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

Claremont

GRADUATE UNIVERSITY

Claremont, California

2009

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

Claremont, California
2009

Approved by:

Charles Kerchner

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this dissertation of Frank C. Dickerson and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:

Charles Kerchner, Chair

David Drew, Member

John Regan, Member

Abstract of the Dissertation

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

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.

Dedication

To my family:

Kathleen, Ben, Joe, and Beth—my family and my treasure.

Acknowledgements

With Deep Appreciation and Thanks to . . .

My wife, Kathleen—for the gifts of your confidence that I could finish this work, your sacrifice in doing things I could not, and your willingness to endure the neglect the task inflicted on you.

Dr. Douglas Biber at Northern Arizona University—for your advice and computer analysis services on this project, and for giving those of us who work with words, the quantitative tools with which to understand and measure the impact of linguistic features across the range of discourse.

Dr. Thomas Upton and Dr. Ulla Connor at Indiana University—for your seminal research on linguistic dimensions of philanthropic discourse, which supplied a pattern for this study.

Jerry Huntsinger—for your voice over the past 40 years that what really matters in fund-raising discourse is the human voice, expressed not as abstract ideas but as stories about people.

Leaders in 880 nonprofit organizations—for supplying samples of fund-raising discourse and input about your work on the *Voice of Philanthropy Survey*.

Sherry Minton and Renee Warner at The American Heart Association, and Ray Morrissey at Franciscan Friars of the Atonement—for generously sharing research data from your direct mail campaigns, which tested the impact of paratextual variables on response.

Dr. Charles Kerchner, Dr. David Drew, and Dr. John Regan at Claremont Graduate University—for your criticism, guidance, and encouragement on my dissertation committee.

Joe Ellis—for working with me to innovate many of the high touch approaches tested in the paratextual component of this research.

Preface

μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς
Do not lay up treasure for you treasures

ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς
on the earth where moth

καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου
and rust removes and where

κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ
thieves dig through and

κλέπτουσιν· θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν
steal but lay up treasure for you

θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὔτε
treasures in heaven where neither

σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ
moth nor rust removes and

ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ
where thieves do not dig through nor

κλέπτουσιν· ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρός
steal where for is the treasure

σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία σου.
of you there will be also the heart of you

(Matthew 6:19-21)

Philanthropy is an economic concept.

It seeks to encourage individuals to invest their resources in things that last. As gospel writer Matthew put it: *where moth won't eat it, rust won't consume it, or thieves won't steal it* (Matthew 6:19-21).

Matthew's closing words etch an image of what this means: "for where your treasure is, there your heart will be also" (6: 21). Missionary Jim Elliot expressed Matthew's admonition in a poignant journal entry: "He is no fool who gives what he cannot keep to gain that which he cannot lose." Elliot later lost his life in service to the Auca people of the Ecuadorian Amazon.

These images take on broader significance as 2009 begins with millions of Americans having lost much of their personal wealth in an economic melt down compared to the Great Depression of the 1930s. People who have been volunteers and donors to charities serving the needy now find themselves in need themselves. Philanthropy, which calls on people to separate the permanent from the temporary, the trivial from the important, becomes even more important in such times of personal and national stress.

This research seeks to better understand how language—both in its lingual and paralingual aspects—can be a transforming force by encouraging people to invest in things that matter. While it is a *descriptive* study—benchmarking the philanthropic discourse among America's elite charities, I trust it will also be a *generative* influence—equipping those who write the voice of philanthropy to excel at the task of raising money with words.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: Introduction 1

Writing the Voice of Philanthropy: How to Raise Money with Words 1

Mapping the World of Philanthropy: The Needy, The Givers, The Helpers 4

The Rhetorical Aim or Vision of Fund-Raising Discourse 8

Corpus Linguistics—Where Quantitative and Qualitative Methods Meet 15

Linguistic Features of Orality—Do Fund-Raising Texts Converse with Readers? 15

Linguistic Features of Narrative Prose—Do Fund-Raising Texts Contain Stories? 16

Is this Research Important?—The Wide Reach and High Stakes Involved 18

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review 21

Review of Literature Relevant to Analyzing the Discourse of Fund Raising 22

Review of Literature Relevant to Profiling Those Who Write the Discourse of Fund Raising 42

