I was in prison

2. Place adverbials
   out here, back in, back there, out here, in Lowell, from The Greater Boston Food Bank, on the path

3. Adverbs (*place*, *time*, *process*, *contingency*, *extent/degree*, *addition/restriction*, *recipient*, and other adverbs showing "in what respect that action of state described in the clause is relevant or true" (Biber et al. 1999, p. 781) (e.g. *protected* ***against*** *the gale*, *what was* ***for*** *her a conflict*, *proceed* ***with*** *the run*)
   clearly, so hard, eventually found

Figure 4.39. Linguistic features mark Greater Boston Food Bank text not elaborated/context dependent content.

On the opposite pole of Dimension 3 are features that depend on exophoric reference to an immediate situation—conversation with another interactant, or perhaps to a reader the writer knows is looking at a picture as above (e.g. *names and photos have been changed*). A photograph become a paratextual deictic (pointing reference); that is, the text can set a context like that above by showing two individuals in conversation, making adding a paratextual dimension to the letter as the reader perceives one person in this case a client (e.g. *Wanda's Story*) and

the narrator as one describing the conversation. Biber notes that "conversation, fiction, and personal letters also include considerable reference to the physical and temporal situation of discourse production, even though it is only in conversation that a speaker and addressee actually share this situation." While the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus contains no conversation transcripts, it reports conversations in texts that resemble personal letters of which Biber notes: "in . . . personal letters, reader and writer share neither physical nor temporal context, yet familiarity with both is often assumed. (1988, p. 147)

The format of The Greater Boston Food Bank text is a report of *a personal conversation* that scores high for situation-dependence. It also contains elements of a narrative, as illustrated by the *evaluation* made by the initial *public or communication* verb as the story begins. In fact, the narrative nature of the text is quite clear by virtue of it very title (e.g. *Wanda's* ***story***). Unlike the Harvard text, a *person*, versus ideas, is the focal point of the discourse. Marking this text as not elaborated and situation dependent is its abundance of adverbs (16 out of 115 words for 28.7%), of which the first sentence use of an adverb of extent or degree. The first sentence is also marked for *interpersonal involvement* and *narrative* that reports a *personal conversation* between two people on an intense and personal subject. The personal nature of the discourse heightens interest. The *past tense public/communication verb* and a *third-person personal pronoun* mark the text for narrative and high levels of interpersonal involvement are marked by the use of the *present tense*, a *first person personal pronoun*, *analytic negation*, and the *private* verb thinking. Situation dependence is also implied by exophoric and cataphoric reference to a conversation partner:

Figure 4.40 illustrates how specific linguistic features in this particular text work together to create a sense of personal conversation, emotion, close proximity of two people in a conversation, narration by use of past tense, and adverbs which suggest an evaluative stance on the part of the narrator—the narrator notes the tone of the speaker and uses linguistic resources to add further meaning to the bare actions that occurred.

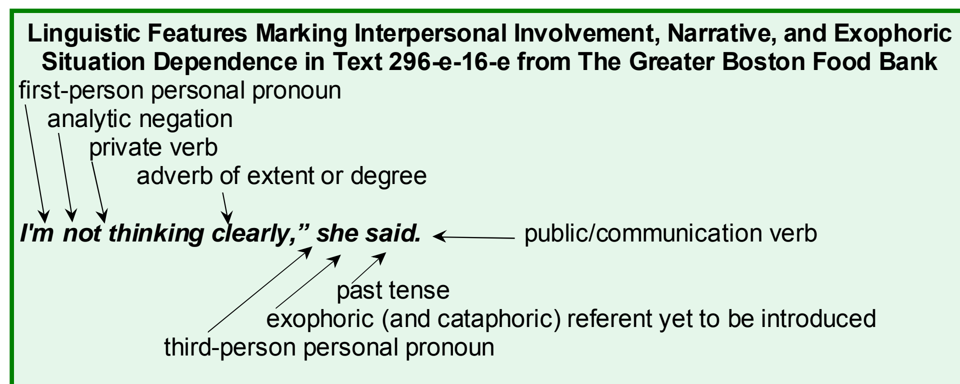


Figure 4.40 Multiple linguistic dimensions visible simultaneously in Greater Boston Food Bank text.

Biber et al. note that "adverbials are elements of clauses with three major functions: to add circumstantial information about the proposition in the clause, to express speaker/writer stance towards the clause, or to link the clause (or some part of it) to some other unit of the discourse" (1999. p. 763). Consistent with Quirk's view of adverbs as nebulous and puzzling is the view expressed in *LGSWE* that adverbials perform a variety of functions (e.g. as adding information or opinions, or just connecting discourse units), fulfill many semantic roles (e.g. specifying location, rationale, conceding, noting time, the agent of action, and attitude) and do so through a wide array of syntactic forms (e.g. through adverbs, prepositional phrases, clauses, and noun phrases). In addition, adverbials are positioned initially, medially, or finally; can occur multiple times; and are usually optional. However, to the extent that they play a large part in expressing context and personal viewpoint, optional applies is more a grammatical than rhetorical view.

In his MD analysis protocols, Biber notes that

> place and time adverbials are used for locative and temporal reference (e.g. *above*, *behind*; *earlier, soon*); these forms typically mark exophoric reference to places and times outside the text itself, often serving as deictics that can be understood only by reference to an external physical and temporal situation. The class of 'other adverbs' includes manner and other adverbials. (1995, p. 155)

Elsewhere Biber describes the functions of adverbials measured. The *circumstance adverbial class* answers "questions such as 'How, Where, How much, To what extent?' and 'Why?' (Biber et al., 1999, p. 763). In the Greater Boston Food Bank text, Wanda uses a *time adverbial* and a *place adverbial* to refer to a prior time she spent incarcerated (e.g. ***When*** *I was* ***in prison***) and the struggles faces in her new circumstance of freedom described by another *place adverbial* (e.g. *getting by* ***out here***). Her friend echoes the same *place adverbial* in the back and forth of conversation, questioning Wanda's intentions (e.g. *You're not going to try to go* ***back in***), to which Wanda again refers to prison using another *place adverbial* (e.g. ***back*** *there*). These five adverbials of *circumstance* are more narrowly *time* and *place adverbials* that answer the question about *where* the action of the discourse occurs. In this case it contrasts life in contrasting *places in* and *out* of prison and different times *then* and *now* as Wanda struggles with life ***out here***.

As the narrative progresses, other place adverbials in the text include a prepositional phrase that notes *when* and *where* Wanda found help on the outside (e.g. ***eventually*** *found a homeless shelter* ***in Lowell***). This pair of adverbials, one of *time* and another of *place* also represent the narrative device of speeding up time and getting to what Labov would characterize as the *result* or *resolution* in the narrative's flow. And in Burke's *dramatistic* scheme,

the Greater Boston Food Bank is portrayed as the agent in the drama as the organization that provides food to the homeless shelter. This *agency* role in the story is realized linguistically through an adverbial in the form of a prepositional phrase (e.g. *a homeless shelter in Lowell that receives its food* **from** *The Greater Boston Food Bank*).

The second class of adverbials noted in *LGSWE* are *stance adverbials* that Biber et al. observe "convey speakers' comments on what they are saying (the content of the message) or how they are saying it (the style). Stance falls into three categories: **epistemic, attitude and style**" (1999, p. 764). The *epistemic* stance is concerned with the truth value of a proposition and uses such words to express a nuanced view of certainty, reality, source credibility, limitations, and precision. For instance, in The Greater Boston Food Bank text, it is made clear that the story was *credible*, but altered to protect the privacy of the *source* (e.g. *This story is based on true events. In many instances, names and photos have been* changed). The *attitudinal stance* of the writer about the agency role the Food Bank plays in helping the homeless shelter who in turn helps people like Wanda is given expression through an *attitudinal stance adverbial* (e.g. *For Wand, food is an essential part of rebuilding her strength, keeping off the streets, and getting on the path to self sufficiency*). Not only does this express attitude, it also uses the repetition and parallel structure Tannen (1989) notes helps build involvement, communicated through three more adverbials (e.g. *rebuilding her strength* [circumstance adverbial answering the question 'How?'], *keeping off the streets* [circumstance adverbial answering the question 'Where?'], and *getting on the path to self sufficiency* [circumstance adverbial again answering the question 'Where?']).

Biber originally named the continuum defining Dimension 3 *Explicit versus Situation-Dependent* (1988), then later *Situation Dependent versus Elaborated Reference* (1995). I have used the label *Elaborated / Context Independent* versus *Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent*. This is an accurate description of what Biber's tagging routine marks and tallies in order to define and rank texts on this dimension. However, in a broader sense texts on the negative pole do not truly lack elaboration. Yes, they do lack the relative clauses that are indicators on the positive end of Dimension 3's continuum. However, vivid elaboration is provided in an even more robust manner through the conversational and narratives elements of the discourse. Taken as a whole these two elements provide a vivid form of elaboration by painting a word picture of the protagonist Wanda's life. A context is created through adverbials that are elaborative. We learn, for instance, of Wanda's criminal background, that she is struggling make it now that she is out of the system, and that help has come through two agents—the homeless shelter that The Greater Boston Food Bank. And the stance of the interactants in the reported conversation give through narrative what the relative clauses and pied piping constructions do for context independent texts. For this text,

that which is communicated through narrative and conversation provide vivid elaboration and without having to be there. The skill of the writer puts the reader as a silent observer in the room where the action occurs. The text is highly elaborated, just not with relative clauses. This is consistent with what Biber et al. observe in *LGSWE*:

> In many cases, the information in adverbials, though grammatically optional, is crucial for fully understanding the proposition in a clause. . . . Circumstance adverbials have the most varied functions in the class of adverbials, since they can add all types of circumstantial information (e.g. place, time, process, extent). It is thus also not surprising that they are the most common class of adverbial. Fiction makes it particularly frequent use of circumstance adverbials as it creates an imagined world. Adverbials are commonly used to describe the environment, the characters, and the action, and to make narrative relationships clear. (Biber et al., 1999, p. 766)

Dimension 4: Overt Expression of Argumentation. The linguistic features grouped on Dimension Four mark texts for overt attempts to persuade the reader. Biber notes that "most registers are unmarked with respect to this dimension, but professional letters and editorials are distinguished by a high frequency of these features, while press reviews and broadcasts are distinguished by the near absence of these features" (1995, p. 159).

Dimension 4 is unipolar, with only positive marking features. For convenience, I repeat the salient features for this factor in Table 4.19:

Table 4.19 The Six Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 4		
Positive Features:		
Infinitives	Susaive verbs	Necessity modals
Prediction modals	Conditional subordination	Split Auxiliaries

What is surprising in the texts reviewed is the virtual absence of sauasive verbs listed in Biber's linguistic tagging protocols (e.g. *agree*, *arrange*, *ask*, *beg*, *command*, *decide*, *demand*, *grant*, *insist*, *instruct*, *ordain*, *pledge*, *pronounce*, *propose*, *recommend*, *request*, *stipulate*, *suggest*, *urge*). Rather, as will be seen in the first two samples, notion of persuasion that include not just facts but the fuller context Aristotle laid out:

> There are, then, these three means of effecting persuasion. The man who is to be in command of them must, it is clear, be able (1) to reason logically, (2) to understand human character and goodness in their various forms, and (3) to understand the emotions—that is, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited (Book I:1)

Table 4.20 which follows presents descriptive statistics comparing dimensional scores from Biber's Corpus of 23 genres with those of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus and the ICIC Corpus on Dimension 4: Overt Expression of Argumentation.

Table 4.20 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 4:

Overt Expression of Argumentation		Statistical Significance of Variance for 3 Paper/Elect Pairs: Y=Yes; N=No; #=Number of texts									
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: Y	
	BIBER Corpus:	#: 316 ICIC Total	#: 2,412 IRS 880 Total	#: 1,104 IRS 880 Paper	#: 1,308 IRS 880 Elect	#: 1,988 IRS 735 Total	#: 841 IRS 735 Paper	#: 1,147 IRS 735 Elect	#: 424 IRS 145 Total	#: 263 IRS 145 Paper	#: 161 IRS 145 Elect
4.00											
3.75											
3.50	Professional Letters 3.5										
3.25											
3.00	Press Editorials 3.1										
2.75											
2.50											
2.25											
2.00											
1.75	Hobbies 1.7 Romantic Fiction 1.8										
1.50	Personal Letters 1.5										
1.25											
1.00	General Fiction 0.9 Interviews 1.0										
0.75	Telephone Conversations 0.6										
0.50	Prepared Speeches 0.4										
0.25	Religion 0.2 Spontaneous Speeches 0.3										
0.00	Humor - 0.3 Face-to-Face Conversations - 0.3										
-0.25	Popular Lore - 0.3 Official Documents - 0.2										
-0.50	Academic Prose - 0.5 Mystery Fiction - 0.7										
-0.75	Press Reportage - 0.7										
-1.00	Science Fiction - 0.7 Biographies - 0.7										
-1.25	Adventure Fiction - 1.2	T-1.2		P-1.3					T-1.2	P-1.3	
-1.50							P-1.4				
-1.75											
-2.00											
-2.25			T-2.2			T2.2					
-2.50											
-2.75	Press Reviews - 2.8										
-3.00					E-2.9			E-2.9			E-3.1
-3.25											
-3.50											
-3.75											
-4.00											
-4.50	Broadcasts - 4.4										
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: Y	

IRS 880: DF: 1; Mean Sq: 1461.74534; F: 220.01; Pr > F: < .0001; R-Sq: 0.083655; Coeff. Var: -117.8730; Root MSE: 2.577578; Mean: -2.186741

Pair 1: α: .05; DF: 2410; Error Mean Square: 6.643908; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.2066

Pair 2: α: .05; DF: 1986; Error Mean Square: 6.792079; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 970.4497; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.2320

Pair 3: α: .05; DF: 422; Error Mean Square: 5.96081; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 199.7311; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.4802

The mean score for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as a whole on Dimension 4 was -2.2 (compared to -1.2 for the ICIC Corpus). However, when comparing Dickerson IRS 880 paper-sourced documents with those from the ICIC Corpus, the scores are nearly identical, with the former scoring -1.3. So while there seems to be less markings for features associated with argumentation in Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus *electronic* documents than the ICIC Corpus, the real differences seem negligible. Connor and Upton (2003) interpreted this score as less an indication of disinterest in persuading readers as a matter of using different means to that end. Similarly, I suggest in one of the texts reviewed, that persuasion is accomplished not only by use of features grouped on Dimension 4, but also by what Longacre (2003) termed a narrative template. I have labeled this dimension *Overt Expression of Argumentation*. Table 4.21 compares scores between corpora and describes the texts' aggregate descriptive statistics on Dimension 4:

Table 4.21 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 4			
ICIC Corpus Total	**IRS 880 Total**	**IRS 880 Paper**	**IRS 880 Electronic**
-1.2	**-2.2**	**-1.3**	**-2.9**

Table 4.22 following table summarizes descriptive statistics and statistical significance:

Table 4.22 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 4								
	Number of Texts	**Per 1,000 Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Minimum**	**Maximum**	**Mean Square**	**F-Value**	**Pr > F**
Total	2,412	-2.19	2.69	-6.61	8.85	1461.74	220.01	<0.0001
R-Square 0.083655 Coefficient of Variation –117.873 Root Mean Squared Error 2.577578								

By sorting the corpus index on Factor 4, I was able to consolidate two texts whose linguistic features represent both ends of the scale representing scores for features consistent with overt expressions of argumentation. The first is text 205-p-4-h, in Figure 4.41—a paper-sourced fund appeal from In Touch Ministries (In Touch) featuring a narrative by founder Dr. Charles Stanley that also contains several linguistic features marking overt attempts to persuade along with a narrative form. It is the third highest score among 2,412 letters in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus for persuasive features. (Note: it is longer and is continued on a second page). Another letter scoring high on persuasive features is far more expository in tone: text 173-p-1-b from The American Technion society, presented in Figure 4.43. This letter invites readers to contribute through their individual retirement accounts (IRAs) while also enjoying federal tax benefits. This paper-sourced letter is ranked second among 2,412 letters in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus for linguistic features marking overt attempts to persuade. Following each text, I again list linguistic features in Figures 4.2 and 4.4.

In Touch Ministries: Text 205-p-4-h
Raw Factor 4 Mean Score: 8.61; Standard Deviation: 2.69; Standardized *z*- Score: 4.01

May 2006

Dear Sample,

When my mother passed away, I felt as if I had lost my anchor. To be honest, it was a number of years before I could preach another Mother's Day sermon -- I didn't think I could get through it.

Today, however, I feel privileged to share with you some of the principles for Christian living which my mother taught me.

Of course, my mother would never have thought of these as “principles.” She didn't teach them in a formal way. She simply lived them-and in so doing, she influenced me more than words ever could.

The most important lesson my mother taught me is to spend time in God's Word and in prayer every day.

The first Bible I ever handled was my mother's Bible. It was worn, torn and ragged with use, but I loved it. I knew she'd been reading those pages, and I wanted to do the same.

Every single night my mother would come to my bedroom, kneel down beside my bed and pray with me. Sometimes I would try to just lie there, but she'd always say, “Get out of bed. We're going to kneel here and pray together.”

What I didn't realize then was that as she talked to the Father about me, she was building a hedge of protection around me. When my teenaged years came, and I was faced with temptation, somehow I would always hear my mother calling out my name to the Father-and her voice gave me the courage to withstand the temptation.

My mother also taught me the value of trusting & God for everything.

Because my father died when I was very young, my mother had to work in a textile mill. She made $9.10 a week, and that covered everything-food, rent, clothing.

There were times when I was afraid we wouldn't have enough, but she would always say, “God will provide our need.” And He did.

I remember when we lived in a one-room house. The bathroom was outside on the porch and we had to crawl through a window to get to it. But I never thought about being poor. I didn't know what poverty was! I knew that I had my mother, that she loved me and that God would provide-no matter what.

When I got my first job and brought home my first weekly paycheck (all of four dollars), my mother immediately reminded me of how the Lord had taken care of us all these years and how we should tithe our income to Him.

Figure 4.41 In Touch Ministries text illustrates overt expression of argumentation. (Figure 4.1 continues next page)

(Figure 4.41 continued from previous page)

She taught me so well that I thought, “I can't just give God forty cents.” So I gave Him a dollar. Ever since that day, simply tithing has never been enough for me-I've always felt led to give more.

My mother taught me so many lessons-about perseverance, a servant spirit, obedience, forgiveness. But perhaps the one that has the most impact on my ministry today is the importance of encouragement.

You see, my mother never said a thing to me that would strike against my personhood or attack my self-esteem. Not a day went by that she didn't tell me she loved me.

Even after she was getting on in years and I moved her to Atlanta, she told me she loved me every time I saw her. When I left her home after a visit, she would stand at the door until I was out of sight. Her voice, her hugs-everything about my mother encouraged me.

Today, if you asked me what motivates me in my ministry above all else, I would have to say:

I want to encourage you.

You don't hear me condemning people or often speaking out against things. Instead, I want to encourage you to understand the Word of God.

I want to encourage you to experience His leading in your life.

I want to encourage the Christian in Iran who trembles with fear of persecution. I want to lift up the believer in China who has no place to worship and no way to study the Scriptures.

Through her constant encouragement, my mother helped me to be the man I am today. And I carry a part of her with me in everything I do.

In fact, I like to think that the loving and encouraging voice of my mother influences every sermon I deliver and is in every In Touch broadcast reaching into hundreds of millions of homes around the world.

If you are blessed to be a mother, or a grandmother, I pray that you won't settle for simply teaching your children. Live your faith in front of them. Pray with them. Encourage them.

Dads and granddads, aunts and uncles, whatever your station in life-I urge you to live your faith boldly and publicly for all to see.

Your example will impact more lives in more ways than you can possibly imagine!

Prayerfully yours,
Dr. Charles F. Stanley

P.S. Millions of people around the world have no Christian example to follow. Others would risk their lives if they tried to live their faith publicly. Often, the In Touch broadcast is the only encouragement they have. That's why I am so grateful that, with your help, our broadcast ministry continues to grow at a phenomenal rate, beaming more Gospel programming in more languages to more people. Thank you for standing with us.

Figure 4.41 In Touch Ministries text illustrates overt expression of argumentation.

Linguistic features that mark text 205-p-4-h for overt expressions of argumentation

1. Infinitives

to share with you, to spend time, to do the same, to just lie there, to kneel here, to withstand the temptation, to work in a textile mill, to crawl through a window, to give more, to say, to encourage you, I want to encourage you to understand, I want to encourage you to experience, to encourage the Christian in Iran, to lift up the believer in China, to study the Scriptures, to be the man I am today, like to think that, to be a mother, to live your faith, to see, to follow, to live, to grow at a phenomenal rate

2. Prediction Modals

will provide, will impact, would never have thought, mother would come to my bedroom, I would try to just lie there, she'd always say, I would always hear, I was afraid we wouldn't have enough, she would always say, God would provide, never said a thing to me that would strike, she would stand at the door, I would have to say, Others would risk their lives

3. Susasive Verbs

I urge you to live your faith boldly and publicly for all to see

4. Conditional Subordination

if you asked me, If you are blessed, would risk their lives if they tried

5. Necessity Modals

how we should tithe our income

6. Split Auxiliaries

I am so grateful, I can't just give God forty cents, you can possibly imagine, tithing has never been enough for me, has the most impact, I was very young, would try to just lie there

Figure 4.42 Linguistic features mark In Touch Ministries text for overt expression of argumentation.

At first glance, the letter by Dr. Charles Stanley of In Touch Ministries (ITM) seems not at all structured like a persuasive argumentative text. There seem to be no layers of propositions and supportive facts interwoven syllogistically to prove a point. However, his text is in fact a classic example of hortatory prose, which Adler describes as the goal of anything people write: "Anyone who writes practically anything not only tries to advise you but also tries to persuade you to follow his advice. Hence there is an element of oratory in every moral treatise (1940, p. 68). The word *hortatory* comes from the same Late Latin root from which the more familiar word *exhort* is derived. Both come from the present active Latin *hortor* which Ramshorn observes is used in the sense of "encouraging, stirring, by representations and impressive words" (1839, p. 238). In fact, near the end of his narrative, Stanley explicitly marks his text with explicit references to the word *encourage*, which is the most common definition of the adjective hortatory (e.g. *the importance of* ***encouragement***, *Her voice, her hugs-everything about my mother* ***encouraged*** *me*, *I want to* ***encourage*** *you*, *I want to* ***encourage*** *you to understand the Word of God*, *I want to* ***encourage*** *you to experience His leading in your life*, *I want to* ***encourage*** *the Christian in Iran who trembles with fear*, *Through her constant* ***encouragement****, my mother helped me to be the man I am today, I like to think that the loving and* ***encouraging*** *voice of my mother influences every sermon I deliver*, *If you are blessed to be a mother . . . I pray that you won't settle for simply teaching your children.* ***Encourage*** *them*, *Often, the In Touch broadcast is the only* ***encouragement*** *they have*). It would seem that as a skilled persuader, Stanley knew where he was heading with his rhetoric with ten uses of the key word encourage in various forms in a one-page letter.