Review of Literature Relevant to the Effect of

Paratextual Variables on Direct Mail Fund-Raising Response 47

CHAPTER 3: Methodology 60

Linguistic Patterns Revealed by MD Analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus 61

Profiles of Those who Write Fund-Raising

Discourse Drawn from the Voice of Philanthropy Survey 110

Measures of Change Attributable to Paratextual

Variation in Package among Six Direct Mail Campaigns 114

CHAPTER4: Results 120

Linguistic Patterns Revealed by MD Analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus 120

Profiles of Those who Write Fund-Raising

Discourse Drawn from the Voice of Philanthropy Survey 270

Measures of Change Attributable to Paratextual

Variation in Package among Six Direct Mail Campaigns 285

CHAPTER 5: Conclusions 320

REFERENCES 325

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Index of Connor-Upton ICIC Corpus of Fund-Raising Letters	29
Table 2.2	Conventional versus Hand-Personalized Mail for a Rescue Mission	53
Table 2.3	Public Radio Station (Fall 2002): Additional Gift Series	55
Table 2.4	New England Public TV Station (Winter 2003): Additional Gift Series	55
Table 2.5	East Coast Public Radio Station (Winter 2003): Additional Gift Series	55
Table 2.6	University (Winter 2003): "Do Not Call" List, $1,000 Ask	55
Table 2.7	Fraternal Organization (Fall 2002): "Do Not Call" Current, LYBUNT, and LYBUNT Unconnected	55
Table 2.8	Fraternal Organization (Fall 2002): $250 Ask	55
Table 2.9	National Nonprofit (Fall 2002): $1,000 Ask	55
Table 3.1	Biber's Seven Dimensions of Linguistic Variation	67
Table 3.2	Profile of Indiana Center for Intercultural Communication (ICIC) Corpus	68
Table 3.3	Dickerson Internal Revenue Service 880 (Dickerson IRS-880) Corpus in Context of U.S. Nonprofit Sector	70
Table 3.4	Composition of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus	71
Table 3.5	Composition of the Biber Corpus of Standard Spoken and Written English	72
Table 3.6	Sixty-Seven Linguistic Features Used in the Analysis of English in Sixteen Categories	73
Table 3.7	The Twenty-three Genres of English Text and Talk in the Biber Corpus	74
Table 3.8	Linguistic Features Defining Seven Dimensions of Variation in Speech and Writing	76
Table 3.9	Seven Functions of Linguistic Features: How they Work in Clusters to Accomplish Tasks	79
Table 3.10	Dimension 1: Informational Content versus Interpersonal Involvement	70
Table 3.11	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 1 Showing How They Create High Levels of Interpersonal Involvement	87
Table 3.12	Examples of Negative Features on Dimension 1 Showing How They Create High Levels of Informational Content	87
Table 3.13	Dimension 2:Narrative versus Non-Narrative	88
Table 3.14	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 2 Showing How They Create Narrative Discourse	88
Table 3.15	Examples of Negative Features on Dimension 2 Showing How They Create Non-Narrative Discourse	89
Table 3.16	Dimension 3:Elaborated/Context Independent versus Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent	94
Table 3.17	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 3 Showing How They Create Elaborated/Context Independent Discourse	95
Table 3.18	Examples of Negative Features on Dimension 3 Showing How They Create Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent Discourse	95
Table 3.19	Dimension 4:Overt Expression of Argumentation (Unipolar—No Opposing Pole)	100
Table 3.20	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 4 Showing How They Create Overt Expression of Argumentation	102
Table 3.21	Dimension 5:Abstract/Impersonal versus Non-Abstract/Non-Impersonal	105
Table 3.22	Inter-Corpora Comparison between ICIC and Dickerson IRS 880 Data on Their Mean Scores Across Four Dimensions of Linguistic Variation	109
Table 3.23	Profile of those who Responded to The Fund Raisers Survey	110
Table 3.24	Exemplar of a Five-Factor Analysis Table Developed to Analyze Responses to the Voice of Philanthropy Survey	115
Table 4.1	Mean Scores on Six Dimensions of Variation Across Speech and Writing for 23 Genres	128
Table 4.2	Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 1	128
Table 4.3	Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 2	128
Table 4.4	Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 3	129
Table 4.5	Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 4	129
Table 4.6	Duncan's Multiple Range Test Dimension 5	129
Table 4.7	Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 1	130

Table 4.8 Comparison of ICIC and Dickerson IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 1 131
Table 4.9 Descriptive Statistics for Total Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 1 132
Table 4.10 The Twenty-eight Salient Linguistic Features
Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 1 134
Table 4.11 The Six Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 2 155
Table 4.12 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons
by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 2 156
Table 4.13 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 2 157
Table 4.14 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 2 157
Table 4.15 The Eight Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 3 185
Table 4.16 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by
Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 3 186
Table 4.17 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 3 189
Table 4.18 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 3 189
Table 4.19 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons
by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 4 197
Table 4.20 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons by
Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 4 198
Table 4.21Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 2 199
Table 4.22 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 2 199
Table 4.23 The Six Salient Linguistic Features Whose Co-Occurrence Defines Dimension 5 208
Table 4.24 Fund-Raising Discourse Comparisons
by Corpus Source and Corpus Segment on Dimension 4 209
Table 4.25 Comparison of ICIC and IRS 880 Corpora on Dimension 5 212
Table 4.26 Descriptive Statistics for Total IRS 880 Corpus for Dimension 5 212
Table 4.27 Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus Index by Nonprofit Sector 223
Table 4.28 Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus Index by Medium 223
Table 4.29 Dimension 1 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale 225
Table 4.30 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 1 227
Table 4.31 Dimension 2 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale 230
Table 4.32 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 2 232
Table 4.33 Dimension 3 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale 236
Table 4.34 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 3 238
Table 4.35 Dimension 4 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale 242
Table 4.36 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 4 243
Table 4.37 Dimension 5 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 23-Genre Biber Scale 247
Table 4.38 Rankings Among Nine Segments on Dimension 5 248
Table 4.39 Comparison of Three Texts on Five
Dimensions Among Themselves and in Comparison to Two Corpora 254
Table 4.40 Master Summary of Three American Heart Association 2004 Test Mailings 302
Table 4.41 Master Summary of Three American Heart Association 2205 Test Mailings 310
Table 4.42 Master Summary of Test of PostCode for Franciscan Friars of the Atonement 317

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 The three constituent domains of the world of philanthropy 4
Figure 1.2 Delimiting domains in the world of philanthropy 5
Figure 2.1 Three-way fit among the three key organization variables 45
Figure 2.2 Maryland Food Bank note card 54
Figure 2.3 Comparison of 2007 envelope addressed in Computer HandScript with one written by human hand in 1898 57
Figure 2.4 Three examples of cancellation marks: 21Century PostCode; 1896 Chicago, IL postmark; and 1922 Dublin, Ireland postmark 57
Figure 3.1 Graphical representation of relationships between grammatical units 61
Figure 3.2 Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content Exemplars 86
Figure 3.3 Elaborated/Context Independent versus Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent Content Exemplars 94
Figure 3.4 Overt Expression of Argumentation Exemplar 101
Figure 3.5 Academic Prose Exemplar 106
Figure 3.6 Abstract/Impersonal Exemplar 106
Figure 3.7 Test 1: American Heart Association Computer HandScript Note Card versus Gift Box of Greeting Cards 116
Figure 3.8 Test 2: American Heart Association 2004: Computer HandScript Note Card versus Genuine HandWriting Note Card 117
Figure 3.9 Test 3: American Heart Association 2004: Computer HandScript Note Card versus Double Remit Letter 117
Figure 3.10 Test 4: American Heart Association 2005: Fake HandFont Note Card Stamped on Outer and Reply versus on Outer Only 117
Figure 3.11 Test 5: American Heart Association 2005: Fake HandFont Note Card with Canceled Presort Stamp versus Full-rate First Class Stamp 117
Figure 3.12 Test 6: Franciscan Friars of the Atonement 2006: Computer HandScript Note Card with Canceled Presort nonprofit stamp versus Naked Nonprofit Stamp 118
Figure 3.13Indices measured on the American Heart Association renewal campaigns 119
Figure 4.1 Procedure for establishing dimensional scores for texts and genres 124
Figure 4.2 Exemplar of inter- and intra-corpus comparison tables 126
Figure 4.3 Elements of dimensional score table with definitions of key terms 128
Figure 4.4 The Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus index 132
Figure 4.5 University of Wisconsin text illustrates high informational content 135
Figure 4.6 Linguistic features mark University of Wisconsin text for high informational content 135
Figure 4.7 Locating factor scores for texts on the normal curve by calculating its z-score 136
Figure 4.8 Noun density is related to highly informational content 137
Figure 4.9 Adjective density is related to highly informational content 138
Figure 4.10 Covenant House text illustrates interpersonal involvement 141
Figure 4.11 Linguistic features mark Covenant House text for high interpersonal involvement content 143
Figure 4.12 Highly involved discourse uses contractions 145
Figure 4.13 Pronouns are common in narrative 145
Figure 4.14 Copula *be* + adjective is common in all registers 147
Figure 4.15 Discourse particles make written text sound conversational and thus create involvement 148
Figure 4.16 Four types of inserts in Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus 149
Figure 4.17 Like, yeah, and just most frequent discourse markers among young 150
Figure 4.18 Ontological indefinite pronouns in the Covenant House letter 150
Figure 4.19 The most common modal verbs 152
Figure 4.20 Modal and semi-modal verb distribution 152
Figure 4.21 Linguistic features mark Covenant House text for narrative content 158
Figure 4.22 Perfect word pictures that move the mind though time and space 160
Figure 4.23 The top 12 public verbs that mark narrative in discourse 163
Figure 4.24 Description creates concrete images in discourse 164
Figure 4.25 A tale of two tales: the difference between showing and telling 164
Figure 4.26 Labov and Waletzky's complicating action stage in narratives of personal experience 166