Persuasive discourse that is hortatory is described by Aristotle as he outlines three constraining influences on rhetoric: speaker, subject and audience and identifies "three kinds of rhetorical speeches: the deliberative, the forensic and the epideictic" (1886. p. 22). Stanley's letter reflects the Aristotle's deliberative style of rhetoric defines as follows: "Deliberative Rhetoric is partly hortatory and partly dissuasive; for people who counsel their friends deliberatively on private affairs and people who address popular meetings on matters of State are alike in this, that they always exhort or dissuade" (1886, p. 22).

So rather than through syllogistic reasoning, Stanley *exhorts* in his letter through a narrative process that touches on what Aristotle frames as an important vehicle for persuasion—emotion: "Persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. Our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile. . . . We feel pity whenever we are in the condition of remembering that similar misfortunes have happened to us or ours, or expecting them to happen in the future (1954, Book 1: 2, 6). Stanley, who is a widely known Southern Baptist preacher, writes as if he were speaking,

which gives the text a very conversational flow and narrative form. It scored high on Biber's scales not only for overt characteristics of persuasion, but also for interpersonal involvement as defined by Biber's Dimension 1. His style is consistent with Aristotle's observation contrasting speech and writing: "The written style is the more finished; the spoken better admits of dramatic delivery—like the kind of oratory that reflects character and the kind that reflects emotion. Hence actors look out for plays written in the latter style, and poets for actors competent to act in such plays. (1954, Book 1: 11). Stanley's persuasive power comes from its use of uses the personal route (the text has a raw mean score on Dimension 1 of 5.06 [standardized z-score of 1.84 compared to an Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus-wide standard score of -12.8] and a raw mean score on Dimension 2 of 0.31 [standardized z-score of 1.7 compared to an Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus-wide standard score of -3.0]).

The linguistic features marking persuasion include 26 infinitives, 14 prediction modals, two suasive verbs, three instances of conditional subordination, one necessity modal, and seven split auxiliaries. Ironically, however, the features associated with persuasion are not as significant in defining this text as persuasive as the narrative power of the story and relationship the writer describes in the person of his mother and her model of encouragement. In all the context of the letter, the theme of giving is seamlessly reflected in the model of Stanley's own mother who was presented as a hard-working individual who though she earned little, gave of that she had to her church, which example shaped the writer's life (*When I got my first job and brought home my first weekly paycheck (all of four dollars), my mother immediately reminded me of how the Lord had taken care of us all these years and how we should tithe our income to Him.*) Then the writer transitions to those who are in the audiences of their television and radio broadcasts and need the sustenance it offers (*Often, the In Touch broadcast is the only encouragement they have*) and in only in the closing portion of the P.S. asks indirectly for money by thanking the readers for their support (*That's why I am so grateful that, with your help, our broadcast ministry continues to grow at a phenomenal rate, beaming more Gospel programming in more languages to more people. Thank you for standing with us*). The enclosed reply device of course serves as a deictic to remind the reader that this is a fund-appeal letter and facilitate their giving. The next letter in Figure 4.13 is text 173-p-1-b from American Technion Society (ATS) a fund-raising arm of Israel Institute of Technology. Figure 4.14 then lists salient linguistic features that mark the text for overt attempts to persuade the reader.

American Technion Society: Text 173-p-1-b
Raw Factor 4 Mean Score: 8.76; Standard Deviation: 2.69; Standardized *z*- Score: 4.07

August 2006

Dear Friend,

We are writing to inform you of a new opportunity to make a gift to the American Technion Society (ATS) from your individual retirement account (IRA) while also enjoying a federal tax benefit. Under new law, for the first time you may be permitted to make tax-free contributions of IRA proceeds to a charitable organization.

If you are 70.5 years old or older, thanks to a new law passed by Congress on August 3rd and then signed into law by President Bush, you may now be permitted to donate money from your IRA tax-free, if you give the money directly to a charity like the ATS.

There are certain requirements, including:

1. The gift (maximum: $100,000 per year) must be an outright gift, not a planned or deferred gift.
2. You must be at least 70.5 years of age.
3. The gift must be from your IRA, as opposed to another type of pension plan.
4. The amount you give must be otherwise taxable if distributed directly to you.
5. You may make a gift in both 2006 and 2007, but only in these years.
6. The gift must be made directly to a qualifying public charity such as the ATS. Gifts to donor advised funds, supporting organizations or private foundations are not eligible.

What does this mean for you?

Under prior law, withdrawals from IRAs for charitable gifts were taxable to the withdrawing donor. Now, if you are at least 70.5 years of age and have an IRA, you will be able to make a tax-free gift of up to $100,000 per year to the ATS in both 2006 and 2007. Moreover, the amounts given to the ATS under this provision will count in the amount that federal law requires you to withdraw every year from your IRA. The new law greatly simplifies the process of making gifts from IRAs and assures that your gift will not increase your taxes. Your tax-free gift may be in payment of an existing pledge or a new gift.

Taking advantage of the new law will appeal especially to those

* Who are already giving at their deduction limit.
* Whose income level causes the phase out of their exemptions or itemized deductions.
* Who do not itemize their deductions.
* For whom additional income will cause more of their Social Security income to be taxed.
* Who wish to remove up to $200,000 from their taxable estate.
* Who would like to avoid the possibility that the government will impose taxes of up to 75% on IRA funds not distributed while they are alive.

To find out if the Pension Protection Act of 2006 can benefit you, please contact your personal financial advisor. If you want to take advantage of the law for 2006, you must act before December 31. For further guidance, you may contact me at (212) 407-6313. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Mark L. Hefter, Esq.
Director of Planned Giving

Figure 4.43. American Technion Society illustrates overt expression of argumentation.

Linguistic features that mark 173-p-1-b for overt expressions of argumentation

1. Infinitives

   to inform you, to make a gift, to make tax-free contributions, to donate money, to make a tax-free gift, to withdraw, to be taxed, to remove, to avoid the possibility, to take advantage, to hearing

2. Prediction Modals

   you will be, this provision will, your gift will, the new law will, additional income will, the government will, Who would like

3. Susasive Verbs

   (None are present)

4. Conditional Subordination

   If you are 70.5 years old, if you give the money directly

5. Necessity Modals

   The gift (maximum: $100,000 per year) must be an outright gift, You must be at least 70.5, The gift must be from your IRA, The amount you give must be otherwise taxable, You may make a gift in both 2006 and 2007, The gift must be made directly, you must act before December 31

6. Split Auxiliaries

   supporting organizations or private foundations are not eligible are not eligible, are at least 70.5 years, are already giving,

Figure 4.44. Linguistic features mark American Technion Society text for overt expression of argumentation content.

Text 173-p-1-b from American Technion Society was written by an attorney. It asks donors to make gifts to the Israel Institute of Technology from their individual retirement account (IRAs) while also enjoying a federal tax benefits. This paper-sourced letter has the second highest rank in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus for features marking argumentative style. It has a standardized mean score of 8.76 on Dimension 4, compared to the ITM letter score of 8.71. While the difference in their rankings is virtually identical, the style of the letters is quite different. The ITM letter give voice to the hortatory message of a preacher. The ATS letter gives voice to the technical explanation of tax benefits of a tax attorney. As such, it uses the language Adams (2004) describes as that of contract drafting; it marshals the rhetorical and linguistic tools of financial planning discourse to highlight the benefits of the proposition for lay readers; and it uses the discourse of fund-raising to emphasize the benefit to the institution (though surprisingly very little is made of how the gift would help ATS. The latter omission may be due to an assumption that since the letter is targeted to loyal supporters who have already

given substantial sums, the letter needs no further explanation of reasons to give, but just an understanding of the vehicles by which to make a gift.

This discourse represents an important niche in the discourse of fund-raising as more and more *baby boomers* in the United States approach retirement and begin to contribute the wealth they have amassed to charitable causes. Some suggest that a transfer of wealth began in 1998 that will cumulatively result in the transfer to the nonprofit sector of some $41-trillion by the middle of the twenty-first century, including $6-trillion in charitable bequests, $1.7-trillion of which they believed would flow by 2018.

Further linguistic evidence marking the ATS text 173-p-1-b as overtly argumentative are uses of conditional subordination to indicate requirements constraining the availability of the offer made (e.g. *If you are 70.5 years old*) and split auxiliaries one of which reinforces the prior conditional in a different linguistic form (e.g. *are at least 70.5 years*). Both uses serve to highlight the opportunity available once the reader has reached the threshold age of 70.5. While the modals and conditional subordination condition the offer, Biber notes that the infinitive "encodes the speaker's stance towards the proposition encoded" (1988, p, 111). Four instances of infinitival construction mirror this effect as they describe the benefits of proposition presented (e.g. *to make tax-free contributions*, *to make a tax-free gift*, *to avoid the possibility that the government will impose taxes*, *to take advantage of the law for 2006*). Other language in the letter, while not features calculated to arrive at the dimensional score, nonetheless mirror the features that *are* salient (e.g. *a new opportunity*, *while also enjoying a federal tax benefit*, *Thanks to a new law passed by Congress, for the first time you may be permitted, Your tax-free gift, Taking advantage of the new law*). While the ATS reflects strong linguistic features common to legal discourse (though even it opts for the common modal *must* over the use preferred use of *shall* in legal discourse), the letter also has a sales/fund-raising character in order to make a technical subject comprehendible to lay readers. In addition, the letter contains a basic narrative described by Labov and Waletzky. In some ways the letter reads like a conversation one friend might have with another about *the good deal* he or she found at a store. The attorney's tone resembles the tone of a friend telling about their *good deal*, which in this case is the new Congressional law affecting gifts made from IRA accounts.

Dimension 5: Overt Expression of Argumentation. The last dimension examined in this study ranks texts on a continuum that distinguishes abstract and impersonal discourse from not abstract and non-impersonal discourse. As Table 4.23 on the follows page illustrates on the positive end of the continuum falls academic prose and official documents. At the opposite pole are the genres of Romantic Fiction, Face-to-face

Communication and Telephone Conversation. For convenience, I repeat the salient features on Dimension 5 here in Table 4.23. (there are no negative features):

Table 4.23 The Six Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 5		
Positive Features:		
Conjuncts	Past participial adverbial clauses	Past participial passive postnominal clauses
Agentless passives	By-passives	Other adverbial subordinators

Biber notes regarding Dimension 5:

> Most of these features are passive forms, used to present propositions with reduced emphasis on the agent, giving prominence to the 'patient', the entity acted upon. . . .The promoted patient is typically a non-animate referent, and it is often an abstract rather than concrete entity. At the same time, the demoted agent, which is often deleted, is typically an animate referent. (1995, p. 163)

Because fund-raising discourse in the vast majority of cases describes the work of people-helping organizations, many Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus texts that score high for abstract, impersonal subjects still seemed as a whole less impersonal and abstract than the texts Biber uses to illustrate this dimension. This may be due to the nature of the genre being examined compared to many of the examples Biber uses to illustrate texts that are often from the discourse communities that focus not on people-helping tasks (such as feeding the hungry or rescuing refugees) but on producing inanimate products (common for in engineering).

To illustrate the difference, Biber's text 6.16 (LOB:J.73, Engineering prose) illustrates texts that are prototypically abstract like the following engineering brief on a technical subject with no persons involved:

> Eventually however fatigue cracks were noticed in the roots of two of the blades and it was suspected that the lack of freedom in the drag hinges was the possible cause. Later, after new blades had been fitted, it was thought better to run with drag hinges free and so reduce root stresses, experience having shown that the possibility of resonance was small. As a further precaution, to eliminate fatigue failure, the new blades of a modified design were run at a reduced top speed of 1200 r.p.m. This question of blade fatigue is more fully discussed in the appendix.

Biber notes that this sample from the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus all the main clauses are agentless passives that elevate the inanimate object of the discourse (concern with fatigue cracks in a piece of equipment) and does not discuss the person making the comments, noted blow in brackets [ ]:

> *Fatigue cracks were noticed* [*by someone*], *it was suspected* [*by someone*], *new blades had been fitted* [*by someone*], *it was thought* [*by someone*], *the new blades . . . were run* [*by someone*], *this question . . . is more fully discussed* [*by someone*]

An example of similar linguistic features is described in discourse from the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Table 4.24 table presents descriptive statistics comparing dimensional scores from Biber's Corpus of 23 genres with those of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus and the ICIC Corpus on Dimension 5 Abstract/ Impersonal versus Not Abstract/Non-Impersonal.

Table 4.24 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 5:

Abstract / Impersonal versus Not Abstract / Non-Impersonal		Statistical Significance of Variance for 3 Paper/Elect Pairs: Y=Yes; N=No; #=Number of texts									
		ICIC v IRS 880		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: N	
	BIBER Corpus:	N#: 316 ICIC Total *	#: 2,412 IRS 80 Total	#: 1,104 IRS 880 Paper	#: 1,308 IRS 880 Elect	#: 1,988 IRS 735 Total	#: 841 IRS 735 Paper	#: 1,147 IRS 735 Elect	#: 424 IRS 145 Total	#: 263 IRS 145 Paper	#: 161 IRS 145 Elect
6.00											
5.75											
5.50	Academic Prose 5.5										
5.25											
5.00											
4.75	Official Documents 4.7										
4.50											
4.25											
4.00											
3.75											
3.50											
3.25											
3.00											
2.75											
2.50											
2.25											
2.00											
1.75											
1.50	Religion 1.4										
1.25	Hobbies 1.2										
1.00											
0.75	Press Reportage 0.6						P0.8				
0.50	Personal Letters 0.4 Professional Letters 0.4		T0.5	P0.6		T0.5		E0.4			
0.25	Press Editorials 0.3				E0.3					P0.2	E0.3
0.00	Popular Lore 0.1								T0.1		
-0.25											
-0.50	Humor -0.4 Biographies - 0.5										
-0.75	Press Reviews - 0.8										
-1.00											
-1.25											
-1.50											
-1.75	Broadcasts - 1.7										
-2.00	Prepared Speeches - 1.9 Interviews - 2.0										
-2.25											
-2.50	General Fiction - 2.5 Science Fiction - 2.5										
-2.75	Adventure Fiction - 2.5 Mystery Fiction - 2.8										
-3.00	Romantic Fiction - 3.1										
-3.25	Face-to-Face Conversations - 3.2										
-3.50	Spontaneous Speeches - 2.6										
-3.75	Telephone Conversations - 3.7										
-4.00											
-4.50											
-5.00											
		ICIC v IRS 880*		PAIR 1: Y			PAIR 2: Y			PAIR 3: N	

IRS 880: DF: 1; Mean Sq: 37.94545; F: 6.12; Pr > F: 0.0135; R-Sq: 0.002532; Coeff. Var: 542.3281; Root MSE: 2.490617; Mean: 0.459245
Pair 1: α: .05; DF: 2410; Error Mean Square: 6.203173; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 1197.373; Means: 2 Critical Range: .1996
Pair 2: α: .05; DF: 1986; Error Mean Square: 6.377046; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 970.4497; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.2248
Pair 3: α: .05; DF: 422; Error Mean Square: 5.246437; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes: 199.7311; Means: 2 Critical Range: 0.4505
*** Note: The ICIC Corpus was not measured on Dimension 5**

The mean score for the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus as a whole on Dimension 5 was 0.5 (The ICIC Corpus was not measured). Because a chief aim of abstract texts is to highlight detail and show logical relationships between important facts (minimizing human agents), they are marked by the use of conjuncts (of which Quirk notes seven general categories in Figure 4.45 below, and of which Halliday and Hasan list more than 160 examples in Table 4.46) and passives (of which Biber et al describe several in Figure 4.47).

The Seven Roles of Conjuncts	
Semantic Role:	**Examples:**
1. Listing	*first, second, third; correspondingly; equally; furthermore; in addition; in particular; likewise; moreover; similarly*
2. Summative	*altogether; increasingly, in conclusion; in sum; in summary; therefore*
3. Appositional	*for example; for instance; e.g.; i.e.; namely*
4. Resultive	*as a result; as a consequence; consequently; in consequence; hence; therefore; thus; viz.*
5. Inferential	*else; in other words; in that case; otherwise*
6. Contrastive	*alternatively; conversely; by contrast; in contrast by comparison; in comparison; in any case; in any event; rather; however; instead; nevertheless; nonetheless; notwithstanding; rather; by contrast; by comparison; on the contrary; on the other hand*
7. Transitional	*Incidentally; now; by the way; meantime; meanwhile; in the meantime; in the meanwhile; originally; indeed; subsequently; eventually*

Figure 4.45. Quirk's list of conjuncts
Note. Adapted from Quirk (1985, pp. 634-637) and Biber (1988, p. 239)

Summary Table of Conjunctive Relations	
Types:	**Examples:**
1. Additive	*additionally; add to this; also; alternatively; and; and another thing; besides; besides that; by contrast; by the way; for instance; furthermore; I mean; in addition; incidentally; in other words; in the same way; incidentally; likewise; moreover, nor; not; on the other hand; or; or else; that is; thus*
2. Adversative	*actually; all the same; and; anyhow; as a matter of fact; as against that; at any rate; at least; at the same time; but; despite this; however; however it is; however that may be; I mean; in any/either case/event; in any/either way; in fact; in point of fact; instead; nevertheless; on the other hand; only; rather; rather on the contrary; to tell the truth; though; whichever way it is; yet*
3. Casual	*accordingly; arising out of this; as a result [of this]; aside/apart from this; because; because of this; consequently; for; for this purpose; for this reason; hence; here; in consequence; in other respects; in such an event; in that case; in this regard; in this respect/connection; it follows [from this]; on account of this; on this basis; otherwise; so; that being so; that being the case; then; then in that case; therefore; to this end; under other circumstances; under the circumstances; under those circumstances; with reference to this; with this in mind/view; with this intention; with regard to this*
4. Temporal	*[and] then; after a time; after that; afterwards; after that; all this time; an hour later; anyway; at last; at once; at the same time; at this moment; at this point; before then/that; briefly; earlier; by this time; eventually; finally; first [etc]; five minutes earlier/later; formerly; first, second etc.; from now on; henceforward; here; hitherto; heretofore; in conclusion; in short; in the end; just before; [just] then; later; meanwhile; next; next; next day; next moment; next time; on another/this occasion; on a previous occasion; on which; presently; previously; secondly; some time earlier; soon; simultaneously; subsequently; then; then at first; thereupon; this time; to resume; to get back/return to the point; to sum up; until then; up to now/this point; up till that time*

Figure 4.46. Halliday and Hasan's list of conjuncts.
Note. Adapted from Halliday and Hasan (1976, pp. 242-243)

Halliday and Hasan locate conjunction among four devices for creating cohesion in texts (reference, substitution, ellipsis being the other three listed). They write, "The conjunctive relations are not logical but textual; they represent the generalized types of connection;" as a result of their general character, "what these connection are in in the last resort depends on the meanings that sentences express" (1976, p. 238). Halliday and Hasan identify two kinds of meanings—first, linguistic features that interpret experience, and second, those that facilitate interpersonal communication such as participation in a speech situation or in writing that would score high on Biber's Dimension 1 (representing a high level of interpersonal involvement). Within the context of texts focused on technical issues, these texts clarify and strengthen cohesion and coherence.

"Apparently," Biber writes, "conjuncts and adverbial subordinators frequently co-occur with passive

Long (*by*-Passives) and Short Passives as Used in Finite and Non-Finite Constructions	
Finite Construction	**Example**
Short passive + stative verb (describes state resulting from action rather than the action)	The transfer ***may be made***. The funding ***was finalized***.
Short passive + dynamic verb (describes action rather than the resulting state)	The funds ***were stolen***. .Whichever software ***is used*** be sure data loss ***is avoided***.
Get-passives (describes act on patients)	The campaign ***got cancelled***.
	The annual giving head ***got fired***.
Non-Finite Construction	
Short Passive post modifier of noun	It came from a major gift from a grant ***named*** in a bequest. Major variables ***involved*** include age and education level.
Long Passive post modifier of noun, long passive	Plans ***finalized by*** boards are awkward at best. Look at the report ***given by*** John's committee.
Infinitive or *ed*-clause complement of verb, short passive	The board is having grant guidelines ***revised***. If proposals fail ***to be reviewed***, work backs up.
Infinitive or *ed*-clause complement of verb, long passive	All can be said ***to have been caused by*** you.
	A system has its fidelity ***tested by*** trouble
to-infinitive complement of adjective	Any shortcuts are unlikely ***to be taken***
Supplementative adverbial *ed*-clause	His funding ***set*** by bequest, an attitude ***lulled*** clearly into complacency.
ing-clause complement of a preposition	I had the privilege of ***being rewarded by*** the job.

Figure 4.47. Passive forms that co-occur with conjuncts and adverbial subordinators to mark complex relationships. ***Note.*** Adapted from Biber et al. (1999, pp. 936-937).

forms to mark the complex logical relations among clauses that characterize this kind of text (1988, p. 112). Biber et al. distinguish between two kinds of passive (Figure 4.47): "the long passive where the agent is expressed in a *by-phrase*, and the short passive where the agent is left unexpressed" (1999, p. 935). Both occur in abstract texts where, as noted above, the person is not as important in the discourse as the process (e.g. in cases such as describing a surgical procedure). Additional factors relevant to passive use in discourse include the fact

that it adds cohesion to text through "ordering of information [and] omission of information (especially short passive) [and] weight management (especially long passive)" (199, p. 935). The ICIC Corpus has no measure on Dimension 5, but Table 4.25 describes differences between Dickerson IRS 880 paper and electronic texts:

Table 4.25 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 5			
ICIC Corpus Total	IRS 880 Total	IRS 880 Paper	IRS 880 Electronic
(Not Scored)	0.5	.06	0.3

Table 4.26 summarizes descriptive statistics and statistical significance:

Table 4.26 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 5								
	Number of Texts	Per 1,000 Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Mean Square	F-Value	Pr > F
Total	2,412	0.46	2.49	-3.63	14.66	37.95	6.12	0.0135
R-Square 0.002532 Coefficient of Variation 542.3281 Root Mean Squared Error 2.490617								

I sorted on the standardized mean score field to rank order texts whose linguistic features are consistent with *Abstract / Impersonal* versus *Not Abstract / Non-Impersonal* and chose to review text 485-e-5-b, written by the president of Berea College in Kentucky. The Berea College text scored fifth among 2,412 texts on dimension 5 for abstract features. Another letter, text 100-e-1-i which was fourth on the list will then be discussed as well.