Figure 4.27 Labov and Waletzky's most reportable event in narratives of personal experience 167
Figure 4.28 Labov and Waletzky's result or resolution stage in narratives of personal experience 168
Figure 4.29 Labov and Waletzky's coda stage in narratives of personal experience......................................168
Figure 4.30 Stanford University text illustrates narrative..170
Figure 4.31 Linguistic Features mark Stanford University for narrative content 170
Figure 4.32 Definitions of key words in Jewish Joint Distribution Committee text 176
Figure 4.33 Jewish Joint Distribution Committee text illustrates narrative...177
Figure 4.34 Linguistic Features mark Joint Distribution Committee text for narrative content 177
Figure 4.35 Quirk's three nuances of past tense in narrative 184
Figure 4.36 Harvard School of Public Health text illustrates elaborated/context independent..................190
Figure 4.37 Linguistic features mark Harvard School of
Public Health text elaborated/context independent content..190
Figure 4.38 Greater Boston Food Bank text illustrates not elaborated/context dependent........................193
Figure 4.39 Linguistic features mark Greater Boston
Food Bank text not elaborated/context dependent content 193
Figure 4.40 Multiple linguistic dimensions visible simultaneously in Greater Boston Food Bank text 194
Figure 4.41 In Touch Ministries text illustrates overt expression of argumentation 200
Figure 4.42 Linguistic features mark In Touch Ministries
text for overt expression of argumentation content...202
Figure 4.43 American Technion Society text illustrates overt expression of argumentation 205
Figure 4.44 Linguistic features mark American Technion
Society text for overt expression of argumentation content..206
Figure 4.45 Quirk's list of conjuncts...210
Figure 4.46 Halliday and Hasan's list of conjuncts 210
Figure 4.47 Passive forms that co-occur with conjuncts
and adverbial subordinators to mark complex relationships 211
Figure 4.48 Berea College text illustrates Abstract/Impersonal content—or does it?..................................213
Figure 4.49 Linguistic features mark Berea College text for Abstract/Impersonal content—or do they?...214
Figure 4.50 The Research Foundation text illustrates Abstract/Impersonal content—Big Time! 219
Figure 4.51 Linguistic features mark The Research
Foundation text for Abstract/Impersonal content—Big Time! 220
Figure 4.52 Duncan's Multiple Range Tests Identify Differences Among Sub-sectors.................................224
Figure 4.53 Dimension 1 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale 227
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.......227
Figure 4.55 Linguistic features in the Environment and Animals sub-sector
mark texts in the mid range for Informational Content/Interpersonal Involvement content 228
Figure 4.56 Dimension 2 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale...........231
Figure 4.57 Linguistic features in the General Public Benefit
sub-sector mark texts in the mid range for narrative content 233
Figure 4.58 Dimension 3 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale...........237
Figure 4.59 Linguistic features in the Foundations, United Ways etc.
sub-sector mark texts high for elaboration and context independent content 239
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 239
Figure 4.61 Dimension 4 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale...........243
Figure 4.62 Linguistic features in the Religion sub-sector
mark texts for presence of overt expressions of argumentation...244
Figure 4.63 Linguistic features in the Foundations, United Ways etc.
sub-sector mark texts for absence of overt expressions of argumentation.................................244
Figure 4.64 Linguistic features in the Health sub-sector mark
texts in the middle range for absence of overt expressions of argumentation 245
Figure 4.65 Dimension 5 Duncan Multiple Range Tests Plotted on 9 Nonprofit Sub-Sector Scale...........248
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.................249
Figure 4.67 Linguistic features in the Religious sub-sector mark