This text that follows in Figure 4.8 from Berea College is marked by linguistic features indicative of very abstract text. It focuses on propositions, which demote agents and promote the entities acted upon (the patients). Nonetheless, because the actions described clearly are understood by reader to affect the lives of needy students (75 percent of whom come from Appalachia), the abstract focus does not take away from the human connection an effective fund-raising text must create**.** The impact of this text illustrates a point Biber makes in his corpus analysis work about the need to compare data with context and to inform the evaluation process with other qualitative research which add a dimension beyond what mere frequency counts and factor scores can bring to the analysis.

I present the text itself in Figure 4.48, the linguistic features marking the text for abstract prose in Figure 4.49, then discuss how these work together in the context of the communication to produce results that are not altogether typical of the communication the abstract texts Biber reviews. To illustrate these larger contextual issues, I will turn again to Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad to explore these issues futher.

Text 485-e-5-b: Berea College
Raw Factor 5 Mean Score: 10.61; Standard Deviation: 2.49; Standardized *z*- Score: 4.08

A Message from the President

Dear Friends,

Imagine a college built upon the premise “God has created of one blood all peoples of the earth.” Imagine a place that promotes “love over hate, human dignity and equality, and peace with justice” by admitting only promising students from the bottom third of family incomes. Imagine a place where academically talented students with economic need receive full-tuition scholarships and then work on campus to support the community's need. Now, imagine a place where the resources that make all these dreams a reality come from friends and alumni across the United States and beyond.

This place is Berea College.

A variety of elements combine to make Berea College distinctive among liberal arts institutions. First, all students are required to work in Berea's labor program as they also engage in the College's rigorous academics. Whether serving as a custodian, professor's assistant, food service worker, or computer technician, each student contributes to the College's welfare while better understanding the dignity and value of all labor. Second, a substantial endowment replaces tuition that comparable high-caliber institutions charge but which students of limited resources cannot afford. Third, it then takes the support of thousands of alumni and friends (non-alumni) each year to continue this unique legacy of education for all.

Although the College serves primarily students from Appalachia (approximately 75%), Berea's students represent a melting pot of cultures, religions, and nationalities. Indeed, Berea welcomed students from 38 states and 65 countries this academic year. And, just as the student population is diverse, so, too, is the donor population. Alumni and friends from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, two U. S. territories, and nine countries supported Berea students last year. They make the vision of Berea a reality.

Berea College has been a distinctive place of education and outreach for more than 150 years. The tradition continues.

Sincerely,
Larry D. Shinn
President

Figure 4.48. Berea College text illustrates Abstract/Impersonal content—or does it?

Linguistic features that mark text 485-e-5-b as abstract

1. Conjuncts

over, by, and, First, Second, then, now, so too, Indeed,

2. Agentless passives

are required, receive full-tuition scholarships, resources come, elements combine, are required

3. Past participial adverbial clauses

welcomed students from 38 states and 65 countries, has been a distinctive place of education and outreach

4. By-passives

by admitting only promising students from the bottom third of family incomes

5. Past participial passive postnominal clauses (WHIZ deletion indicated by [])

a college [that was] built upon

6. Other adverbial subordinators

Although the College primarily students from Appalachia,

Figure 4.49. Linguistic features mark Berea College text for Abstract/Impersonal content—or do they?

The clichéd but valid principle in real estate that what matters most is location, location, and then location, applies to this text. Its use of conjuncts and the passive voice can be understood as it is considered in relation to the location in *context*—its location in the discourse as a whole. To this end, the etymology of the Latin word for context (*contexere*), already noted above but repeated here for convenience, provides insight. The concatenation of the Latin preposition *com* (together) and verb *textere* (to weave) to form the word context suggests that when *woven together*, separate elements gain strength by the bond created. Such is the case with text 485-e-5-b. Biber notes that high scores on Dimension 5 is narrower than that of the highly informational texts of Dimension 1 in that they have less lexical variety (using and repeating procedural or other special vocabulary). However, as the Berea text illustrates, non-technical texts are numbered among those scoring high on this dimension as well. However in the Berea letter, having the subject and direct object of the verb switch grammatical positions to place the emphasis on the patient of the action of providing help (economically disadvantaged students) places the focus on the school's uniqueness among highly selective private higher education institutions. Placing the action of helping students in the passive voice actually strengthens the discourse by amplifying the identity of those helped. The positioning of the school as champion of promising

but impoverished students is facilitated by repetition (e.g. ***Imagine*** *a college built,* ***Imagine*** *a place that promotes,* ***imagine*** *a place where the resources* (note bold-face items). Halliday and Hasan cite repetition as a method by which cohesion in text is created "by the selection of vocabulary" (1976, p. 274). Below, another text will be described that uses the same device to serve a different purpose with a different effect.

While Quirk uses the term *conjuncts*, Biber et al. prefer *linking adverbs* borrowing Quirk's categories with slight variation. Their purpose is stated as "to make semantic connections between spans of discourse. They function as adverbials . . . while coordinators are mutually exclusive, linking adverbials [conjuncts] may be preceded by coordinators: ***And*** *nevertheless, they carved out a 5.7 per cent share of the overall vote. cf. *And* **but** *they carved out a 5.7* . . ." (1999. pp. 558-559, p 80). Their purpose, to "explicitly mark logical relations between clauses" (Biber, 1988, p. 239), is evident in the Berea letter (e.g. *First, all students are required to work*, *Second, a substantial endowment replaces tuition*, *Third, it then takes the support of thousands*). Coordination of the propositions in the letter are made clear through these simple structuring devices.

Among adverbial clauses, Biber et al. identify "three major classes by their functions: **circumstance adverbials**, **stance adverbials**, and **linking adverbials**. . . . Adverbials are realized by a variety of syntactical forms" (199, p. 767). The eight syntactic forms of adverbials were discussed in detail in the analysis of texts in connection with Dimension 3. These included, single adverbs (and adverb phrases), noun phrases (including single nouns), prepositional phrases, non-finite clauses (-ing, -ed, to-infinitive, and verbless). Adverbial clauses comprised of adverbs occur more than 30,000 per million words in the *LSWE* Corpus and prepositional phrases are the most common at 50,000 per million words, which are usually form circumstance adverbial clauses. In connection with Dimension 5, Biber observes that past participial adverbial clauses loaded with a factor score of .42 and "are used for integration or structural elaboration" (1988, p. 233). Citing Sandra Thompson (1983), Biber notes that "these clauses are used for depictive functions, that is, for discourse that describes by creating an image" (1988, p. 233). Two past participle adverbial clauses serve the function of adding to the description of their clauses by elaborating on the geographical diversity of Berea's student body (e.g. *from 38 states and 65 countries*) and the school's quality (*a distinctive place education and outreach*).

As noted above, the passive voice recasts grammatical form from the normal active voice (e.g. *the school gave a scholarship*) to a clause that switches the roles of subject and direct object (e.g. *a scholarship was given by school* [a long or *by*–passive construction] or *a scholarship was given* [a short or agentless passive construction). The emphasis in the passive is not on the actor (the school) but on what was enacted (financial assistance), and in

particular the profile of those to whom financial assistance is given. The idea that the passive voice can strengthen a text whose effectiveness depends on its ability to create an emotional and human connection seems inconsistent with the advice most prescriptive grammarians give on use of passive constructions. Prescriptive grammarians criticize that "in addition to fostering obscurity rather than clarity, passive constructions reverse the natural subject-verb order of English sentences, and when used excessively, make writing sluggish and difficult to read" (Axelrod & Cooper, 1988, p. 664). Biber notes that unlike the active voice where the *subject* of the clause is the agent or actor of the verb, in the passive voice the agent is *demoted* or *eliminated*. What had been the *object* of the action in the active voice (e.g. *a scholarship*) then becomes the *subject* of the clause (1995, p. 163).

The passive use in the opening sentence sets the stage for this effect as the letter starts by elevating the ethos of Berea's driving principle (e.g. *a college* [that was] *built* [by someone unnamed] *upon the premise*). The next sentence then describes this premise of equality of mankind, supporting the theme with a biblical reference. Then a *by*-passive is used to introduce what Labov and Waletzky would cite from a narrative perspective as the most reportable narrative event of the text (e.g. *promotes . . . by admitting only promising students from the bottom third of family incomes*). In contrast to schools where the rich and famous have an advantage, the proposition is strengthened by the use of a restrictive adverb that gives the poor and ordinary an advantage (e.g. *only promising students from the bottom third of family incomes*) Again, the focus is not on the actor (the school doing the admitting), but on the fact of admission, and in particular admission to those from economically disadvantaged families. The choice of passive voice actually elevates these salient aspects of the discourse.

The text can be viewed not only from its linguistic standpoint, but from its rhetorical aim which uses the linguistic features to achieve several guiding communicative purposes in terms Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad of *act*, *scene*, *agent*, *agency* and *purpose* (1945, xv):

- The *act* is the grant of free tuition.
- The *scene* is two-fold: the backdrop of Appalachian poverty and the disadvantaged homes of those from other countries and then the campus where students work to earn their keep as they learn.
- The *agent* is two-fold: those who gave in the past, and the reader who is being asked to be a co-agent by giving now.

- The agency is the endowment corpus, and the scholarship selection system that helps disadvantaged students.
- The purpose can be expressed in several themes implicit in the letter that while formulaic, are not trivial. They reflect generic elements not unlike the generic themes some of the elements that Propp (1927) listed as fundamental elements of the folk tale—transcendent elements that make a good story because they describe element that create a scene dominated by tension, that describe characters with whom the reader can identify, that portray struggle and success, that portray, a benevolent force that offers assistance. Propp (1927) suggested that a limited set of universal themes and characters were common to Russian folk tales. The notion of basic themes often consisting of problems, solutions, and the need to enlist help to implement them are common to fund-raising discourse. This text contains several such themes that the writer accesses to position Berea in the mind of the reader. A few include the following:

  Knowledge Power and Success

  knowledge = power; power = opportunity; opportunity = success

  The Poor versus The Elite

  the elite have money that buys access knowledge, but the poor are shut out

  The Keeper of the Gateway to Knowledge

  Like having a stock exchange seat, Berea holds a key at the gate of knowledge

  Champion of the Poor

  Berea gives bright students with no financial means access to knowledge

  Fulfillment of the American Dream

  By giving away keys to the gate of knowledge Berea makes dreams come true.

These thematic elements form the larger context of the discourse. Citing Malinowski (1923), Firth (1950), and Hymes (1967) Halliday and Hasan describe eight components that frame the context of discourse: “form and content of text, setting, participants, ends (intent and effect), key, medium, genre, and interactional norms” (1976, p. 22). Halliday reduces these categories that form the basis of his systemic functional linguistics, which places focus on functions and semantics as opposed to structural approaches that focus primarily on syntax. To Halliday discourse is understood “through a

systematic relationship between the **social environment** on the one hand, and the **functional organization of language** on the other." (Halliday, 1985b, p.11). The key elements of his analytic framework include

> the FIELD is the total event, in which the text is functioning, together with the purposive activity of the speaker or writer; it thus includes subject-matter as one element of it. The MODE is the function of the text in the event, including therefore both the channel taken by the language—spoken or written, extempore or prepared—and its genre, or rhetorical mode as narrative, didactic, persuasive, 'phatic communication' [like the politeness words thanks and how are you] and so on. The TENOR refers to the type of role interaction, the set of relevant social relations, permanent and temporary, among the participants involved. (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p.22)

In the Berea text, the FIELD, refers to the nature of the social interaction, which here is an attempt to persuade the reader to make s gift to the school. The TENOR of the letter, which describes those involved in the communication process, consists of Berea's president acting as the voice of philanthropy speaking to current and potential donors on behalf of students who need their help to access higher education. The MODE of the letter consists of a description of the mission and purpose of the school. The first paragraph is almost poetic, repeating the word *imagine* four times as a structure around which to build the discourse about the school's mission. Halliday and Hasan describe such repetition as part of a "general phenomenon which we may term REITERATION" (1976, p. 278). Repetition of the same word is but one method of creating such lexical cohesion, with others including reiteration of synonyms. For instance, with each use of the *imagine* the writer begins with the noun *college* then uses place four times, hanging his description on each use. The notion of *imagine* seems to evoke the idea of dreaming about an ideal place described by four characteristics:

1. Built on values
2. Where only students from families in the bottom income tier are admitted
3. Where these students receive full scholarships
4. Where the above is made possible by the generosity of others who give

Then another set of three parallel structures give still more cohesion:

1. Students are expected to work
2. A substantial endowment funds the mission
3. Thousands of alumni and non-alumni friends keep the dream alive by giving

The last paragraph adds cohesion by noting two topics in parallel:

2. Where the students come from
3. Where the funding comes from

Then the last sentence of the third paragraph transitions to a conclusion that summarizes the letter, essentially stating that that this is the stuff that dreams are made of.

1. First the transitional sentence to the last paragraph acknowledges the giving of others (e.g. *They make the vision of Berea a reality*).
2. Then the last paragraph acknowledges the credibility of its history and hopes for the future (e.g. *Berea College has been a distinctive place of education and outreach for more than 150 years. The tradition continues.*)

While linguistic features mark this text as abstract, it is anything but technical discourse. Rather, it is structured more like the patterns evident in the Hebrew poetry of which Watson argues "the *functions* of the poetic features . . . can be evaluated in terms of the relationship between poet and audience, in terms of structure and in terms of other effects" (2205, p. 26). Regarding structure, Watson expands:

> In general, functions can be classified in at least three ways, with a certain degree of overlap. First of all they can be related to the interplay between poet and the audience (performance); then, they can belong to the way a poem is built up (structure); lastly, come non-structural functions (stylistic-aesthetic) (2005, p. 32).

The final letter reviewed in this study in Figure 4.50 does not have as rich a context as the Berea College letter and more closely matches the technical discourse style Biber cites as more typical of abstract texts.

The Research Foundation: Text 100-e-1-I
Raw Factor 5 Mean Score: 11.09; Standard Deviation: 2.49; Standardized *z*- Score: 4.27

Mission Statement

The Research Foundation (RF) is a private, not-for-profit educational corporation chartered by the State of New York in 1963. It engages in the post-award administration of private and government sponsored programs at The City University of New York (CUNY) where annual activity has reached $300 million. Program areas include, but are not limited to, research in the natural and social sciences, training, curriculum planning, assessment, job placement, program evaluation, and software development.

Although it has been closely associated with CUNY throughout its history, the RF is governed by its own Board of Directors, issues its own independently audited financial statements, operates its own payroll system, manages a fringe benefits plan, and purchases a wide variety of goods and services in accordance with its own rules and regulations.

The RF was created because the distinctive environment of sponsored programs demands flexibility and the capacity to respond quickly to a wide variety of conditions and changing sponsor requirements.

Increasingly, RF provides direct administrative services to other organizations besides CUNY. The RF combines personal customer service with cutting edge technology to deliver high-quality services to its clients.

Figure 4.50. The Research Foundation text illustrates Abstract/Impersonal content—Big Time!

Linguistic features that mark text 100-e-1-i as abstract

1. Conjuncts
   but are not limited to, Increasingly
2. Agentless passives
   engages in administration, has been associated, was created
3. Past participial adverbial clauses
   with CUNY throughout its history
4. By-passives
   is governed by
6. Past participial postnominal clauses (WHIZ deletion indicated by [])
   [which was] chartered by the State of New York, in accordance with
5. Other adverbial subordinators
   Although it has been closely, because the distinctive environment

Figure 4.51. Linguistic features mark The Research Foundation text for Abstract/Impersonal content—Big Time!

Like technical discourse, text 100-e-1-i from The Research Foundation (RF) has the fourth highest score for linguistic features scoring high for abstraction in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Associated with The City University of New York, the RF text describes the organization's mission, but with none of the drama and human connection that was evident in the Berea text. Like the Berea letter, it focuses on the patient of the action and demotes the agent. However, it does this sans the narrative impact and contextual drama and human connection of the Berea letter. The Berea text's abstract linguistic features were rolled into a context that including at its base, a compelling history and unfolding story of serving the poor, all of which worked together with conjuncts, passive constructions and adverbials to produce a quite different effect.

Here with the RF text, the impact of the features marking abstract prose reflects the caveat Axelrod and Cooper offered about excessive use of passives, "rather than clarifying text, can foster obscurity rather than clarity and make writing sluggish and difficult to read" (1988, p. 664). But the passive elements are overshadowed (as they were in the Berea letter) by the texts larger context, which must be considered in light of its rhetorical aim. The RF mission statement sounds academic, clinical and even though it relates to the work of a philanthropic foundation, seems to have removed the the *anthropos* from philanthropy. The rhetorical aim seems more self-congratulatory than anything else. Of course, this is the writer's opinion form first glance at

one sample of text. Yet, one glance at one text is all it takes to win or loose a reader. The structure of the text is consistent with its apparent intention to *position* in the mind of the reader, several facts about the foundation's role as administrative entity that manages processes *after* grants have been made.

The importance of context is underscored by the similarities and contrasts between the Berea and RF texts. On one hand the Berea text is engages the reader, causes the reader to appreciate and feel empathy for human actors—students from families whose family incomes place them in the bottom third among Americans. This plays to the Aristotelian notion of persuading by appeal to *pathos* which the writer hopes will motivate the reader to give. On the other hand, one senses that the CUNY Research Foundation is more interested in defining itself than evoking action. It makes virtually no reference to human agents and puts immediate focus on who RF is (e.g. *a private, not-for-profit educational corporation*), explicating its purpose (e.g. *engages in the post-award administration*) and extolling its autonomy (*the RF is governed by* ***its own*** *Board of Directors, issues* ***its own*** *independently audited financial statements, operates* ***its own*** *payroll system,* ***manages*** *a fringe benefits plan, and* ***purchases*** *a wide variety of goods and services in accordance with its own rules and regulations.*) Like the Berea letter, the RF mission statement positioning the foundation as autonomous is facilitated by repetition (note bold-face items), which serves again to add cohesion in. But the rhetorical aim creates far less reader involvement. The rhetorical purposes expressed in the parallelism used in both the Berea and RF texts differ significantly. The former works to amplify the initial place (the college) through what seems like the refrain from John Lennon's song *Imagine* whereby the writer encourages the reader to *imagine* through four reference to: *a college[that was] built* which as a *place* of help. The use of imagine evokes the notion of *hesed* (Hebrew for lovingkindness) noted above vis-à-vis the biblical story of Ruth and text 101-e-6-f by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

In contrast, the RF text's use of parallelism seems self-focused rather than other- focused. It describes the work it does with a prepositional verb in the active voice that describes mental activity (e.g. *engages in the post-award administration*). While the mental verb is active, the active verb *administers* is traded for its neutered nominal (e.g. *administer* is transformed into *administration*). So while construction is active, transforming the verb *administer* to *administration* creates a semantic passivity that dulls description.

In sum, the overall frequency counts across large bodies of texts confirm Biber's observations about the co-occurrence patterns of features among texts that are marked for abstract focus (e.g. *conjuncts, agentless passives, past participial adverbial clauses, by-passives, past participial passive postnominal clauses and adverbial subordinators*).

However, as the very different texts examined above illustrate, the overriding influence on the net effect of a text lies not only with linguistic features on a particular dimension, but with the overall rhetorical purpose and the occurrence of structures (e.g. repetition, parallelism and other elements of style and syntax cited by Jakobson (1960) Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Tannen (1989)).

Intra-Corpus Scores within the Dickerson IRS 880 Data on Five Dimensional Scales. The preceding discussion compared the linguistic features identified by Biber's original factor analysis with those in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus and the ICIC Corpus. Intra-corpus comparisons were also made within the Dickerson IRS 880 among organizations of various sizes (the top 735 organizations and the bottom 135 organization) and between paper- and electronic- sourced documents. Differences in dimensional scores based on paper and electronic sources were made both within the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus at large and within its two sub-divisions—the top 735 and bottom 135 nonprofit organizations represented.

In now present in Tables 4.27 and 4.28, comparative statistics are displayed of dimensional scores among the nine nonprofit sectors represented by the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. The nine categories include: A. Arts, Culture, and Humanities (ACH); B. Education & Research (ER); C. Environment & Animals (EA); D. Health (H); E. Human Services (HS); F. International (I); G. General Public Benefit (GPB); H. Religion (R); and. I. Other: Foundations, United Ways, etc. (FUE).

The following alpha abbreviations (shown in parentheses) are used to plot Duncan's Multiple Range Test (DMRT) scores on five tables identify which nonprofit segments differ with one another on Biber's five dimensions of linguistic variation. Following the exemplar that follows in Figure 4.52, that illustrates the general table layout, I then present five intra-corpus comparisons made based on organization types. The differences are apparent visually on Dimensional Tables 4.2 to 4.6. These graphic imagers are supported by the statistical analysis displayed in the DMRT scores, and their own visual displays.

First, I turn to the basic descriptive statistics of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Table 4.27 describes the number of organizations and their support by nonprofit sector. Table 4.28 describes the distribution of texts among nonprofit sectors by the two media examined—in print and online.

Table 4.27 Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus Index by Nonprofit Sector

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS AND DIRECT SUPPORT RAISED ANNUALLY BY ORGANIZATION TYPE				
TYPES OF NONPROFITS IN CORPUS	#IN CATEGORY	CONTRIBUTIONS	%OF TOTAL	% ALL TEXTS
A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)	77	$3,942,781,789	9%	4%
B-Education & Research (ER)	252	$26,908,002,110	29%	20%
C-Environment & Animals (EA)	31	$2,021,511,169	4%	5%
D-Health (H)	116	$11,333,657,422	13%	12%
E-Human Services (HS)	98	$9,464,101,910	11%	13%
F-International (I)	56	$7,596,906,213	6%	19%
G-General Public Benefit (GPB)	38	$1,384,206,647	4%	4%
H-Religion (R)	62	$2,775,049,217	7%	18%
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	150	$7,724,714,985	17%	5%
TOTALS:	880	$73,150,931,462	100%	100%

Table 4.28 Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus Index by Medium

DOCUMENT COUNT PER ORGANIZATION TYPE AND BY MEDIUM TYPE (PAPER OR ELECTRONIC)				
TYPES OF NONPROFITS IN CORPUS	PAPER	ELECTRONIC	# IN CATEGORY	%OF TOTAL
A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)	78	26	104	4%
B-Education & Research (ER)	255	252	507	20%
C-Environment & Animals (EA)	98	31	129	5%
D-Health (H)	230	73	303	12%
E-Human Services (HS)	281	56	337	13%
F-International (I)	382	115	497	19%
G-Public Benefit (GPB)	62	41	103	4%
H-Religion (R)	437	40	477	18%
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways, etc. (FUE)	31	102	133	5%
TOTALS:	1352	1060	2412	100%

Figure 4.52 which follows describes how DMRT data from segments across the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus are displayed for each of the five dimensions considered in this study. The essential mission of these statistical tests are to indicate which nonprofit sectors texts stand out from others on which dimensions. The reason is not clear, and must be examined subjectively taking into account qualitative considerations. However, these tests suggest which texts may be performing discourse tasks measured by dimensions poorly or well. These indicators are a worthwhile analytic first step.

Exemplar Table Illustrating How to Interpret Duncan's Multiple Range Test (MRT) for Each Dimension of Variation

In the example below, the differences in dimension scores of texts from the five columns labeled A, B, C, G, and I (each of which is marked with the letter E) are ***not*** statistically significant on Dimension 1.

Similarly, the differences in scores for texts displayed in columns D and E (marked with the letter D) are ***not*** statistically significant.

And text scores in columns D and F (marked with C) do ***not*** statistically differ.

But text scores in columns E and H (marked with B and A) are statistically different than ***all*** segments.

Dimension 1: Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content											
Fund Raising Discourse Comparisons Between Organization Types, the IRS 880 Corpus as a Whole, & Biber's Corpus											
BIBER Corpus		IRS 880 TOTAL	A. IRS 880 ACH	B. IRS 880 ER	C. IRS 880 EA	D. IRS 880 H	E. IRS 880 HS	F. IRS 880 I	G. IRS 880 GPB	H. IRS 880 R	I. IRS 880 FUE
Segments with the same letter are not significantly different:			E	E	D E	C D	B	C	E	A	E
37	Telephone Conversations 37.2										
36											
35	Face-to-face Conversations 35.3										

What the MRT Shows and How Results are Displayed:
The Duncan's multiple range test describes the statistical significance of any differences found between the mean scores of each text group (segments A-I) on each dimension of variation. Measures of variance for each segment are compared against those from each of the other eight non-profit organization types. Results are displayed using letters.

Variation in the linguistic characteristics of segments that share the ***same alpha character*** is ***not*** statistically significant.

The following text groups are statistically different:
Col:
A differs with ***only*** D, B, and H.
B differs with ***only*** D and H.
C differs with ***only*** E, and H.
D differs with ***only*** A, B, C, E, G, H and I.
E differs with ***all*** the rest: A, B, C, D, F, G, H, and I.
F differs with ***only*** A, B, C, E, G, H, and I
G differs with ***only*** D, B, and H.
H differs with ***all*** the rest: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and I.
I differs with ***only*** D, B, and H.

-6	Science Fiction -6.1									- 5.8	
-7	Religion -7.0 Humor -7.8										
-8											
-9	Popular Lore -9.3										
-10	Press Editorials -10.0 Hobbies -10.1						- 10.1				
-11											
-12	Biographies -12.4							- 12.1			
-13		-12.8				-12.6					
-14	Press Reviews -13.9				- 14.1						
-15	Press Reportage -15.1 Academic Prose -14.9			-14.7							
-16			- 16.1						- 15.6		- 15.8
-17											
-18	Official Documents -18.1										
-19		TOTAL	ACH	ER	EA	H	HS	I	GPB	R	FUE

ALPHA Key: **TOTAL**=Entire Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; **ACH=Arts, Culture, & Humanities ER**=Education & Research; **EA**=Environment & Animals; **H**=Health; **HS**=Human Services; **I**=International; **GPB**=General Public Benefit; **R**=Religion; and **FUE**=Foundations, United Ways, Etc.

Biber's 23 Genres:
Different genres from Biber's analysis provide a reference point of comparison.

ALPHA Key for Nine Nonprofit Segments:
Total = Entire IRS 880 Corpus
A. ACH = Arts, Culture, & Humanities
B. ER = Education & Research
C. EA = Environment & Animals
D. H = Health
E. HS = Human Services
F. I = International
G. = GPB = General Public Benefit
H. R = Religion
I. = FUE Foundations, United Ways, etc.

Dimensional Scores:
The dimensional scores of texts within each of nine nonprofit segments are plotted to facilitate cross-segment comparisons with the IRS 880 Corpus as Biber's 23 genres.

Figure 4.52. Duncan's Multiple Range Tests Identify differences among Nonprofit sub-sectors.

Note. Like a mirror that reflects reality but can do nothing to change it, so DMRT data can only produce a statistical profile of which sub-sectors have texts exhibiting which kinds of linguistic profiles. However, that can be a starting point for understanding how those sub-genres tend to communicate, and thus can be an entry point for further linguistic analysis.

Table 4.29 below records differences in DMRT statistics confirmed on Dimension 1 of linguistic variation (interpersonal involvement versus informational content) among sub-sectors (of the nonprofit sector as a whole) in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus while reflecting table reflects previous summaries by positioning these sub-sectors in relationship to the 23 genres in Biber's Corpus and the ICIC Corpus scores on Dimension 1.

Table 4. 29. Dimension 1 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale

Dimension 1: Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content

Fund Raising Discourse Comparisons Between Organization Types, the IRS 880 Corpus as a Whole, & Biber's Corpus

BIBER Corpus:		IRS 880 TOTAL	A. IRS 880 ACH	B. IRS 880 ER	C. IRS 880 EA	D. IRS 880 H	E. IRS 880 HS	F. IRS 880 I	G. IRS 880 GPB	H. IRS 880 R	I. IRS 880 FUE
Segments with the same letter are not significantly different:			E	E	D,E	C,D	B	C	E	A	E
37	Telephone Conversations 37.2										
36											
35	Face-to-face Conversations 35.3										
34											
33											
32											
31											
30											
29											
28											
27											
26											
25											
24											
23											
22											
21											
20											
19	Personal Letters 19.5										
18	Spontaneous Speeches 18.2										
17	Interviews 17.1										
16											
15											
14											
13											
12											
11											
10											
9											
8											
7											
6											
5											
4	Romantic Fiction 4.3										
3											
2	Prepared Speeches 2.2										
1											
0	Mystery Fiction -0.2 Adventure Fiction -0.0										
-1	General Fiction -0.8										
-2											
-3											
-4	Professional Letters -3.9 Broadcasts -4.3										
-5											
-6	Science Fiction -6.1									- 5.8	
-7	Religion -7.0 Humor -7.8										
-8											
-9	Popular Lore -9.3										
-10	Press Editorials -10.0 Hobbies -10.1						- 10.1				
-11											
-12	Biographies -12.4							- 12.1			
-13		-12.8				-12.6					
-14	Press Reviews -13.9				- 14.1						
-15	Press Reportage -15.1 Academic Prose -14.9			-14.7							
-16			- 16.1						- 15.6		- 15.8
-17											
-18	Official Documents -18.1										
-19		TOTAL	ACH	ER	EA	H	HS	I	GPB	R	FUE

ALPHA Key: **TOTAL**=Entire Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; **ACH**=Arts, Culture, & Humanities; **ER**=Education & Research; **EA**=Environment & Animals; **H**=Health; **HS**=Human Services; **I**=International; **GPB**=General Public Benefit; **R**=Religion; and **FUE**=Foundations, United Ways, etc.

Duncan's Multiple Range Test on Dimension 1: Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content											
Texts From Segments Below↓ Differ With→	. . . Texts From The Following Non-Profit Segments:									Statistics:	
Non-Profit Segments	A ACH	B ER	C EA	D H	E HS	F I	G GPB	H R	I FUE	Mean	N
A-Arts, Culture, & Humanities (ACH)		✓		✓				✓		-16.54	117
B-Education & Research (ER)				✓				✓		-14.71	671
C-Environment & Animals (EA)					✓			✓		-14.14	74
D-Health (H)	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	-12.65	294
E-Human Services (HS)	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	-10.06	245
F-International (I)	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	-12.07	345
G-General Public Benefit (GPB)		✓		✓				✓		-15.56	98
H-Religion (R)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	-5.79	285
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)		✓		✓				✓		-15.77	283
α = .05; Error Degrees of Freedom = 2403; Error Mean Square = 85.0089; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes = 175.8541											

Figure 4.53. Dimension 1 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale.

A scale like Figure 4.53 above is presented for each Dimensional comparison among nonprofit organizations in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Reading down the left column by rows, the sub-sectors with which each of the nine listed differs are marked with a symbol. For example, this scale shows that texts from Human Services (E) and Religion (H) segments differed more significantly with other segments than the remaining seven segments on Dimension 1. The only sub-sector with which Religion did not differ was itself (note the one blank cell—its own). Texts produced by religious organizations had the highest standardized mean score on this measure, of - 5.79 (noted under the Mean Column), placing them between Biber's genres of Broadcasts (- 4.3) and Science Fiction (- 6.1). The In Touch Ministries letter reviewed above has the highest score on Dimension 1 in the religious segment, a hortatory and narrative in which the writer describes the influence of his mother on his life is an example that weaves narrative with elements of persuasion. The human services texts include among them letters like the Covenant House narrative-style fund appeal, which was the highest scoring text in the entire Corpus for personal involvement. Other nonprofits with a reputation for producing similarly involving text include The Salvation Army. Ironically, most studies either ignore or give short shrift to texts from the religious segment. The ICIC study did not even include it as a category in their study, though a third of all individual giving in the U.S. goes to Religion. It seems that this segment offers remarkable insights, given the highly significant statistics on Dimension 1. For each Dimension, a table like 4.30 below ranks sub-sectors in Mean score order. In Table 4.30, the sub-sectors are ranked in descending

order based on the nine sub-sectors' scores for the presence of linguistic features associated with interpersonal involvement. Each sub-sector's mean score and the number of texts represented in each (N) are also included.

Table 4.30 **Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 1**

Rank	Non-Profit Segment	Mean	N
1.	H-Religion (R)	-5.79	285
2.	E-Human Services (HS)	-10.06	245
3.	F-International (I)	-12.07	345
4.	D-Health (H)	-12.65	294
5.	C-Environment & Animals (EA)	-14.14	74
6.	B-Education & Research (ER)	-14.71	671
7.	G-General Public Benefit (GPB)	-15.56	98
8.	I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	-15.77	283
9.	A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)	-16.54	117

Table 4.3 shows that the segment with the lowest score on the interpersonal involvement/ informational focus dimension is Arts, Culture and Humanities. It is beyond the scope of the present study to definitively offer reasons for this pattern on this dimension and on the other four tables to that rank sub-sectors on Dimensions two through five. Moreover, the data cannot reveal a root cause any more than a thermometer can reveal the source of a fever. Yet sample texts show that texts in this segment appeal less to the chance to help people than buy a service. Benefits (bold italics added) that vary by membership level purchased. Their function is inherently more transactional than philanthropic in nature, as Figure 4.54 shows.

Text 179-e-2-a: Museum of Modern Art

The Museum of Modern Art ***offers members special access*** to the world's preeminent collection of modern and contemporary art.

Join MoMA and experience the Museum in the best way possible. Members enjoy ***free admission*** for a year, plus exclusive ***exhibition previews***, ***special rates*** on admission tickets for guests, and ***valuable discounts*** at all MoMA Stores.

Also, membership dues support MoMA's core activities-the exhibitions and programs that our members so highly value.

Figure 4.54. Linguistic features in the Arts, Culture and Humanities sub-sector mark texts in the low range for informational content/interpersonal involvement content

The commercial tone of many Arts, Culture and Humanities texts comes from their hybrid challenge of not of seeking to appeal to philanthropic motivations, but also transact with individuals as *customers*, in the legal sense of *quid quo pro* which Webster's dictionary translates from the Latin as "something for something" (1996, p. 1585). In his discussion of the structure of the nonprofit sector, Douglas observes that some nonprofit organizations take on characteristics of commercial organizations in exchanging *something for something* in that they "must either exchange something they own (or to which they have some form of title) for something they

need or rely on tapping some vein of generosity" (Douglas, 2000, p. 206). This fundamental issue of the *quid quo pro* basis of economic exchange seems to have a marked affect on the discourse of an organization. Bagozzi (1975) writes of social marketing, under which nonprofit marketing and fund raising would be subsumed, that

> there is most definitely an exchange in social marketing relationships, but the exchange is not the simple quid pro quo notion characteristic of most economic exchanges. Rather, social marketing relationships . . .involve the symbolic transfer of both tangible and intangible entities, and they invoke various media to influence such exchanges. . . .Marketing is a general function of universal applicability. It is the discipline of exchange behavior, and it deals with problems related to this behavior. (p. 38, 39).

The two *media* examined here (on-line and on-paper fund-raising texts) suggest that an inverse relationship may exist between the degree to which an exchange is based on the dynamics of *quid quo pro* versus what Douglas characterized as *tapping some vein of generosity*. That is, the lack of interpersonal involvement among texts whose rhetorical objectives are guided by a *quid pro quo* propositional frame would naturally be different than one in which there is no immediate and direct benefit to the donor. The text in Figure 4.55 comes from the middle of Dimension 1's distribution—ranked 1,241 out of 2,412 texts.

Text 40-e-1-c: GEORGIA AQUARIUM

Introducing Rehabilitation, Relocation, Rescue and Research- the 4Rs! You can help the Georgia Aquarium achieve one of our major goals...to be a leading facility for aquatic animal conservation and research by participating in our new 4R program.

What are the 4Rs?

Rehabilitation. Our animal health facilities will be used to rehabilitate injured aquatic animals. Our world-class animal health professionals will play an active role in animal assessment, medical treatment and rehabilitation.

Relocation. As the largest aquarium in the U.S., we can accommodate many different species of aquatic animals. When animals need to be relocated our goal is always to provide them with a safe and sustainable environment.

Rescue. Through our rescue program, the Georgia Aquarium will work to save injured or endangered animals from the wild or otherwise in peril. With decades of combined experience, our veterinary services and animal care staff will provide vital care and a safe environment where each unique creature can thrive.

Research. From ocean exploration to aquaculture, to infectious diseases and marine ecology, the Georgia Aquarium is deeply involved in furthering scientific knowledge of aquatic life. Working in state-of-the- art animal health facilities, our team collaborates with researchers from around the world to study, analyze and make discoveries. The goal is to increase our understanding of aquatic ecosystems and conserve aquatic biodiversity.

You can make a real difference in the lives of aquatic animals and our aquatic environment by supporting the Georgia Aquarium 4R program.

Donations from friends like you give us the ability to lead the way in rehabilitation, relocation, rescue and research. The 4R program is an easy way for you to support each of these critical activities.

To donate, please go to www.georgiaaquarium.org and click on the 4Rs. Thank you for your support!

Figure 4.55. Linguistic features in the Environment and Animals sub-sector mark texts in the mid range for informational content/interpersonal involvement.

The Georgia Aquarium (GA) text illustrates a typical approach that uses a topical outline of highly informational prose that exhibits a neat and well-ordered presentation of ideas. In this case it uses three R's to organize the message. Its z-score on Dimension 1 is - 11.6. Among the Environment and Animals segment, which has a mean score of - 14.14, this would be considered a more interpersonally engaging example in that it shifts from the *quid pro quo* focus common to many organizations in the Arts, Culture and Humanities sector and focuses on concern for aquatic animal conservation, rather than selling buyer-oriented benefits in exchange for the price of membership

In contrast to the two texts reviewed with low and medium scores on Dimension 1, those reviewed earlier Covenant House, Stanford University, Berea College, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and In Touch Ministries all illustrate writing that managed to couple the rhetorical aim of raising money with a focus on interpersonal involvement. They often did this through *connecting narrative moments*. But as Connor and Upton (2003) discovered in their data, and as the current study confirms, such texts are rare in the discourse of fundraising, *despite* the common erroneous impression that they are common.

The pattern of the of intra-corpus analysis among sub-sectors carried out above for Dimension 1 of linguistic variation, will be now be repeated for each of the remaining four dimensions in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Table 4.31 records differences DMRT statistics confirm on Dimension 2 of linguistic variation (narrative versus non-narrative) among sub-sectors of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, and it plots scores of these sub-sectors in relationship to Biber's Corpus and the ICIC Corpus.

Table 4. 31. Dimension 2 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale

Dimension 2: Narrative versus Non-Narrative:											
Fund Raising Discourse Comparisons Between Organization Types, the IRS 880 Corpus as a Whole, & Biber's Corpus											
BIBER Corpus:		IRS 880 TOTAL	A. IRS 880 ACH	B. IRS 880 ER	C. IRS 880 EA	D. IRS 880 H	E. IRS 880 HS	F. IRS 880 I	G. IRS 880 GPB	H. IRS 880 R	I. IRS 880 FUE
Segments with the same letter are not significantly different:			F	D	E	C,D	B,C	A	B,D,C	A	A,B
7.50											
7.25	**Romantic Fiction 7.2**										
7.00											
6.75											
6.50											
6.25											
6.00	**General Fiction 5.9 Mystery Fiction 6.0**										
5.75	**Science Fiction 5.9**										
5.50	**Adventure Fiction 5.5**										
5.25											
5.00											
4.75											
4.50											
4.25											
4.00											
3.75											
3.50											
3.25											
3.00											
2.75											
2.50											
2.25											
2.00	**Biographies 2.1**										
1.75											
1.50											
1.25	**Spontaneous Speeches 1.3**										
1.00	**Humor 0.9**										
0.75	**Prepared Speeches 0.7**										
0.50	**Press Reportage 0.4**										
0.25	**Personal Letters 0.3**										
0.00	**Popular Lore -0.1**										
-0.25											
-0.50	**Face-to-Face Conversations -0.6**										
-0.75	**Religion -0.7**										
-1.00	**Press Editorials -0.8 Interviews -1.1**										
-1.25											
-1.50	**2 Press Reviews -1.6**										
-1.75											
-2.00	**Telephone Conversations -2.1**										
-2.25	**Professional Letters -2.2**										
-2.50								-2.4		-2.4	
-2.75	**Academic Prose -2.6**										-2.7
-3.00	**Hobbies -2.9 Official Documents -2.9**	-3.0					-2.9		-3.0		
-3.25	**Broadcasts -3.3**			-3.3		-3.2					
-3.50											
-4.00					-3.8						
-4.25			-4.3								
-4.50		TOTAL	ACH	ER	EA	H	HS	I	GPB	R	FUE

ALPHA Key: **TOTAL**=Entire Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; **ACH**=Arts, Culture, & Humanities; **ER**=Education & Research; **EA**=Environment & Animals; **H**=Health; **HS**=Human Services; **I**=International; **GPB**=General Public Benefit; **R**=Religion; and **FUE**=Foundations, United Ways, etc..

Duncan's Multiple Range Test on Dimension 2: Narrative versus Non-Narrative											
Texts From Segments Below↓ Differ With→	. . . Texts From The Following Non-Profit Segments:									Statistics:	
Non-Profit Segments	A ACH	B ER	C EA	D H	E HS	F I	G GPB	H R	I FUE	Mean	N
A-Arts, Culture, & Humanities (ACH)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	- 4.32	117
B-Education & Research (ER)	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	- 3.32	671
C-Environment & Animals (EA)	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	- 3.77	74
D-Health (H)	✓		✓			✓		✓	✓	- 3.17	294
E-Human Services (HS)	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		- 2.87	245
F-International (I)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				- 2.38	345
G-General Public Benefit (GPB)	✓		✓			✓		✓		- 2.98	98
H-Religion (R)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			- 2.38	285
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	✓	✓	✓	✓						- 2.68	283
α = .05; Error Degrees of Freedom = 2403; Error Mean Square = 3.488564; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes = 175.8541											

Figure 4.56. Dimension 2 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale.

Once again, Figure 4.56 shows that texts from the Religion segment (H) differed significantly with others segments on Dimension 2, sharing the highest standardized mean score of -2.38 for narrative linguistic features with the International segment (F). After reviewing the 56 International organizations that provide emergency and aid and community development assistance in under-developed nations, it turns out that *thirty* of the fifty-six in this category in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus (54 percent) are religious organizations. Among them are faith-based organizations World Vision, Food for the Poor, and Samaritan's Purse (ranked eighth, fifteenth, and sixty-ninth respectively among the top 100 U.S. nonprofits). This is significant in that the one segment that was virtually ignored in developing the ICIC Corpus was the religious segment. In fact, religion was not even a category included in the Connor and Upton study. Future studies must systematically take care to include data from religious organizations in their corpora. It turns out that the exclusion of this segment in the Connor and Upton study was a serious design flaw since. As noted above, faith-based fund-raising discourse was responsible for raising $96.82 billion (32.8%) of the $295.02 billion raised by U.S. nonprofits in 2006 (AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy, 2007). And of the $306.39 billion given in 2007, the religious segment raised $102.32 billion in 2007, or 33.4 percent of all giving in America.

The 2.38 standardized mean-per-thousand-word score for salient linguistic features associated with narrative prose, positions both the Religion and International segments on Biber's continuum between the genres of Professional Letters (- 2.2) and Academic Prose (- 2.6). Texts with high scores on Dimension 2 use

narrative prose to communicate their fund-raising message. However, even among these high-scoring segments, most of the organizations in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus did not use narrative. Consistent once again with Connor and Upton's (2003) findings, many successful nonprofit organizations in other segments scored much lower on Dimension 2. Rankings listed in table 4.32 ranks sub-sectors in descending order with those whose texts have higher means for the presence of linguistic features common to narrative listed first.

Table 4.32 **Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 2**

Rank	Non-Profit Segment	Mean	N
1.	H-Religion (R)	- 2.38	285
2.	F-International (I)	- 2.38	345
3.	I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	- 2.68	283
4.	E-Human Services (HS)	- 2.87	245
5.	G-General Public Benefit (GPB)	- 2.98	98
6.	D-Health (H)	- 3.17	294
7.	B-Education & Research (ER)	- 3.32	671
8.	C-Environment & Animals (EA)	- 3.77	74
9.	A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)	- 4.32	117

Once again, the lowest scoring in Table 4.32 is the Arts, Culture and Humanities segment. Scoring in the middle of the range was the General Public Benefit segment. The text in Figure 4.57 was taken from the middle of the distribution of 98 texts in he General Public Benefit (GPB) sub-sector of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. It comes from one of the largest General Public Benefit organizations in America—YMCA. This particular text (729-p-9-g) was from by The YMCA of San Luis Obispo, California.

The YMCA text illustrates a trend among many nonprofit organizations to develop (and perhaps overly depend upon) *branding* strategies. While beyond the focus of this study, a worthwhile area of additional inquiry would be the question of brand influence on quality of fund-raising discourse. Tests four and five of paratextual variables in the present study suggests that a focus on *branding* may have negatively affected results. The question here is, does the strength of a longstanding brand (e.g. YMCA, American Red Cross, The Salvation Army, American Heart Association) lessen the quality of those organizations' fund-raising discourse? Does the reputation of such well-established organizations cause donors to feel that they can trust them, and as a consequence, the nonprofits attract support based on the residual capital of their longstanding reputations, not on the interpersonal connections and narratives of their current discourse?

A strong brand thus could lessen the need to excel in communicating through the written word, resting, as it were, on the organizations laurels. For example, instead of narratives, organizations with a strong brand may tend to rely on mission statements, strategically positioned as the YMCA's purpose statement. In

the letter in Figure 4.57, for instance, the mission statement is succinctly expressed in the organization's opening: *We build strong kids, strong families, strong communities.*

Text 729-p-9-g: YMCA

YMCA
We build strong kids, strong families, strong communities.

On behalf of the San Luis Obispo County YMCA, I would like to thank you for your interest in our YMCA. The SLO County YMCA has been established within this county for almost 50 years.

Our programs teach the values of caring, trustworthiness, citizenship, fairness, respect, and responsibility. The YMCA knows that the best long-term solution to many of our community's most pressing concerns is challenging people to accept and demonstrate positive values. This solution defines the YMCA character development.

What do we expect of this commitment to character development? An obstacle overcome, a life changed a shared vision of strong families and cohesive, self-reliant communities, and the skills to help kids grow up caring, healthy, and full of the self-confidence they need to make good choices for life.

Currently, our programs serve approximately 3000 different families, children, and individuals within the community and we are responsible for the financing and budgeting of our operations. We receive no funding from the National YMCA. Our 2004 projections as of October 31, 2004 were from the following sources: 31% Child Care/Day Camp, 22% Memberships, 13% Contributions, 7% Sports, 1% Guides/Preschool Outreach, and 20% Grants (which includes state funded childcare).

However, natural disasters worldwide, unrealized revenue such as popular gyms opening, unanticipated expenses have effected funding for each of our programs. Basically, we have been hit hard and we are now in the middle of a Year End Appeal that is already accomplished 1/3 of our 2005 need.

Future financial needs include obtaining consistent donors at our Program Partnership level of $1500.00 per year, in which the donor specifically chooses a program to partner with.

Furthermore, we have also recently begun our Y Legacy Club for those who would like to support the YMCA well into the future. And, lastly, we are seeking a donor to sponsor the facility in San Luis Obispo by paying off the remaining loan amount of $359,500.

I do hope that I have answered your questions and I have entered you into our database for future mailings.

Thank you once again!

Sincerely,

Maria Foster
YMCA Fund Development Director (805) 543-8235 x 111

Figure 4.57. Linguistic features in the General Public Benefit sub-sector mark texts in the mid range for narrative content.

In their classic 1967 presentation later published as *A Theory of Buyer Behavior*, more than four decades ago Howard and Sheth observed that a strong brand has the effect of automating (routinizing) transactions. While their observations were initially restricted to the commercial environment, the equally apply to nonprofit transactions:

> Much of buying behavior is more or less repetitive brand choice decisions. During his life cycle, the buyer establishes purchase cycles for various products which determine how often he will buy a given product....In the face of repetitive brand choice decisions, the consumer simplifies his decision process by storing relevant information and routinizing his decision process….At any point in time, the hypothetical constructs which reflect the buyer's internal state are affected by numerous stimuli from…the physical brands themselves or some linguistic or pictorial representations of the attributes of the brand. (1968, pp. 254-258)

The brand for nonprofit organizations is often communicated by *linguistic or pictorial stimuli* that include iconic images like the Red Cross of the American Red Cross (a doubly powerful icon linguistically and visually), the Salvation Army's Red Shield, and in the case of the YMCA the letters themselves.

Since his first text on nonprofit marketing in 1975, Philip Kotler has adapted commercial branding principles to the nonprofit sector. He notes that "many services and social movements carry brand names to distinguish them from one another" (1982, p. 295), citing several familiar national nonprofit organizations that having successfully developed brands. Texts from many to which Kotler alludes are included in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus: The Salvation Army, The Sierra Club, American Lung Association, Easter Seals, and the March of Dimes.

The linguistic evidence in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus suggests that, by the lack of interpersonal involvement and narrative, many nonprofits may be depending more upon their reputations and brands than the quality of their prose to create involvement and illustrate results through narrative. This raises another question worthy of additional research. *Do texts produced by nonprofits differ depending on the target audience for which they are written (e.g. is there a difference in the features associated with Dimension 1 and Dimension 2 in texts targeted to established donors versus prospective new donors)?* If a reader, perhaps an individual between 25 – 35 years old, is not swayed by reputation alone, but relies on a case for giving presented compellingly in a text, does the nonprofit approaching them write a different sort of text for them than would be written for one who has given faithfully for years? In some ways, the question is akin to the problem of one who starts to take their spouse for granted after the wooing and wining are past. While for an established donor, perhaps all that is necessary is the reminder of an organization's logo and slogan, does the younger or new donor regardless of age need a text to do more?

After the YMCA text above begins with the organization's very recognizable logotype and mission statement, undoubtedly meaningful for current donors, the letter does not illustrate with examples the issues inherent in the slogan. Those not as familiar with the organization may need more information, or more specifically examples that create interpersonal involvement. This YMCA letter is typical of hundreds of letters

in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Measured on the linguistics features of the text, the prose is conceptual and abstract (e.g. *Our programs teach the values of caring, trustworthiness, citizenship, fairness, respect, and responsibility*). This statement echoes the problem Connor and Upton (2003) cite in referring to the same trend in their study of the ICIC Corpus—that they generally do not create interpersonal involvement and are even more non-narrative than any texts in Biber's corpus. The language of the YMCA text sounds very similar to a passage Connor and Upton cite from a letter by the Girl Scouts. Strong similarities exist between the italicized excerpt above and the following Girl Scouts passage from the following ICIC Corpus excerpt: "*I know that you are aware of our mission—to prepare girls with ethical values, character, a desire to succeed and a commitment to their community*" (2003: 78). Connor and Upton concluded that most of the letters in their corpus were uninvolving and "more like academic expository texts than like personal letters; they have a strong information focus as opposed to the involved, interpersonal features we expected to see; they are mostly expository in structure, only sprinkled with narrative" (2003: 78).

The YMCA letter is remarkable in its total absence of reference to people and the prominence it gives to generalizations (e.g. *What do we expect of this commitment to character development? An obstacle overcome, a life changed a shared vision of strong families and cohesive, self-reliant communities, and the skills to help kids grow up caring, healthy, and full of the self-confidence they need to make good choices for life.*) No examples of individuals overcoming obstacles are presented. No examples of young people whose lives have been changed are shared.

Next Table 4.33 records differences DMRT statistics confirm on Dimension 3 of linguistic variation (elaborated/context independent versus not elaborated/situation dependent) among sub-sectors of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, and it plots scores of these sub-sectors in relationship to Biber's Corpus and the ICIC Corpus.

Table 4. 33. Dimension 3 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale

Dimension 3: Elaborated / Context Independent versus Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent

Fund Raising Discourse Comparisons Between Organization Types, the IRS 880 Corpus as a Whole, & Biber's Corpus

	Biber Corpus	IRS 880 TOTAL	A. IRS 880 ACH	B. IRS 880 ER	C. IRS 880 EA	D. IRS 880 H	E. IRS 880 HS	F. IRS 880 I	G. IRS 880 GPB	H. IRS 880 R	I. IRS 880 FUE
Segments with the same letter are not significantly different:			A,B	A,B	B,C	C	D,E	D	A,B	E	A
7.50											
7.25	Official Documents 7.3										
7.00											
6.75											
6.50	Professional Letters 6.5										
6.25											
6.00											5.9
5.75				5.8							
5.50									5.5		
5.25			5.3								
5.00					4.9						
4.75		4.6									
4.50											
4.25	Press Reviews 4.3 Academic Prose 4.2					4.3					
4.00											
3.75	Religion 3.7										
3.50								3.4			
3.25							3.2				
3.00											
2.75											
2.50										2.5	
2.25	Popular Lore 2.3										
2.00	Press Editorials 1.9										
1.75	Biographies 1.7										
1.50											
1.25	Spontaneous Speeches 1.2										
1.00											
0.75											
0.50											
0.25	Prepared Speeches 0.3										
0.00											
-0.25	Press Reportage -0.3 Hobbies -0.3										
-0.50	Interviews -0.4										
-0.75	Humor -0.8										
-1.00											
-1.25											
-1.50	Science Fiction -1.4										
-1.75											
-2.00											
-2.25											
-2.50											
-2.75											
-3.00	General Fiction -3.1										
-3.25											
-3.50	Mystery Fiction -3.6 Personal Letters -3.6										
-3.75	Adventure Fiction -3.8										
-4.00	Face-to-Face Conversations -3.9										
-4.25	Romantic Fiction -4.1										
-4.50											
-4.75											
-5.00											
-5.25	Telephone Conversations -5.2										
-5.50											
-6.0											
-7.0											
-8.0											
-9.0	Broadcasts -9.0										
		TOTAL	ACH	ER	EA	H	HS	I	GPB	R	FUE

ALPHA Key: **TOTAL**=Entire Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; **ACH**=Arts, Culture, & Humanities; **ER**=Education & Research; **EA**=Environment & Animals; **H**=Health; **HS**=Human Services; **I**=International; **GPB**=General Public Benefit; **R**=Religion; and **FUE**=Foundations, United Ways, etc.

Duncan's Multiple Range Test on Dimension 3: Elaborated / Context Independent versus Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent											
Texts From Segments Below↓ Differ With→	. . . Texts From The Following Non-Profit Segments:									Statistics:	
Non-Profit Segments	A ACH	B ER	C EA	D H	E HS	F I	G GPB	H R	I FUE	Mean	N
A-Arts, Culture, & Humanities (ACH)				✓	✓	✓		✓		5.32	117
B-Education & Research (ER)				✓	✓	✓		✓		5.76	671
C-Environment & Animals (EA)					✓	✓		✓	✓	4.88	74
D-Health (H)	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	4.33	294
E-Human Services (HS)	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	3.17	245
F-International (I)	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	3.44	345
G-General Public Benefit (GPB)				✓	✓	✓		✓		5.51	98
H-Religion (R)	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	2.51	285
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		5.92	283
α = .05; Error Degrees of Freedom = 2403; Error Mean Square = 15.51141; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes = 175.8541											

Figure 4.58. Dimension 3 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale.

Yet again, figure 4.58 shows that the Religion (H) segment stood out from the rest by virtue of its low score for elaboration. Close behind were texts from Human Services (HS) and International (F) organizations. As noted in Figure 4.56 above, 54 percent of the charities in the International segment are faith-based organizations. Similarly, in the Human Services segment, 27 percent are faith-based. So again the data underscores that a significant difference seems to exists in the discourse of faith-based organizations that account for a third (32.8%) of all philanthropic dollars raised.

The 2.51 standardized mean-per-thousand-word score for salient linguistic features associated with elaboration for Religion, the 3.17 score for Human services, and a score of 3.44 for International texts ranks these sub genres closest to those of Popular Lore (2.3), Press Editorials (1.9), and Biographies (1.7) in Biber's corpus. More formal documents such as official documents and professional letters scored high in Biber's Dimension 3 continuum. Official documents scored 6.5 and official documents scored 7.3.

The rankings listed in the 4.34 below are arrayed opposite the two previous ranking tables. These list organizations in ascending order, arraying first those organizations with the smallest means for elaboration and situation independence first, listing those with greater elaboration and context independence last.

Table 4.34 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 3			
Rank	**Non-Profit Segment**	**Mean**	**N**
1.	**H-Religion (R)**	2.51	285
2.	**E-Human Services (HS)**	3.17	245
3.	**F-International (I)**	3.44	345
4.	**D-Health (H)**	4.33	294
5.	**C-Environment & Animals (EA)**	4.88	74
6.	**A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)**	5.32	117
7.	**G-General Public Benefit (GPB)**	5.51	98
8.	**B-Education & Research (ER)**	5.76	671
9.	**I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)**	5.92	283

A low score in Table 4.34 on elaboration suggests that texts depend readers' familiarity with a writer's context. That is, if a nonprofit organization has kept a reader well informed less elaboration is necessary. Genres in Biber's corpus with low scores on elaboration include those of Telephone Conversations, Adventure Fiction, and Personal Letters. In such communication, familiarity and the proximity of interactants leads to less explicit descriptions and more nuanced communication—what one would expect between two individuals who share a common spatial context. However, here it also applies to those who share other things in common.

Organizations with high levels of elaboration and context independence include the genres of Foundations, United Ways, and similar organizations (I) with a mean score of 5.92 on Dimension 3 and Education and Research (B) with a mean score of 5.76. The text in Figure 4.59 (369-e-3-I) that follows was written by Federation CJA, the central funding, planning and coordinating body of services for the Jewish population of nearly 93,000 in Montreal, Canada. Federation CJA is one of ten Canadian organizations ranked among the top 735 nonprofit organizations raising funds in the U.S and Montreal's Combined Jewish Appeal (CJA) is the fundraising arm of Federation CJA. Theirs is a short electronic-based text designed to stand on its own.

The CJA text is marked by numerous relative clause constructions such as *wh-clauses* on both subject and object positions to "explicitly identify referents or provide elaboration about referents" (Conrad and Biber, 2001, p. 33). Conrad and Biber further note that subsequent to 1988, the name of this dimension shifted from *Explicit* versus *Situation Dependent* to *Elaborated versus Situation-dependent Reference* "since 'elaborated' may provide a more transparent description for some readers" (2001, p. 33) according to the authors. I have operationalized the definition even further with a longer but clearer-still title that names the presence of absence of the critical textual device this features focuses on, and the state of independence or dependence its presence or absence creates: *Elaborated/Context Independent* versus *Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent*. I have are italicized and made bold these features in the text 369-e-3-i which follows in Figure 4.59:

Text 369-e-3-I: Combined Jewish Appeal

Long Term Giving: Compassion

In your lifetime, you have built Montreal's Jewish community into one of the most vibrant, cohesive, and committed in the entire Diaspora. Your gifts to the Combined Jewish Appeal have meant so much to many:

Every poor person ***whose life was improved*** by our support. Every senior ***who gained dignity*** in one of our activity programs. Every child ***who received a Jewish education***. Every immigrant ***who got a new start***. Every person ***who found employment***. Every individual with special needs ***who was treated with patience and respect***. Every underprivileged child ***who enjoyed a summer at camp***.

Each is a part of your legacy.
Your legacy can live on.

Figure 4.59. Linguistic features in the Foundations, United Ways etc. sub-sector mark texts high for elaboration and context independent content.

Scoring in the middle of the range on Dimension 3 is the following text (166-p-5-c) in Figure 4.60

Text 166-p-5-c: The Humane Society of the United States

The Humane Society of the United States
Celebrating Animals, Confronting Cruelty

Just a note ***to make sure*** that ***the official 2007 HSUS Pet Lover's Calendar*** we ***recently sent to you*** arrived in good condition.

I know you will get a lot of use from your calendar. ***As you turn*** the page each month, I'm sure you will enjoy all the cute and lovable dogs, cats, puppies and kittens that we've selected.

So many folks say they love the animals, but don't take the time to do anything about the suffering and needless deaths.

But you are different! By stepping forward and becoming a new HSUS member, you are speaking out for the dogs and cats, puppies and kittens who cannot speak for themselves.

Your new membership ***means so much*** to me and to The HSUS.

Please help us carry our message to others. We MUST put a stop to animal cruelty and abuse. We MUST encourage people to treat animals ***with kindness and tolerance***. Please join with us today and send your gift of $5, $8, or even $12 to help our animal friends.

Thanks again. Enjoy ***your official 2007 HSUS Pet Lover's Calendar***.

Sincerely,
Wayne Pacelle, President and Chief Executive Officer

P.S. Please keep and use ***your HSUS 2007 Pet Lover's Calendar*** as a free gift from me to you for being ***such a kind friend*** to all animals. A full-color calendar like this could cost as much as $15 in many stores. So please, send us your most generous gift and become a new HSUS member TODAY!

Prepare for disasters. Make sure you have a plan for your pet in the event of a hurricane, tornado, fire or flood.

Figure 4.60. Linguistic features in the Environment and Animals sub-sector mark texts for content in the middle range between elaborated and context independent and those not elaborated and situation dependent.

The Humane Society text in Figure 2.60 scores between highly elaborated and context independent sub-genres and those that are not elaborated and situation dependent. The score on Dimension 3 for this example was 4.33, in the middle of the distribution of 74 texts in the EA (Environment and Animals) sub-sector of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. Among the linguistic features marked in bold are several common to situation dependent texts are exogenous references to things outside the text by using place and time adverbials, and other adverbs that "have a wider range of functions, such as descriptions of manner, but also give time and place reference" (Conrad and Biber, 2001, p. 33). The HSUS refers to the way the writer *feels* about the reader, how the reader *feels* about animals, how she or he will feel about the exogenous referent (the calendar) that was sent (e.g. *you will enjoy*). Several other adverbials of are noteworthy (e.g. *as you turn, means so much, such a kind friend*). The numerous referents outside the text itself reflect the negative pole of Dimension 3. The stage for this kind of language is set by the fact that the charity had sent an item in the mail to the prospective donor. And thus the tone fits the situation created and is thus written to create the sense of a friend writing casually to a friend asking if what was sent arrived (e.g. *Just a note to make sure that the official 2007 HSUS Pet Lover's Calendar we recently sent to you arrived in good condition*). Even the way the sentence begins with an ellipsis, omitting *I am writing* suggests a situation dependent context and the letter as a whole is designed to create a sense that the writer is right there, having a conversation with the reader. Adverbials communicate not only a sense of physical presence (place adverbials), but of feeling (manner adverbials). In the case of fund-raising texts, the use of the linguistic devices associated with Dimension 3 (or at least in this letter) seem to be an extension of the effect measured by Dimension 1—interpersonal involvement enabled by sending and then referring to a gift sent in the mail.

This is a meta-linguistic factor created by the writer that made his chatter about the calendar possible. Moreover, the rhetorical approach and strategy of using the calendar in the manner portrayed constitutes a sub-genre of texts, and several elements in this particular text reflect careful attention to branding, referred to above vis-à-vis the YMCA . First the text seems very brand-driven like the YMCA letter (e.g. the logo is prominent on the letter and the organization's slogan (e.g. *Celebrating Animals, Confronting Cruelty*) is featured below it. Also like the YMCA letter, it reminds the reader of the organization's mission in general terms (e.g. *We MUST encourage people to treat animals with kindness and tolerance*). Again, these are aims are stated in general terms with no description of specific instances of animal cruelty. As noted, beyond these similarities with the YMCA letter, the HUSU appeal is also a follow up letter to a previous communication that had included a calendar. This

fund-raising discourse sub-genre thus seeks to create a common frame of reference that allows situation dependent discourse focused on the item sent, which in this case is a springboard to discussion of the values reflected in the art (e.g. *I'm sure you will enjoy all the cute and lovable dogs, cats, puppies and kittens. . . .But you are different! By stepping forward and becoming a new HSUS member*)

The approach of sending items as token gifts is common among larger nonprofits and is generally aimed not at donor segments, but prospective new donors. The strategy seeks to create a sense of obligation by sending a token gift such as a calendar, bookmark, or other item called a *front-end premium*. The premium to which this text refers reinforced the essential cause of animal rights and is referred to in the text (*I'm sure you will enjoy all the cute and lovable dogs, cats, puppies and kittens that we've selected.*) Jaconowitz and Lautman (2000) note that among the most popular such strategies are name and address labels, sent by such large mailers as the Diasabled American Veterans. They provide a summary of the strategy:

> Many major nonprofits . . . have used name and address labels on a widesrpead basis. . . .Many organizations have developed an acquisition strategy that includces more of that one control package. In this strategy, one track focuses on name stickers, while another track uses a more traditional approach, relying on a well-constructed case for giving and an "ask" appealiing to the donor's philanthropic nature. Donors acquired from a more traditional appeal renew better, although tghey are more costly to acquire. The underlying trend here, howerver, is to offset the higher cost of acquiring "high-quality donors" using the subsidy provided by the "lower"-quality name sticker donors. (2000. p. 151)

The text seems to refer to refer to commonalities in addition to the fact that the writer had sent something in the mail. Quite possibly the list to which the *font-end premium* was mailed had been selected because it was comprised of individuals with a documented affinity for the mailing organization's cause (the environment and animals). It is common, for instance, to rent mailing lists comprised of past donors with specific causes that might make them inclined to give to a similar cause. This familiarity would translate in some cases to a less elaborated style of discourse that acknowledges and builds on commonalities by sounding more like a personal conversation than official document. In test 1B of paratextual affects on response, I review a campaign by the American Heart Association using a box of greeting cards as a front-end premium.

Next Table 4.35 records differences DMRT statistics confirm on Dimension 4 of linguistic variation (overt expressions of argumentation) among sub-sectors of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, and it plots scores of these sub-sectors in relationship to Biber's Corpus and the ICIC Corpus.

Table 4. 35. Dimension 4 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale

Dimension 4: Overt Expression of Argumentation											
Fund Raising Discourse Comparisons Between Organization Types, the IRS 880 Corpus as a Whole, & Biber's Corpus											
Biber Corpus		IRS 880 TOTAL	A. IRS 880 ACH	B. IRS 880 ER	C. IRS 880 EA	D. IRS 880 H	E. IRS 880 HS	F. IRS 880 I	G. IRS 880 GPB	H. IRS 880 R	I. IRS 880 FUE
Segments with the same letter are not significantly different:			B,C	B,C	B,C	B,C	B	B	C,D	A	D
4.00											
3.75											
3.50	Professional Letters 3.5										
3.25											
3.00	Press Editorials 3.1										
2.75											
2.50											
2.25											
2.00											
1.75	Hobbies 1.7 Romantic Fiction 1.8										
1.50	Personal Letters 1.5										
1.25											
1.00	General Fiction 0.9 Interviews 1.0										
0.75	Telephone Conversations 0.6										
0.50	Prepared Speeches 0.4										
0.25	Religion 0.2 Spontaneous Speeches 0.3										
0.00	Humor -0.3 Face-to-Face Conversations -0.3										
-0.25	Popular Lore -0.3 Official Documents -0.2										
-0.50	Academic Prose -0.5 Mystery Fiction -0.7									- 0.4	
-0.75	Press Reportage -0.7										
-1.00	Science Fiction -0.7 Biographies -0.7										
-1.25	Adventure Fiction -1.2										
-1.50											
-1.75											
-2.00							- 2.0	-2.0			
-2.25		- 2.2		- 2.3							
-2.50			- 2.5		- 2.5	- 2.4					
-2.75	Press Reviews -2.8										
-3.00									- 2.9		
-3.25											
-3.50											- 3.4
-3.75											
-4.00											
-4.50	Broadcasts -4.4										
-5.00		TOTAL	ACH	ER	EA	H	HS	I	GPB	R	FUE
ALPHA Key: **TOTAL**=Entire Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; **ACH**=Arts, Culture, & Humanities; **ER**=Education & Research; **EA**=Environment & Animals; **H**=Health; **HS**=Human Services; **I**=International; **GPB**=General Public Benefit; **R**=Religion; and **FUE**=Foundations, United Ways, etc.											

Duncan's Multiple Range Test on Dimension 4: Overt Expression of Argumentation											
Texts From Segments Below↓ Differ With→	. . . Texts From The Following Non-Profit Segments:									Statistics:	
Non-Profit Segments	A ACH	B ER	C EA	D H	E HS	F I	G GPB	H R	I FUE	Mean	N
A-Arts, Culture, & Humanities (ACH)								✓	✓	-2.52	117
B-Education & Research (ER)								✓	✓	-2.30	671
C-Environment & Animals (EA)								✓	✓	-2.54	74
D-Health (H)							✓	✓	✓	-2.40	294
E-Human Services (HS)							✓	✓	✓	-2.02	245
F-International (I)								✓	✓	-2.03	345
G-General Public Benefit (GPB)				✓		✓		✓	✓	-2.88	98
H-Religion (R)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	-0.41	285
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		-3.35	283
α = .05; Error Degrees of Freedom = 2403; Error Mean Square = 15.51141; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes = 175.8541											

Figure 4.61. Dimension 4 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale.

Table 4.36 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 4

Rank	Non-Profit Segment	Mean	N
1.	H-Religion (R)	-0.41	285
2.	E-Human Services (HS)	-2.02	245
3.	F-International (I)	-2.03	345
4.	B-Education & Research (ER)	-2.30	671
5.	D-Health (H)	-2.40	294
6.	A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)	-2.52	117
7.	C-Environment & Animals (EA)	-2.54	74
8.	G-General Public Benefit (GPB)	-2.88	98
9.	I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	-3.35	283

Figure 4.61 and Table 4.36 show that two groups of texts share commonality in their differences with other nonprofit segments—Religion (H) and the catch-all segment of Foundations, United Ways, and Other (I). However, unlike previous MRT comparisons, the commonality of these two genres ends there. Religion has the highest mean score on Dimension 4 of - 0.41 and the Foundations, United Ways and Other has the lowest score at the other end of the continuum. Texts generated by religious organizations seem to make appeals to authority and thus employ linguistic features associated with discourse that builds support for arguments by making claims to principles or sources deemed credible either by position and appealing to action through the use of modals. In the following I have highlighted suasive verbs and prediction, necessity, and possibility modals are in bold italics. Although not a modal, an epistemic stance adverbial (the ***most urgent*** need) functions every bit as much as a modal. The text (17-p-23-h) in Figure 4.62 comes from Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC) the largest U.S. religious organization. The second in Figure 4.63 is a United Way (UW) text.

Text 17-p-23-h: Campus Crusade for Christ

September 2005
Dear compassionate friend,

Just days ago, Hurricane Katrina slammed into the South, devastating Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama. With winds up to 140 miles per hour and torrential downpours, this powerful storm has displaced families, taken an untold number of lives and left entire communities underwater. Right now we are mobilizing a ready supply of resources to help. The good news is that much of this aid has already been donated!

Some items such as blankets, mattresses, and hygiene products ***may*** still ***have*** to be purchased, but the ***most urgent*** need now is for funds to ship and distribute the resources we currently have.

In this time of tremendous need, ***would*** you be willing to help ensure that men, women, and children receive the physical assistance they so desperately need? Because supplies are already available and ready for shipment, your gift ***will*** be "multiplied" in terms of the amount of aid delivered to people who have been affected by Hurricane Katrina.

In other words, your gift of $50 ***will*** supply hundreds of dollars worth of aid; $500 ***would*** deliver thousands of dollars worth. A larger gift of $1,000 ***would*** help to ship and distribute already donated supplies to even more survivors. Any amount that you can give right now ***will*** help show the compassion of Christ and make a huge difference

If you ***would*** like to save mail time you can give online at http://give.ccci.org.

In addition, your prayers for those in affected areas as well as your partnership in helping to provide relief will be very much appreciated.

With emergency resources already available, ***won't*** you please consider what you ***can*** do to help fund the transportation and distribution of this aid? Thank you so much.

Figure 4.62. Linguistic features in the Religion sub-sector mark texts for presence of overt expressions of argumentation.

A text on the opposite end of the spectrum is a United Way (UW) text 182-P-2-i in Figure 4.63.

Text 182-P-2-i: United Way in the Los Angeles Metro Region

The Los Angeles Metro region-an area encompassing downtown, Hollywood, West Hollywood, Northeast Los Angeles and South Los Angeles-makes up the urban core of Los Angeles County. The area boasts landmarks like Little Tokyo, the Sunset Strip and Griffith Park, as well as thriving neighborhoods and rapid growth over the last several years. The Los Angeles Metro Region is a great place to live and work. But like every community, we face challenges. What matters is how we work together to correct these problems.

KEY FACTS about Los Angeles:

· 45% of parents of children aged 0 to 5 report difficulty finding adequate quality childcare
. 16% of live births to mothers in the area received late or no prenatal care
. Over 492,000 adults, ages 18 to 64, plus 103,000 youth, ages 0 to 17, lack health insurance
. 328,000 adults have no regular source of health care
. Over 379,000 adults did not obtain I dental care during the past year because they could not afford it

Invest in Caring - when you support these programs, you provide critical resources to people in crisis. Programs include emergency assistance, basic health care, child abuse prevention and counseling, food assistance and other essential services. Your investment in safety net services ensures that short-term emergencies do not become long-term problems.

What's the next challenge for Los Angeles? Your gift can help us find the solution.

Figure 4.63. Linguistic features in the Foundations, United Ways etc. sub-sector mark texts for absence of overt expressions of argumentation.

Biber et al. (199, p. 483) lists nine central modal auxiliary verbs (can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would, must) that play an important role in argumentative texts. They add emotional range to a text. Noticeably absent from the UW text are such modals, so apparent in the CCC Hurricane Katrina fund-appeal letter. The UW text presents, under the header Key Facts, several problems, but sans the urge to act that marked the CCC letter which scored high on features associated with overt expressions of argumentation. The absence of modals In the UW text creates a less urgent feel and makes no direct appeal for help.

Scoring in the middle of the range for overt expressions of argumentation are texts from the Health segment (D) with a mean score of -2.40. The text in Figure 4.64 (789-p-12-d) is ranked 147th in the middle of the distribution of 294 texts in the Health segment of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. It was produced by The American Lung Association (ALA) and has a standardized mean score on overt expressions of argumentation of -2.59. This very brief text was accompanied, like the HSUS letter reviewed above, by a set of colorful spring flower stamps as a incentive to give, and like the HUSU letter and the YMCA letter, it seems to use branding elements such as its logo and a slogan prominently. The letter package as a whole typifies a popular sub-genre often referred to as a *short form*. It is mailed in a window envelope and is usually sent to past donors.

Text 789-p-12-d: AMERICAN LUNG ASSOCIATION

AMERICAN LUNG ASSOCIATION
Improving Life, One Breath at a Time

That's our mission, and it's what we are doing for the more than 35 million Americans with chronic lung disease.

Whether they suffer from lung cancer, emphysema, chronic bronchitis or asthma, they share the same frightening symptom - fighting for a breath of air.

They also share something else. The hope that someone like you will help them, as you have in the past.

Your last gift made possible lifesaving lung disease research and important lung health programs.

In your own community, and nationwide, your gift has a real impact.

Lung disease researchers are closer to cures... Clean air legislation has been passed... And children have been taught the dangers of smoking...

But we need your help to continue. Please contribute generously to our Easter Fund Campaign so that critical lung disease research and lung health programs can continue. The enclosed spring stamps are our way of saying thank you for all your help.

Sincerely,
Terri E. Weaver, Ph.D., RN
National Volunteer Chair

P.S. Please send your contribution today! Show others you care by using the enclosed self-adhesive Spring Stamps on all your cards and letters. We've also included other gifts that can be used year-round!

Figure 4.64. Linguistic features in the Health sub-sector mark texts in the middle range for absence of overt expressions of argumentation.

The American Lung text does not attempt to urge action as the CCC Hurricane Katrina letter did but does more than list key facts as the UW letter did. While modals are not present as in the CCC letter, it does tell the reader that past gifts using what is more typical of nonprofit fund appeals, the insert *please* (e.g. ***Please*** *contribute generously to our Easter Fund Campaign*, *Please send your contribution today!*). In addition, this text uses items not specified in the factor analysis for Dimension 4 that are typical of fund-appeal letters—marginal auxiliary verbs and semi-modals that are prominent in fund-raising discourse. Biber et al. identify "a handful of **marginal auxiliary** verbs (e.g. *need (to), ought to, dare (to), used to*). . . .In addition, there are a number of fixed idiomatic phrases with functions similar to those of modals: *(had) better, have to, (have)got to, be supposed to, be going to*" (1999, p. 485). In the ALA letter the marginal auxiliary is used to add an emotional degree of urgency to the appeal (e.g. *But we* ***need*** *your help to continue*). The *front-end premium* is mentioned prominently twice in the P.S., considered the prime real estate of a fund-appeal (e.g. *Show others you care by using the* ***enclosed self-adhesive Spring Stamps*** *on all your cards and letters*, *We've also included other gifts that can be used year-round!*). Rather than just writing that other *stamps* were also enclosed, the writer uses the word *gift* is to underscore the element of *quid quo pro* suggested by a *gift* having already been made by the nonprofit organization.

Next, Table 4.37 records differences DMRT statistics confirm on Dimension 5 of linguistic variation (abstract/impersonal versus not abstract/non-impersonal) among sub-sectors of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, and it plots scores of these sub-sectors in relationship to Biber's Corpus and the ICIC Corpus.

Table 4. 37. Dimension 5 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale

Dimension 5: Abstract / Impersonal versus Not Abstract / Non-Impersonal											
Fund Raising Discourse Comparisons Between Organization Types, the IRS 880 Corpus as a Whole, & Biber's Corpus											
	Biber Corpus	IRS 880 TOTAL	A. IRS 880 ACH	B. IRS 880 ER	C. IRS 880 EA	D. IRS 880 H	E. IRS 880 HS	F. IRS 880 I	G. IRS 880 GPB	H. IRS 880 R	I. IRS 880 FUE
Segments with the same letter are not significantly different:			C	B	A,B	B	A,B	A,B	A,B	A	A,B
6.00											
5.75											
5.50	Academic Prose 5.5										
5.25											
5.00											
4.75	Official Documents 4.7										
4.50											
4.25											
4.00											
3.75											
3.50											
3.25											
3.00											
2.75											
2.50											
2.25											
2.00											
1.75											
1.50	Religion 1.4										
1.25	Hobbies 1.2										
1.00										0.9	
0.75	Press Reportage 0.6							0.8			0.7
0.50	Personal Letters 0.4 Professional Letters 0.4	0.5			0.5		0.4		0.6		
0.25	Press Editorials 0.3			0.2		0.3					
0.00	Popular Lore 0.1										
-0.25											
-0.50	Humor -0.4 Biographies -0.5		- 0.4								
-0.75	Press Reviews -0.8										
-1.00											
-1.25											
-1.50											
-1.75	Broadcasts -1.7										
-2.00	Prepared Speeches -1.9 Interviews -2.0										
-2.25											
-2.50	General Fiction -2.5 Science Fiction -2.5										
-2.75	Adventure Fiction -2.5 Mystery Fiction -2.8										
-3.00	Romantic Fiction -3.1										
-3.25	Face-to-Face Conversations -3.2										
-3.50	Spontaneous Speeches -2.6										
-3.75	Telephone Conversations -3.7										
-4.00											
-4.50											
-5.00		TOTAL	ACH	ER	EA	H	HS	I	GPB	R	FUE

ALPHA Key: **TOTAL**=Entire Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; **ACH**=Arts, Culture, & Humanities; **ER**=Education & Research; **EA**=Environment & Animals; **H**=Health; **HS**=Human Services; **I**=International; **GPB**=General Public Benefit; **R**=Religion; and **FUE**=Foundations, United Ways, etc.

Duncan's Multiple Range Test on Dimension 5: Abstract / Impersonal versus Not Abstract / Non-Impersonal											
Texts From Segments Below↓ Differ With→	. . . Texts From The Following Non-Profit Segments:									Statistics:	
Non-Profit Segments	A ACH	B ER	C EA	D H	E HS	F I	G GPB	H R	I FUE	Mean	N
A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-0.40	117
B-Education & Research (ER)	✓									0.20	671
C-Environment & Animals (EA)	✓									0.53	74
D-Health (H)	✓									0.31	294
E-Human Services (HS)	✓									0.41	245
F-International (I)	✓									0.78	345
G-General Public Benefit (GPB)	✓									0.60	98
H-Religion (R)	✓	✓		✓						0.94	285
I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)	✓									0.70	283
α = .05; Error Degrees of Freedom = 2403; Error Mean Square = 15.51141; Harmonic Mean of Cell Sizes = 175.8541											

Figure 4.65. Dimension 5 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale.

The distribution of scores on Dimension 5 in Figure 4.65 above shows that the nonprofit sectors of Arts, Culture and Humanities (A) and Religion (H), whose scores are diametric to one another, share in common marked differences with other nonprofit sectors' texts. Table 4.38 arrays mean dimension scores of all sun-genres. Texts with high scores on Dimension 5 are marked by "conjuncts (such as *thus*, *however*), agentless passives, passives with *by*-phrases, past participial (passive) adverbial clauses, past participial (passive) postnominal clauses (also called past participial WHIZ deletions), and other adverbial subordinators . . . with multiple functions, not consistently causative, concessive or conditional" (Connor and Biber, 2001, p. 37). Academic prose and technical documents have these linguistic features while conversation and fiction fall on the opposite end of the scale.

Table 4.38 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 5			
Rank	**Non-Profit Segment**	**Mean**	**N**
1.	**H-Religion (R)**	0.94	285
2.	**F-International (I)**	0.78	345
3.	**I-Other: Foundations, United Ways etc. (FUE)**	0.70	283
4.	**G-General Public Benefit (GPB)**	0.60	98
5.	**C-Environment & Animals (EA)**	0.53	74
6.	**E-Human Services (HS)**	0.41	245
7.	**D-Health (H)**	0.31	294
8.	**B-Education & Research (ER)**	0.20	671
9.	**A-Arts, Culture & Humanities (ACH)**	-0.40	117

Though the differences on the Duncan's MRT are statistically significant, among segments in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus very few texts exhibit meaningful variation on this dimension. Genres with less

narrowly focused purpose would show wider variation that would warrant including a review of texts on this dimension. However, as the three texts included here show, one from either end of the range of variation on Dimension 5, and a third from the middle of the distribution. The example in Figure 4.66 is from a low-scoring text on Dimension 5 from the Arts, Culture and Humanities sector. It is a donor renewal letter text (303-p-005-a) from nonprofit broadcaster KQED in San Francisco with a standardized mean-per-thousand words z-score for linguistic features for abstract, impersonal text of -3.63.

Text 303-p-005-a: KQED
KQUED
Leadership Circle

I am writing to thank you for your Leadership Circle membership in KQED. Last year, you generously contributed $1,000, for which we are extremely grateful.

Now that it's time to renew your membership, I hope you will continue at the Leadership Circle level. Without the ongoing generosity of Leadership Circle members like you, KQED could not maintain its position as one of the preeminent public broadcasting organizations in America.

At this time, I am asking you to consider how much you enjoy the quality of KQED broadcasts and think of the increased enjoyment your renewed and expanded support can provide for all of us in the Bay Area.

As a KQED leader, in effect, you're helping to sponsor outstanding television and radio programs, including: Masterpiece Theatre, Jean-Michel Cousteau: Ocean Adventures, Antiques Roadshow, Nova, Sesame Street, The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Morning Edition, CarTalk, This Week in Northern California, with Belva Davis plus other local new and timely series such as Forum, QUEST and Check Please! Bay Area.

In addition, your leadership provides KQED with the means for community services and educational services that utilize literacy as a foundation. These programs reach over 32,000 educators and 620,000 school children throughout Northern California.

In return, KQED continues to upgrade the superior quality of all KQED programs and services for our Northern California audiences. To acknowledge our most supportive members, KQED is making available several exclusive benefits described in the enclosed Membership Privileges & Special Benefits brochure.

Thank you in advance for your renewed participation. As long as we maintain the support of devoted members like you, KQED's future will remain bright.

Cordially,
Jeff Clark

P.S. Your increased participation at this time of shrinking contributions from other sources would be most appreciated.

Public Television * Public Radio * Education Network * www.kqed.org
2601 Mariposa Street San Francisco CA 94110-1426 415-553-2345 fax 415-553-2349

Figure 4.66. Linguistic features in the Arts, Culture and Humanities sub-sector mark texts in the low range for abstract/ impersonal non-abstract not impersonal content.

Figure 4.67 is from a fund-appeal by Campus Crusade for Christ (text 17-p-27-h) to raise funds for a film used to reach women in parts of the world they have few rights. This text's Dimension 5 z-score of 8.65.

Text 17-p-27-h: Campus Crusade for Christ

September 2005
Dear friend in Christ,

I am coming to you with an extraordinary opportunity. I'm sure you will be moved and intrigued by all I am about to share.

A new version of the “JESUS” film—based entirely on the Word of God—is being created to reach and help transform the lives of millions of women who suffer in the most oppressive nations on earth. Their plight is especially gripping in the “10/40 Window.”

Note: The 10/40 Window is the least-evangelized region of the world, between 10 and 40 degrees north latitude, extending through Western Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The region includes the majority of Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists of the world. The most spiritually impoverished nations are here. Without the influence of Christ, many of these cultures do not value women and girls and instead treat them as property.

Picture a culture where, if a wife or daughter is caught in sexual sin, a man is expected to perform an “honor killing.” It's likely no one will intervene nor call the police. . . instead, people accept his act, knowing he was merely removing his shame.

Imagine a place where an angry husband can shout “I divorce you” three times. Immediately, his wife is forced out of her home with no financial settlement and no alimony. Few will take her in, because in the culture's eyes, she must have dishonored him.

And, picture an environment where wives and girls are routinely belittled, told they are worthless, and considered property—of not much more worth than an animal. Beatings are routine and rapes are ignored by authorities, and, for a certain time each month, women are considered “unclean” and to be shunned.

Are conditions this bad in all nations of the 10/40 Window? No, and there are places where great progress has been made. But for tens of millions of women, what I have described is true reality, enough so that secular “Women’s Rights” conferences are routinely held to bring about change. But their solutions are insufficient, requiring more money, more education and more legislation. Yet, Jesus alone offers true transformation. And how much they need His touch, to be lifted up. . .

Several months ago, a “JESUS” coordination team was visiting a group of these women in Afghanistan. The room was closed, for security, and the locals were all wearing burkas. The team was deeply moved by personal stories of their oppression and loneliness—saddened by the pain of their lives and culture.

As the team was about to leave, one of the western women reached out to an Afghan women and hugged her. “She was hot and fevered, and sighed deeply in pain,” the team member reported, “and she did not want to let go for the longest time. She was so starved for love and acceptance.” “What is your name?” the team member asked. Her response, through tears, was, “No one has ever asked me my name.”

That team member still cannot tell about her encounter but through tears. Yet, it was that very meeting that gave birth to the vision of “JESUS for Women”.

That is why I pray you will reach out in love and be a part of letting millions feel the love and wonder of our blessed Savior.

Figure 4.67 Linguistic features in the Religious sub-sector mark texts in the high range for abstract/ impersonal non-abstract not impersonal content.

The final letter exhibited in Figure 4.68 a text from the midpoint of the distribution of texts on Dimension 5 from the nonprofit the Environment and Animals sector. Text 375-p-1-c is from the ASPCA (American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals). It has a mean score on Dimension 5 of .32 and is typical of a longer letters in the corpus designed to tell the organization's story in more detail than is possible in short form letter formats like the American Lung Association sample reviewed above. Due to length, it will span two pages.

Text 375-p-1-c: ASPCA

Dear Friend of the Animals,

For every animal that finds a caring, happy home, there are millions of other animals whose life stories end prematurely in shelters across America. Their only offense is their innocence.

Sadly, five out of ten sheltered dogs and seven out of ten sheltered cats are destroyed simply because there is no one to adopt them. These animals come from all walks of life — strays that have been picked up off the streets . . . purebreds surrendered by people for whatever reason . . . entire litters that have been left alone and defenseless. Untold numbers of pets are the innocent victims of abandonment, neglect and abuse.

Oftentimes, attention to these crimes comes only after the animal has endured needless pain and suffering. Although the situation sounds disheartening, we know change can prevail.

And there is only one animal welfare organization that has the experience, programs, people and prominence to help rewrite eight million stories and create lasting change — the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals — the ASPCA.

We have a bold plan to build a better future for all animals, but an obstacle stands in the way of achieving this dream — and that is the financial resources necessary to make it happen.

This is where you enter the story.

We've drafted a detailed Action Plan outlining several major changes and innovations that we will be implementing and expanding upon this year.

Please take just a moment to review the ASPCA's 2007 Action Plan and help us start this ambitious year with a generous gift to help put an end to the fear, pain and suffering of these animals in need.

Since 1866, the ASPCA has used innovative strategies, new technology and groundbreaking programs to end animal cruelty and save the lives of adoptable pets. These efforts include progressive medical care, humane education for children, humane law

(over, please)

Page 2

enforcement and legislative initiatives at the local, state and federal levels to secure laws that better protect animals.

Your support this year will help the ASPCA provide charity care for the thousands of abused and homeless pets that find their way to our state-of-the-art animal hospital. Your commitment will allow our skilled veterinarians and toxicologists to handle the 115,000 cases that come through our Animal Poison Control Center. Your continued dedication will mean that we will be able to match thousands of homeless animals with loving families.

Plus, your support is invaluable to our Humane Law Enforcement Department that receives over 50,000 calls and investigates over 4,000 cases each year. Your support is essential to these programs, and others like our National Shelter Outreach Department which works with thousands of animal shelter and rescue groups across the country to find more effective ways to increase the rate of adoptions and lead to thousands of animals finding permanent, loving homes.

When you open your heart and make the generous gifts that you so often do, you are helping the ASPCA strengthen its role as the leader in companion animal welfare and remain at the forefront of the crusade to achieve a future where no animal suffers needlessly or is "put to sleep" because of lack of space.

And in order to continue making profound and lasting change in the plight of abused and abandoned animals, I am asking you to send the most generous gift possible in support of our 2007 Action Plan.

Putting an end to the needless killing of adoptable pets and the senseless abuse suffered is an enormous task — a task that cannot be accomplished overnight. But, by making the decision — the commitment to make a change — to be a part of our lifesaving work, you can help us make genuine progress toward this goal. So please rush the most generous gift possible.

It is only through the collective efforts of compassionate people like you that the ASPCA will be able to rewrite eight million stories. Please accept my deepest admiration for your continued generosity and commitment to the animals we serve.

Sincerely,
Edwin Sayres
President & CEO

P.S. Despite the very significant gains the ASPCA has made in improving the lives of animals, millions of adoptable pets are still being needlessly killed each year and countless others are suffering neglect and abuse. You can help change the fate of America's animals by urging all those you know to Make Pet Adoption Your First Option® when seeking a companion animal. Thank you for making a difference.

WE ARE THEIR VOICE.™

Figure 4.68 Linguistic features in the Environment and Animals sub-sector mark texts in the high range for abstract/ impersonal non-abstract not impersonal content.

In describing texts that display high levels of abstraction, Conrad and Biber note a typical text "contains many passive constructions. Agents of the actions are not mentioned; instead, inanimate referents are the focus of the discourse. (p. 37).

None of the three samples above from both ends and the middle of the continuum show levels of passive technical language that from Biber's corpus. Connor and Upton did not even evaluate the ICIC Corpus on this dimension, and given the results of the analysis, it is understandable why. The analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus on Dimension 5 affirms Biber's caveat about corpus analytic techniques:

> Functional analyses of individual features in texts enable identification of the shared function underlying a group of features in a factor analysis. It must be emphasized, however, that while the co-occurrence patterns are derived quantitatively through factor analysis, interpretation of the dimension underlying a factor is tentative and requires confirmation, similar to any other interpretative analysis. Quantitative analyses five a solid empirical foundation to the findings; non-quantitative analyses are required for the interpretation. Either type of analysis in isolation gives an incomplete description. (1988, pp. 52, 91, 92).

The unremarkable findings here on Dimension 5 underscores Biber's point. The rhetorical aim of fund-raising discourse is to raise money. And although the route to achieving that aim may vary widely from text to text, and although the measures of variation may be differ significantly on the first four dimensions, the fifth dimension does not seem to add significant new information to the analysis of fund-raising discourse.

A possible reason for this may be the fact that the rhetorical aim of fund-raising texts constrains writers. That is, the task of informing and motivating readers to give may simply lead writers to avoid producing technical-sounding texts, marked by passive constructions. Given that even the most abstract texts on this continuum (represented by the highest-scoring CCC text) fails to approach top-of-scale profiles like those in the Academic Prose and Official Documents genres, obtaining factor scores on Dimension 5 may be unnecessary in future studies. The results are indeed statistically significant, but they are not meaningful in differentiating among texts. Therefore, this measure can probably be eliminated from similar studies in the future. The full range of rankings on Dimension 5 are noted in the following table.

Regardless of the utility of evaluation of fund-raising texts on Dimension 5, it is apparent that the best way to evaluate any range of texts would entail examining their scores on all dimensions simultaneously.

Thus an initial step in a thorough content analysis of a group of texts would include an initial process step that of comparing them on all relevant dimensions—both against one another and against other corpora, as illustrated below on Table 4.39, which arrays factor scores on all five dimensions for the three texts examined on Dimension 5. As noted above, this provides only a first step, and the value of such analyses is to do more than describe texts. Linguists understandably find value in documenting patterns of linguistic variation alone. However, for those who seek to do things with words, to cite John Austin (1962) and John Searle (1969)—they hope that such knowledge can inform practice—that it can help them better *raise money with words*. The intra-corpus comparisons conducted here suggest that further in-depth corpora development from the sectors that differ significantly with one another is warranted. For example, those nonprofit sectors whose texts score low on interpersonal involvement on dimension one, might benefit from the examples of philanthropic discourse from sectors with high scores on involvement.

Table 4.39	Comparison of Three Texts on Five Dimensions Among Themselves and in Comparison to Two Corpora				
Texts:	Standardized Mean-Per-1,000 *z*-score on Dimension 1	Standardized Mean-Per-1,000 *z*-score on Dimension 2	Standardized Mean-Per-1,000 *z*-score on Dimension 3	Standardized Mean-Per-1,000 *z*-score on Dimension 4	Standardized Mean-Per-1,000 *z*-score on Dimension 5
CCC	-2.40	0.17	0.93	1.41	8.65
ASPCA	-11.63	-3.53	5.06	-3.28	.32
KQED	-10.47	-3.82	10.81	-3.63	-10.47
IRS 880	-12.8	-3.0	4.6	-2.2	0.5
ICIC	-11.9	-3.1	4.7	-1.2	NONE

Discussion of Results of Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus Analysis. Since the development of Douglas Biber's model of multi-dimensional multi-factor analysis (MD analysis), numerous research projects have used his protocols to describe variation in particular text registers. He notes that these "studies apply the dimensions identified in the 1988 MD-analysis of English to some new discourse domain, but they do not undertake a new MD-analysis (i.e. involving a new factor analysis)" (2004, p. 16). Rather, such studies have used the metrics Biber calibrated in his original factor analysis in order to describe and compare the new discourse domains studied with the 23 registers characterized in his original work. I have used this approach to compare the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus with both Connor and Upton's ICIC study (2003) and Biber's original work: Variation Across Speech and Writing (2988). Regarding the benefit of this approach, Conrad and Biber note:

> The 1988 MD analysis identifies the major dimensions of variation for registers in English. . . . The decision to conduct a new, complete MD analysis or to apply the 1988 study depends on the research issues that are being investigated, because the two approaches will give different perspectives on register variation. Using the established dimensions allows researchers to understand new registers or specialized subregisters relative to the range of spoken and written registers in English. (2001, p. 41)

This study has sought to replicate and expand Connor and Upton's examination of the fund-raising letters in the ICIC Corpus. I did this by creating a larger database of 2,412 texts of more than 1.5 million words, with greater geographic and nonprofit sector coverage, especially among all U.S. nonprofit organizations that raise at least $20 million or more annually in direct public support. After Biber ran the Dickerson IRS 880 data, I reported results in a series of tables listing the mean dimensional scores of texts. These scores were then compared with the same indices from Biber's original study of 23 registers of spoken and written English and with scores of dimensional variation reported from the Connor and Upton study of

316 fund-raising texts from 106 organizations (sans Dimension 5, which criteria they did not evaluate). I illustrated and discussed findings using numerous text samples. In keeping with Biber's methodology that couples qualitative analysis with empirical data, this study has not only evaluated dimensional scores within and between corpora, but has also evaluated texts against the primary goal shared by all the discourse contained in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus—the rhetorical aim of *raising money with words*. The following are observations that admittedly present my personal stance toward the data.

First a broad statement about Connor and Upton's previous research, which laid the foundation for the present study. Upon reading their work my initial thought was: "*There's* a*n elephant in the room, yet everyone continues to sit at tea, chatting about sports and weather*." I sensed that the nonprofit sector was virtually unaware of the presence of a giant Pachyderm in the room. The metaphor paints a ridiculous mental picture—*what if the elephant were to bolt*? It might break grandma's fine china. And worse yet, it might break grandma too!

While Connor and Upton's groundbreaking research made fundamental discoveries about philanthropic discourse and provided a pattern for this and other follow-up studies, leaders in philanthropy are by and large unaware of their findings. One reason for this lack of awareness is the fact that popular trade publications have yet to summarize their research. In addition, Connor and Upton understandably limited their role to that of *describing* and refraining from *interpreting* their work. As academics, they refrained from sounding an alarm that something is wrong with the way practitioners write fund-raising discourse. Perhaps their reluctance was also due to an uncertainty that their corpus was robust enough to justify making definitive conclusions. For example, they write: "the analyses in this paper and the ones mentioned above also rely on the texts in the sample without considering the contextual richness of the philanthropic corpus collected" (2003, p84). Yet they did seem to extend their conclusions (repeated here) to the discourse of philanthropy as a whole:

> In summary, what this analysis tells us is that direct mail letters are very much a distinct and unique genre. What makes this genre all the more interesting is that it contains some counter-intuitive features. These include the fact that these letters are more like academic expository texts than like personal letters; they have a strong information focus as opposed to the involved, interpersonal features we expected to see; they are mostly expository in structure, only sprinkled with narrative tales; and they tend to be highly polished, closely edited texts, which is counter to the impression they attempt to give as quickly penned, chatty letters.

The broad scope of their conclusions was underscored as they framed them with: "what this analysis tells us ***about direct mail letters***" and "what makes ***this genre*** all the more interesting" (bold italics added). Regardless of any deficiencies in their corpus, their conclusions seemed to suggest that their findings applied to fund-raising texts as a whole. I personally doubted that at first. I believed their findings only applied to smaller

nonprofits within a 50-mile radius of Indianapolis, Indiana. However, my views have come full circle. The data in my much larger more representative corpus actually supports their conclusions. The linguistic patterns of even the largest nonprofit organizations that raise $20 million or more annually are virtually the same as those in the Connor and Upton study. I now surmise that this ubiquitous problem (and I do characterize it as problematic) is due to a lack of clarity regarding what should be the two primary aims in writing the voice of philanthropy—to involve readers and tell stories about changed lives. In turn, this problem suggests that the nonprofit sector must take steps to educate professionals in the theoretical foundations and practical skills necessary to write effective philanthropic discourse.

I believe these elephant-sized issues have not been perceived because linguists, studying the work product of fund-raising practitioners, seem to have accepted too uncritically the positions of scholars like Bhatia (1993, 1997,1998, 2002) and Swales (1990) who define genres not as Peters and Waterman did superior-performing companies in their influential book *In Search of Excellence* (1982) (in which they identified successful companies and sought to find correlations with their successes), but rather as texts that are *representative* of the genre. As stated earlier, the mistake is in confusing *representative* for *exemplary*. The problem is in mistaking as a *model to emulate*, what is only a *mediocre* and an example to avoid. Put colloquially, *most good stuff is found three standard deviations from the mean, so why study the mean!*

Webster's defines *exemplar* as "a model or pattern to be copied or imitated" (1996, p. 677). The etymology of the word enriches understanding of its use. The Latin preposition *ex* is akin to the Greek *εκ*, both of which simply mean *out of*. When conjoined with *emere*, Latin root of the English root *emplar* which (Latin meaning *to take or buy*, the resulting word, *exemplar*, suggests the act of *taking a sample out of a larger batch to examine its quality*. Thus an exemplar was originally a commercial term meaning to sample a product's quality. I fear linguists are sampling not *excellence* but *mediocrity*.

This is dangerous to the profession of fund raising. It is the elephant in the living room. It is like describing dribbling and shooting in world of basketball by observing only elementary school children at play during recess—totally ignoring play at the NBA level—then reporting findings in a book titled *All You Need to Know to Excel at Basketball*. The conclusions would be interesting, but also skewed, inconclusive, and mistaken.

Following are some of the potential implications of the linguistic portion of this research. I have freely worded the following observations and recommendations in straightforward English, and in most cases have avoided the grammatical structure and lexical nuance common to academic hedging. Thus I frequently use the

personal pronoun *I*, try to avoid the passive voice, and take a more stanced and conversational style as have above. Despite this evaluative tact and although what I suggest reflects my personal biases (often reflected in the free use of modals like *ought*, *have to*, *need to*, and *should*), my views are supported by empirical data and the qualitative research of language scholars.

Having reviewed text samples from both ends of the continua on the first five of Biber's seven dimensions of linguistic variation and have weighed qualitative viewpoints expressed by numerous language scholars on most topics reviewed. I offer this summary.

Interpersonal Involvement Focus. This study confirmed what Connor and Upton (2003) found to be true of the ICIC Corpus—that on the whole, fund-raising texts do not exhibit characteristics of interpersonal involvement. While they stated this as an empirically verified fact, I go beyond Connor and Upton's statement of fact and suggest that this is the elephant in the room. It is bad. It is a profound problem that must be rectified. Those who write the discourse of fund raising must examine texts in light of the rhetorical templates (explicit or implicit) that guide their production, and examine their underlying linguistic composition, and learn how to marshal language resources to create texts with greater interpersonal involvement. Fund-raising texts must not only communicate *thoughtful* ways supporting, and sustaining philanthropic causes and institutions that are consistent with donors' values; they must also do so with *passion* that creates *involvement*. Thus fund-raising discourse must not only convince the dubious mind, but also touch the complacent heart and move the reluctant will to act. Therefore, I offer the index presented on the following tree pages as a guide for evaluating the interpersonal quotient of fund-raising discourse. The index summarizes resources found in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (*LGSWE*) that were identified in two similar indices of the conversational sections of *LGSWE*—one developed by Quaglio and Biber (2006) and the other by Biber and Vásquez (2008). I have adapted their work by adding additional references to sections of *LGSWE* and writing annotations relevant to fund-raising discourse. This table, with the *LGSWE,* which I recommend all writers obtain, can help make texts more conversational. This will improve their fund-raising effectiveness because "in conversation, speakers often express their feelings, attitudes, concerns and evaluations. . . .A range of grammatical constructions are utilized to convey such assessments of stance" (Quaglio and Biber 2006, p. 710).

Reviewing and applying the resources referred to in *LGSWE* will go a long way toward adding the involvement that Biber's Dimension 1 measures. The linguistic features collocated on Dimension 1 are like the wood, wire, and pipe a contractor hires carpenters, electricians and plumbers to use in order to building a

house. The raw materials create the end product, but it is the plan, not the component parts, that determines whether they synergy of those parts end creates an elegant mansion, a modest condominium, or an ugly shack. As an architect's plan determines what gets built, any text will be only as good as the rhetorical plan that guides its construction. But before discussing rhetorical plan, the following table considers linguistic raw materials that plan uses to create involvement.

I posited above that leaders in the nonprofit sector write the voice of philanthropy. The verb *write* was chosen instead of a verb more well-fit to the noun *word* to emphasize that writing in the genre of fund raising should read like an appeal made in person might sound—tinged with concern, urgency, fear, optimism, hope, confidence—in a word, tinged with *emotion*. Thus I suggested that nonprofit leaders stand in the tradition of the Good Samaritan who not only gave of his own resources, but *asked* an innkeeper to become his partner in philanthropy—to tend to a robbery victim he had rescued from harm's way. The Samaritan, despised as a second-class citizen by good Jews who worshipped in Jerusalem, was one who not only helped, but also *asked* for help on another's behalf. In twenty-first century America, the moral equivalent of that conversation with the innkeeper comes in what nonprofit leaders write and donors and potential donors read. Words must now *speak* and carry the *weight* of what surely must have been a powerful sight as the Samaritan stood before the proprietor of a lodge in Jericho. As he stood in the lobby, supporting with his shoulder a weak and scarred stranger, the impact on the wide-eyed innkeeper must have been palpable. This is the central message of this research—that the vast majority of fund-raising discourse does not effectively use linguistic resources *to make a human connection*. A simple remedy to that problem is to write text as if it were a transcript of a spoken conversation between two people sitting across the table from the reader in a coffee shop. A person who writes like they talk is unable to hide behind words and that depress emotion. So one way to improve writing would be to sit in a coffee shop and speak to a friend about the next reason money is needed, and a tape that conversation. Another is to study the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (LGSWE)*. Figure 4.69, which due to its length spans three pages, is an index to grammatical features in *LSWE* that create involvement through conversational writing.

Common Grammatical Features in *LGSWE* that Create Involvement through Conversational Writing		
Feature	***pp. LGSWE***	***Specific pattern of use***
Verbs and verb phrases		
Lexical verbs: overall	65, 639	Almost one third of all content words in conversation are lexical verbs. Verbs are much more common in conversation than in informational written registers.
Lexical verbs: specific verbs, frequencies and distributions across four registers	358-372	Seven semantic domains: 1) Activity; 2)Mental 3) Existence; 4) Communication; 5) Occurrence 6) Causative; 7) Aspectual
Mental verbs	366, 368	e.g. *know, think, see, want, mean*
Phrasal verbs	409, 424	e.g. *come on, get up, get off, find out, go on*
Present tense	456 ff.	about 70% of all verb phrases in conversation are present tense
Copular verb *get*	438, 444	Common only in conversation; e.g. *get ready, get worse*
Do as a main verb	432	Common only in conversation; e.g. *you do it*
Progressive aspect	462 ff.	Designates events or states leading up to a point in time; e.g. *they have been hoping for a chance like this to become self-sufficient*
Marginal auxiliary verbs	484	Verbs that behave like modals; e.g. *need (to), ought (to) dare (to)*)
Modal verbs	486 ff.	Of nine central modals (*will, would, can, could, may, should, must, might, shall*) *can*, *will*, and *would* are most common in conversation
Semimodal verbs	486 ff.	Are five times more common in conversation than writing and include *have to*, (*had*) *better*, (*have*) *got to*, *used to*
Adverbs		
Simple adverbs	540-542, 560-563	Those ending in *ly* are commonly derived from adjectives, are common in conversation and fiction, and often used to compare (e.g *much better*), note time (*right [now]*), quality (*so [well]*). Of seven semantic domains (place, time, manner, degree, additive/ restrictive, stance, and linking), time, degree, and stance are most common in conversation (e.g. *I really feel*, *I kind of want*)
Adjectival forms used as adverbs	542-543	*Good* often substitutes for *well* and *real* often substitute for *really*
Amplifiers	564-566	Used to communicate value judgments (e.g. *very*, *so*, *really*, *too*)
Stance Adverbs	859, 867-871	Marks actuality (e.g. *We **really** need*), doubt (e.g. *They **probably** won't*), certainty (*It **certainly** helped*, *they **definitely** won't*), or imprecise nature of statement (*the pantry was **like** empty*).
Six syntactic realizations of stance adverbials	861	1) Single word (*Then had **evidently** been too poor*), 2) adverb phrase (*But **quite honestly**, they cannot*), 3) prepositional phrase (*It was, **in a word**, horrifying*), 4) noun phrase (*You will **no doubt** feel*), 5) finite clause (*You'll want to help, **if you see the poverty they suffer***), 6) non-finite clause (***Based on protein deprivation***, they will be dead in a few weeks without our immediate help)
Adverbs as *deixis* (meaning *to show*)	796, 799	Most common deictics in conversation are *there* and *here*, points to time, place or situation (e.g. *they are starving **now**, had we known **then*** [referring to context] *how desperate they were, **then*** [referring to sequence] *we distributed the* food, *the man said "thanks for coming **here**, my family lives **there**"* [referring to place])
Just as a restrictive adverb and a modulator	796, 798-799	Concerned with truth value (e.g. *they are **just** getting by*). Also used modulate up (***Just*** do it) or down (*I **just*** had to ask for them)
Linking adverbials	875-889	States speaker's/writer's perception of the relationship between two units of discourse. Seven types explicitly signal connection between passages and thus create cohesion: 1) enumeration and addition (*First . . . Second*, *in addition*, *further*); 2) summation (*In sum*, *all in all*, *in conclusion*, *overall*); 3) apposition showing a second unit of discourse is equivalent or included in a preceding unit (*which is to say*, *In other words*, *i.e.*, *that is*, *e.g.*, *that is*, *for instance*); 4) result/inference showing a second unit of discourse states results or consequences (*Therefore, Consequently, Thus, So, Then*); 5) contrast/concession marking incompatibility between two discourse units (*On the other hand*, *In contrast*, *alternatively*) or a concession (*though*, *anyway*, *however*, *yet*); 6) transition marking a non sequitur (from Latin present indicative *sequor* meaning literally follow), in this case marking items that do not necessarily follow from the previous discourse unit (*now*, *meanwhile*, *by the way*, *incidentally*); 7) overlapping with circumstance and stance (*thus, in sum, in brief*)
		Continued on next page . . .

Common Grammatical Features in *LGSWE* that Create Involvement through Conversational Writing (cont.)		
Feature	***pp. LGSWE***	***Specific pattern of use***
Pronouns	**Page #s:**	
Personal Pronouns	92, 232-237, 333, 334	Most common are *I, you, it*; *I* and *we* are used deictically to refer to an individual or a group in discourse; personal pronouns are often used anaphorically (referring to a previously named referent): e.g. *Tom was in the room;* ***he*** *helped the little girl*)
Demonstrative pronoun *that*	349-350	Used as a vague reference and marks proximity
Pronoun *one* with specific reference	353-354	Used as a substitute for a noun (*The tall child, that* ***one***) or as a generic referent (*One doesn't see such suffering and not just cry*)
Simple clause features		
Questions	211 ff.	Questions are one of the most important linguistic features in fund-raising discourse. Question tags are declaratives or imperatives turned into an questions comprised of an auxiliary verb and a pronoun. Auxiliary or helping verbs include *be, do, have* and the modal auxiliaries *can, could, may, might, must, ought, should, will, and would*, used to express necessity, obligation, or possibility (e.g. *help us please,* ***will you?***; *I'm sure you agree no one wants to live that way,* ***do they****?*; *I'm sure you'd felt the same need to help,* ***hadn't you?***; *I admitted to God, so you want me to send me to help,* ***do you?***; *Don't you agree, what we've done together is amazing,* ***isn't it?***; *As I struggled with my conscience I complained to God, "So I must go,* ***must I?****"*; *I now see the answer is in helping them help themselves,* ***don't you?***; *The whole team said, "We're coming too,* ***all right?***; *I said "you know the trip will be dangerous,* ***right?****"*; *That may change things,* ***eh?***; *You saw a need too,* ***no?***)
Imperatives	221-222	Used primarily in dialogue in face to face in interaction or to give instructions, in fund-raising discourse they are often expressed as a strong marker of stance (*help us get life-saving food and water to them while there is still the window remains* open) or instruction (*fill out the enclosed reply card, then send it back today, won't* you?)
Stranded prepositions in *WH-questions*	106-107	Often sounds more natural and fits conversational style (*I asked myself, what are we waiting for*)
Coordination tags	116-117	Are a simplified form in conversation (e.g. we worked with them in the mud, fed them at the end of the day, and all did all manner of *daily life stuff*)
Not negation	159 ff.	A number of verbs collocate with the negator not, notably mental verbs like *forget*, *know*, *mind*, *remember*, *think*, *want*, *worry* and is particularly frequent in dialogue (e.g. ***Don't forget*** *to write as soon as you can, because I* ***don't know*** *how long the food will hold out in the refugee camps.* ***I can't remember*** *it ever being this bad. I* ***don't mind*** *telling you, I* ***can't think*** *of a better way to make a meaningful gift this Christmas. I* ***don't want*** *our staff to say no to those who need to feed their children. I want to say, "****don't worry****, help is on the way."*)
And as clausal (vs. phrasal) coordinator	81	In conversation is used heavily (e.g. *We are going to fund as many scholarships as possible,* ***and*** *I am writing to you for your help*)
Dependent clause features		
Verb + *that* complement clause	668-670, 674-675	The most common verb controlling *that*-clauses in conversation is the verb *think*. Such *mental* verbs communicate personal feelings and thoughts (*I* ***knew*** *that you'd want to help bring fresh water to the children and families in the village*; *He* ***felt*** *that his heart had been yanked from his body as the little boy breathed his last breath, I* ***told*** *the administrator that had the antibiotics arrived on time, the child would have lived*). Post predicate *that*-clauses in conversational discourse commonly have a human noun phrase as subject of the main clause and an active voice verb predicate.
		Continued on next page . . .

Common Grammatical Features in *LGSWE* that Create Involvement through Conversational Writing (cont.)		
Feature	***pp. LGSWE***	***Specific pattern of use***
Dependent clause features (cont.)		
Complementizer *that* omission	680-683	*That* is often omitted with the words *think* of *say* as the main clause verb—that is indicated here in brackets, but would be omitted (e.g. *I think [that] we can help these students reach fulfill their educational dreams*; *I thought [that] I'd ask you to help, knowing of your past generosity with the program*). Over 80% of all conversational prose samples in the *LSWE* Corpus omitted *that*.
Verb + *WH* complement clauses	688-689	The most common verb controlling *wh*-clauses in conversation is the verb *know*. Other common verbs of cognition common with *wh*-clauses include *wonder*; *think (about)*; *remember*; *understand*, and *guess*. Common speech act verbs with *wh*-clauses are *tell*; *ask*; *say*. The communication verb *show*; verbs of perception *show*; and *look (at)*; and the relationship verb *depend (on)* are also common. In fund appeals *wh*-clauses are often used to express what the writer/speaker does not know (e.g. *I honestly don't know* ***what's going to happen*** *if we don't get food to the camps next week*) Such clauses are also common with the verb *see* (*I hope you see* ***what we are up against***) and is important in the all important role of expressing thanks (*I can't tell you* ***how grateful*** *the children are, again . . . I wanted you to see* ***why your gift matters*** *by sending the enclosed picture*).
want + *to*-clause	710-713	Extremely common in conversation but rare in writing. So if you want writing to sound conversational, adding it will help. The combination of *want* + *to*-clause occurs more frequently than any other verb controlling an infinitive clause in any register. Three other verbs are also common—*try, seem,* and *begin*. For instance, a *want* + *to*-clause can be use to ask for a gift (e.g. *I* ***want to*** *ask you to help these children*) communicate a picture of need (e.g. ***try to*** *imagine what it is like to be hungry every day, even dreaming of food because you have none*) describe a condition need (e.g. *the heat does not* ***seem to*** *be abating*) or give hope (e.g. as *we see the first seeds of spring* ***begin to*** *bloom on the desert floor we hope*)
try and + VERB (vs. *try to* + VERB)	738-739	Common only in conversation. A colloquial alternative form (e.g. *We are desperate to* ***try and*** *find a way to make it possible for every student who wants to attend this fall to afford it. Can you help us tell all those on our wait list that they have a scholarship?*)
keep/start + *-ing* complement clauses	746-747	The most common verb controlling *ing*-clauses in conversation is *keep*. Seven of the ten most frequent verbs with *ing*-clauses are from the semantic domain of aspect of manner verbs (*keep*, *start*, *go*, *stop*, *begin*, *spend (time)*, *come*). In fund-raising discourse it can communicate progressive action and ongoing need (e.g. *we* ***keep*** *training the local villages how to purify their water, but to* ***start*** *making lasting change we have to stop* ***taking*** *remedial action and* ***begin*** *drilling wells and* ***spending time*** *on infrastructure*)
Conditional adverbial clauses	821 ff.	With clause of condition, speakers explicitly mark the conditions on the truth of what they are saying (e.g. ***If*** *we can raise $50,000 we can fund a music teacher;* ***Because*** *I knew you'd want to know about the impact of cutbacks at our local level, I had to write*)
Other features		
Lexical bundles	993-994, 996-997	Lexical bundles are combinations of words that frequently occur in a register. Conversation uses over 1,000 common two-word contracted bundles such as *I don't*. In fund raising, *make a gift* and modal pairs *will you* and *won't you* are common, yet can become trite if overused. Awareness enables prudent use.
VERB *and* VERB binomial phrases	1031-1032	Two words from the same grammatical category, coordinated by *and* or *or* (e.g. *fish and chips*; *go and get*; *black and white*; *go and preach*; *quick and dirty*; *fast and furious, light and luscious*).
Contractions	1128-1132	There are two main classes—verb (*you're going to*) and *not*-contractions (*we aren't quitting*). Conversation uses them freely.
Special features	1037-1127	These include tags, inserts, vocatives, features that communicate person-to-person conversation create interpersonal involvement.
Sources: Biber et al. (1999); Quaglio and Biber (2006, pp. 698-700) Biber and Vásquez (2008, pp. 540-541)		

Figure 4.69 Guidance on how to write like you talk.

Note. Adapted from Biber et al. (1999); Quaglio and Biber (2006, pp. 698-700) Biber and Vásquez (2008, pp. 540-541). These instructional cross-references, in combination with the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (*LGSWE*), are the only guide of its kind available congealing in a comprehensive summary of salient linguistic features found in naturally-occurring speech. The research is based on extensive corpus analysis is keyed to a comprehensive grammar on linguistic features across four registers—*conversation*, *fiction*, *news*, and *academic prose*. Anyone who makes their living by writing marketing or fund-raising discourse should be educated on what words do and why. This guide and the *LGSWE* to which it is keyed would be useful to this end.

Informational Content Focus. In the same way texts should be checked for characteristics of involvement and elements consistent with conversation, text overly heavy with information, measured by the negative pole on Dimension 1, should be avoided so texts are easier to read. If texts are lexically dense, they should be stripped down with more easily read prose.

For example, overuse of prepositions to pack content with modifications can give texts a weighty feel, and features associated with Dimension 5 such as passive constructions can take the focus off people and place it on processes. People give to people not to processes. A technical and impersonal tone fails the form function fit. As noted above, the tendency to write in this fashion, is a carry over from the academic upbringing of many writers, which rewarded them for honoring logic and dismissing emotion, elevating the value of careful exposition and minimizing the role of narrative in discourse. To illustrate the point, the Figure 4.70 is an extremely long sentence from a text on philology (now called linguistics) published in 1839—a translation of an important German text in the field. The following text is not an example to follow, but to avoid:

The following text was adapted from a text in Lewis (1839) from his work: *Dictionary of Latin synonymes, for the use of schools and private students, with a complete index from the German by Francis Lieber*. Lewis' example illustrates the kind of prose to avoid.

> Comparative philology and etymologic knowledge, now zealously and successfully cultivated in Germany, form a science which exhibits to us order, organic connexion, depth of meaning, and progressive developement, where before disorder, disjointedness, caprice, or a barbarous want of perception seemed to exist, in so great and vast a sphere, embracing many tribes and generations, that the scholar who enters deeper and deeper into this comprehensive system, extending over Asia and Europe, ancient and modern, feels as we may imagine one to feel, who beholds the firmament for the first time after being informed, that all its glittering hosts move in order, and according to the wisest principles. (pp. iii-iv)

This text was written in the preface to a major 1839 text (a translation of a 1777 German work) on the subject of linguistics, as title indicates, "for the use of schools and private students in America." While no one would consider writing such a convoluted sentence today, it was considered quite appropriate at the time.

In his *Institutes of Oratory*, Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (known more commonly as Quintilian and who lived ca. 35 – 100 A.D.) advocated a return to the simpler style of oration that during a time when, Roman rhetoric had become highly stylized:

> In our passion for words we paraphrase what might be said in plain language, repeat what we have already said at sufficient length, pile up a number of words where one would suffice, and regard allusion as better than directness of speech. . . . We borrow figures and metaphors from the most decadent poets and regard it as a real sign of genus that it should requires a genius to understand our

> meaning. And yet Cicero long since laid down this rule in the clearest of language, that the worst fault in speaking is to adopt a style inconsistent with the idiom of ordinary speech and contrary to the common feeling of mankind. (VIII. Preface, 22-26)

Narrative Focus. The linguistic features measured by Biber's Dimension 2 serve to reflect whether narrative is present or not in a text or register of texts. However, measuring the presence of absence of features is akin to using a thermometer to detect whether someone has a fever or not. It can indicate a problem, but do nothing to correct it. Yet knowing whether a text talks about people or not is the first step to remedying the problem of impersonal prose.

The data indicates that most fund-raising discourse routinely takes the *anthropos* (Greek for man) out of *philanthropos* (Greek for philanthropy which means literally the friend of man). Texts generally speak of ideas, plans, and goals without illustrating them with stories about the people affected. It has been said that *people give to people*. I would add that well-worn statement that *people give to people FOR people*. Support for the ability of narrative discourse to motivate action is found in the literature discussing mirror neurons, discovered by scientists in Parma, Italy, discussed at length above. Subsequent follow up studies at institutions like UCLA and USC, not only further describe the neurobiological substrate of human emotion, but suggests important differences observable in the neurological response to narrative versus expository prose as indicated by fMRI studies. Thus, what Aristotle observed millennia ago about the power of pathos as a persuasive device seems to be confirmed by neuroscience by scholars like UCLA's Antonio Damasio (1994, 1999, 2003). These discoveries challenge long-held beliefs in the superiority of knowledge-based and the inferiority of emotion-based rhetorical appeals strategies in persuasive communications.

Together, neuroscience and work among cognitive psychologists and linguists suggest solid scientific bases for the widely held belief that stories are powerful motivators. Thus it is disturbing that so little fund-raising discourse uses narrative as a device in fund-raising discourse. Given that evidence indicates why stories seem to work so well fund raisers need use them more often. I believe the reason they do not is that they many have never cultivated the skill. Therefore, those who write fund-raising discourse need to be trained how to write effective stories in the context of fund appeals that support the primary aim of raising funds—stories like that illustrated by the Covenant House letter analyzed in this research.

Connor (1987) observes that the classical tradition in rhetoric

> was essentially unconcerned with personal expression of personal experience. . . .Through the Roman Empire, the Middle Ages, and since the early Renaissance . . . the individual was held in small regard,

> was continuingly subservient to the King, the Court, the Lord, the State, and especially the Church. (p. 168).

As noted earlier, Olson (1977) observed that written texts, compared to spoken utterances, create autonomy—the characteristic measured in terms of specific co-located linguistic features on Biber's Dimension 3. DiPardo further observes that Olson argues for a historical point in the evolution of language n the development of the Greek alphabet and the precision of expression it allows as defining the movement from utterance to text that allowed texts "to stand as an unambiguous representation of meaning"' (DiPardo, 1990, p. 64). DiPardo cites Olson's view that the development of the Greek language laid the foundation for the growth of Western science and philosophy that defined a new relationship between knowledge discovered and knowledge expressed with the latter being the "product of an extended logical essay—the output of the repeated application in a single coherent text of the technique of examining an assertion to determine all of its implications" (Olson, 1977 p. 269). It is this general template that still informs the writing style of those who produced the texts in the ICIC Corpus and those of the present study's Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus—a style DiPardo notes "even today, constitutes the prime goal of writing instruction emphasizing the depersonalized, decontextualized 'expository' essay" (1990, p. 65).

Connor (1987) and DiParo (1990) note that several key figures who helped usher in a new era in rhetoric that placed focus on narrative writing by ground-breaking texts in the latter half of the 19th Century. These included Alexander Bains's *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1890) followed shortly by the publication of John S. Hart's (1877) *Manual of Composition and Rhetoric*, John Genung's (1886) *The Practical Elements of Rhetoric with Practical Examples*. Then came an Bain's *On Teaching English* (1901). With these influences, students began to be move away from rigidly copying memorized texts and following the formulaic style of . For example, Bain presented details from a corpus of 19th Century texts as examples of how feeling could be expressed in the written word, quoting passages from authors such as and Longfellow, Byron, and Shelly, Milton, and selections of Parallelism from the Old Testament (1890, pp. 32-34).

In his *English Composition and Rhetoric* Bain posits that the key element that differentiates what Biber would call *informational content* (negative pole of Dimension 1) and *emotion* (positive pole of Dimension 1) is the use of description, which he labels *picturesqueness*. He writes:

> The connecting link of the Intellectual and the Emotional Qualities is the picturing or describing of scenes and objects, as they actually appear. In a narrative of transactions or events, a writer may wish to make us imagine these in their full actuality; both the agents and the surroundings being more or less fully represented. For this purpose, he must begin by picturing the principal scenes where the

> story is laid, so that we may realize every turn of the narrative in its exact position. . . . It is an important aid in picturesque description to individualize the picture; that is, to give it under all the conditions of a particular moment. (1890, pp. 263-264, 270).

In developing the discourse of fund-raising these seemingly antique words of advice from 19th Century scholars remain applicable. C.S. Lewis wrote of his own process of writing: "I see pictures, . . . I have no idea whether this is the usual way of writing stories, still less whether it is the best. It is the only one I know: images always come first. *C.S. Lewis* (1985, pp. 5,6). Describing a grammar of narrative discourse is well-beyond the scope of this study. However, a rhetorical framework for fund-raising discourse would included Burke's dramatistic pentad, the role of fund-raising discourse is to be the voice of philanthropy presenting the setting (scene), actors (agents), motives (purpose), plot (agency), and events (acts) that are portrayed in a narrative using linguistic resources to turn the drama into a text

Of course, the canvas is rather limited—often a single side of an 8-1/2" x 11" sheet of paper. So the process can ill-afford to get carried away and forget the main purposes: 1) To write as the voice of philanthropy for an individual person (e.g. a patient in need of treatment but without personal means or insurance, a promising student who cannot afford higher education apart from significant scholarship, a tired and hungry homeless person who needs a meal, place to sleep, and hope to see his or her life change). Though a *class* of individuals is usually held in mind by a writer, and while readers understand that the range of need described transcends the circumstances of one individual, focusing on a single person as an example of an how a contribution matters to real people is better than describing how people (plural) can be helped. 2.) To ask the reader to make a financial contribution to help the person on whose behalf the writer is speaking. Though many fund appeals do not have an individual in mind (e.g. appeals for institutions, projects, animals, the environment), the extent to which a link can be made between such causes and people affected the better. With these two purposes in mind, Burke's pentad can assist in developing a framework. He described his elements as a way to resolve common disagreements people have about "the purposes behind a given act, or about the character of the person who did it, or how he did it, or in what kind of situation he acted; or they may even insist upon totally different words to name the act itself" (1950, p. xv). Although more a tool of analysis than guide for constructing texts, knowing the elements of a written work to be constructed, allows certain ones to dominate others—the notion of pentadic ratios Burke emphasized was more important than the simple journalistic questions. His pentad, applied to texts provides a way to view the proportionality of various components. For those who write the voice of philanthropy, they help focus on:

1. Setting (scene). For most fund appeals, the contrast between the reader's stability and the instability of life for the one presented by the scene in which they live dominates the text. It presents a dramatic juxtaposition. For example, the Berea College letter presented earlier presented an selective college that restricts admission to students who come from families whose incomes fall in the bottom third of incomes in American households. Similarly, brief website description of a Stanford student pictured a student whose family lost their business.
2. Actors (agents). In the Berea letter the letter featured no individual but the school itself, its founders, and its benefactors was painted as champions of the poor. An individual's story would have added to the impact. For instance, in the Stanford student's story, Trey mentioned particularly as well as his family was alluded to—particularly his father who lost his business. It would have been good to learn more about other characters in the family, however, as noted above, space is limited, and the idea is to provide enough information to create a *connecting narrative moment*, not write so much that the purpose of asking for money is missed. Also figuring important in both letters was the institutions of higher education themselves as well as the institutions' donors.
3. Purpose (plot). The driving purpose of the Berea and Stanford letters is that of *provision*. Talented students who *but for the help offered* would not have been able to attend the schools. The plot of how these acts of generosity have the power to change the course of the students lives affected is powerful drama.
4. Action (act). The events in each are portrayed in narrative prose using the linguistic resources of past tense action to tell what occurred. In the Stanford letter after a business fails, Darwin "Trey" Miller gets his undergraduate degree at the University of Texas, receives assistance that opens a door to attend Stanford and is portrayed as committed to academic work full time—taking advantage of the scholarship that allows focus without the distraction of part time employment. Conversely, an opposite scenario is portrayed in the Berea College text, where it is emphasized that all students must work and benefit by learning the dignity and value of work. In both texts, the act of giving is mentioned, but what makes each text effective is that recipients of help are dominant, not the people who give: for Berea—children from family's whose incomes falls

among the lowest third of wage earners; for the Stanford—the family who lost their business is central along with Darwin for whom a door of opportunity was opened.

5. Means (agency). At the end of the fund-raising text, the focus is on the reader, who is offered a chance to help make students' dreams come true by funding a scholarship.

Again, Burke suggests that the ratio (dominance of certain elements in his pentadatic structure over others) is more significant than the common journalistic questions themselves. Using his framework, then, involves asking *what among the elements of the story create a particularly strong, and emotionally connecting narrative moment?* The agency (money) is not all that meaningful. The school's donors are not portrayed as remarkable (though their generosity is appropriately acknowledged). What is remarkable is people helped. In other texts, ratios of which elements might dominate over others might differ. For instance, a famous biblical passage places a giver as dominate over the recipient of the gift (who is unnamed, other than reference to the institution itself):

> Jesus sat down opposite the place where the offerings were put and watched the crowd putting their money into the temple treasury. Many rich people threw in large amounts. But a poor widow came and put in two very small copper coins, worth only a fraction of a penny. Calling his disciples to him, Jesus said, "I tell you the truth, this poor widow has put more into the treasury than all the others. They all gave out of their wealth; but she, out of her poverty, put in everything—all she had to live on.

In this famous parable of the widow's *mite* (*mite* being the choice of word for copper coins by the King James translator), the ratio to prompt giving was not on the recipient of the gift, but on the value of the *Further Research Suggested by This Study.* To obtain samples of best practice from the nonprofit sector will require a concerted effort. This is not an easy task because such texts are often produced by advertising and fund-raising agencies, many of which do not wish to freely give away their trade secrets. Moreover, they may have non-disclosure agreements within definition of their proprietary relationship with nonprofit clients, as described, prohibits communication of their work product with third parties. Therefore an effort should be mounted to develop a cooperative study among leading nonprofit organizations and their agencies to further develop corpora of printed fund-raising texts. Failing this, most of the work product of interest to the nonprofit and the donor public to which t is accountable is actually in the public domain via mailed correspondence to donors.

Therefore, in tandem with this approach of appealing for further cooperation from nonprofits and their agencies, organizations in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus should be given a contribution that prompts a reciprocal flow of mail back to the researcher seeking to receive communication (as opposed to a straightforward request for samples of texts). Yet even a modest $10 gift to the top 880 nonprofits approaches

$10,000—a sizable amount to spend for a graduate student. Therefore, such an enterprise must seek sponsorship since there are approximately 15,000 organizations among America's 1.5 million-plus nonprofits that raise $1 million or more in direct public support. While the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus has captured and evaluated texts from virtually all of the 735 U.S. nonprofit organizations in the upper tier of that 15,000 target audience, which raise $20 million or more in direct support, texts from only a small percentage of organizations that raise less than $20 million were evaluated. Therefore, efforts should be made to obtain and evaluate texts from various strata of the remaining 15,000 key organizations. Furthermore, along with evaluation of textual characteristics, as Connor and Upton suggested, if possible, it would be good to also capture data on the effectiveness of texts evaluated to link linguistic with results. If getting cooperation vis-à-vis simply obtaining text samples is difficult, just wait till a researcher asks for that holy grail of information. As it was said about of preachers of another generation whenever sermons got too personal: *now you've gone from preachin' to meddlin'*. Yet a little *meddlin'* is needed if the nonprofit sector is to better equip those responsible for producing the discourse of fund raising. The real tragedy is that if the nonprofit sector misses the importance of educating those who produce that discourse in both the theory (the validated principles) and the training in practice (the informed work processes and products suggested by validated theory), then the sector misses its responsibility in the ask-receive transaction with donors that is fund raising. That is, as needs on the street are translated to the symbolism of words designed to attract a gift, to be effective they must create compelling images of need in the mind of the interpreter of those symbols (the donor). The question is, then, are the images produced by those words evocative on an emotional level and convincing on an intellectual level? Or are they ineffective one of both levels? Or worse yet, are they not even read because the envelope in which they sent is not even opened?

The subject of the discourse of fund raising is important as the sector continues to win donor's hearts, persuade their minds, and move their wills to give for causes that matter to those asked to care and share. Trouble is, the discourse shown in the data presented is often, in a word, boring and uncompelling. Like most distributions of data, only those texts three standard deviations out on the curve are truly exemplary and worthy of modeling. Further research needs to examine those texts, find out what makes them excel, and help practitioners understand why they are superior so they can inform practice. I anticipate that such research, while not ignoring issues of the mind will focus on adding emotional range to discourse in order to better move the will of readers to act. Such research would help nonprofit leaders strengthen the voice of philanthropy.

The next section of this study seeks to understand practitioners needs in this area by profiling the educational and training backgrounds of those who, as my subtitle reads, *raise money with words*. That subtitle is borrowed from John L. Austin's *How to Do Things With Words*. It follows Austin's premise that words do more than *state* things, they *make* things happen. Kotler's (1982) economic exchange model illustrates the thesis vis-à-vis fund raising, suggesting a similarity to the economic exchange between buyers and sellers:

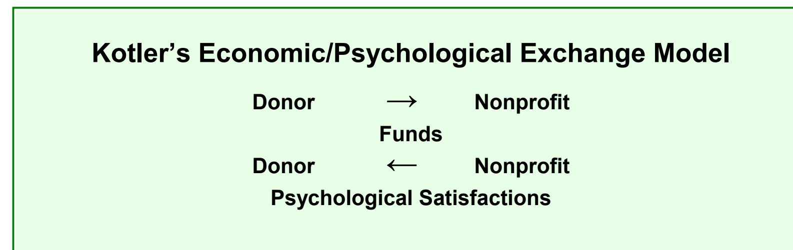


Figure 4.70 Fund-raising discourse addresses psychological satisfactions.

However, unlike a commercial transaction, in which a buyer receives a product or service in exchange for money, in the nonprofit sector, a donor receives words from the supported organization in exchange for their contributions. Instead of trading goods and services for money, nonprofit organizations exchange the written word, in the form of promised results, for financial contributions. The ultimate beneficiary of the donors' gifts include a hungry person who gets a meal, a needy student who gets a scholarship—in Drucker's words, "a changed human life" (1990, p. xiv). Yet an important secondary beneficiary is the donor, whose intangible need to cause good things to happen is satisfied. That satisfaction, that payment, *is made in the currency of words*—first as a down payment in the words of the initial fundraising letter or online text (to which they responded). Then in subsequent written descriptions of what happened. Of great importance, then, is the education and training of those who write the discourse of fund raising. No one would want a poorly, or worse yet, untrained neurosurgeon slicing into their cerebral cortex. But the data suggest that the moral equivalent occurs in the nonprofit sector regarding the central task of writing fund-raising discourse. If a nonprofit organization's words are its essential stock in trade, such tasks should not be left to chance or oral tradition. It would seem critical to ensure that those who write the discourse of fund raising are well-prepared for the task. The key question, then, is this: *For leaders in the nonprofit sector, are there parallels in education and training regarding writing like those found in law and medicine to prepare individuals for those professions?* The answer to this and other questions are now reported. I reproduce each question in the format printed in the original survey, then summarize data for each question, noting key issues of concern to practitioners vis-à-vis their jobs.

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