texts in the high range for abstract/ impersonal non-abstract not impersonal content 250
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....252
Figure 4.69 Guidance on how to write like you talk..261
Figure 4.70 Fund-raising discourse addresses psychological satisfactions.......................................269
Figure 4.71 Introduction to The Voice of Philanthropy Survey 270
Figure 4.72 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 1a and 1b..270
Figure 4.73 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 2..270
Figure 4.74 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 3a, 3b, and 3c 271
Figure 4.75 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 4..271
Figure 4.76 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 5..271
Figure 4.77 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 6..272
Figure 4.78 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 7..272
Figure 4.79 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 8..273
Figure 4.80 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 9..273
Figure 4.81 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 10 274
Figure 4.82 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 11 274
Figure 4.83 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 12 275
Figure 4.84 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 13a, 13b, and 13c 276
Figure 4.85 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 14 276
Figure 4.86 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 15 277
Figure 4.87 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 16 278
Figure 4.88 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 17 279
Figure 4.89 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 18a...279
Figure 4.90 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 18b..280
Figure 4.91 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 19 a, b, and c...280
Figure 4.92 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 20 a, b, and c...280
Figure 4.93 Nothing else matters if the envelope doesn't get opened 284
Figure 4.94 American Heart Association Package 1: Fold-over
A-6 Computer HandScript note card with inside body copy typed
in Courier, and P.S. printed in authentic-looking computer-simulated handwriting................289
Figure 4.95 American Heart Association Package 1:
A-6 outgoing envelope addressed in Computer HandScript by variable data printing............290
Figure 4.96 American Heart Association Package 1: # 6-1/4 courtesy reply envelope and reply device...291
Figure 4.97 American Heart Association Package 2: Fold-over
A-6 size Genuine HandWriting note card with inside
body copy typed in Courier, and P.S. penned in real human handwriting.................................292
Figure 4.98 American Heart Association Package 2:
A-6 outgoing envelope addressed in Genuine HandWriting by pen and ink & CRE...............293
Figure 4.99 American Heart Association Package 2: Buck slip on availability of financial documents 294
Figure 4.100 American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: outside box....................295
Figure 4.101 American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: 6 card designs.................296
Figure 4.102 American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: Page 1 of appeal letter ..297
Figure 4.103 American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: Page 2 of appeal letter ..298
Figure 4.104 American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards:
reply device, reply envelope and buck slip on Los Angeles CA solicitation regulations 299
Figure 4.105 American Heart Association Package 4:
Double remit letter with message and reply together..300
Figure 4.106 American Heart Association Package 4:
Double remit letter reply envelope and buck slip on availability of financial documents. 301
Figure 4:107 American Heart Association Package 5: Fold-over
A-6 size Fake HandFont note card with inside body copy typed in
Courier, and P.S. printed in an economy-quality computer-simulated handwriting.................306
Figure 4:108 American Heart Association Package 5: A-6
outgoing envelope addressed in Fake HandFont...307
Figure 4:109 American Heart Association Package 5: Fake HandFont package
reply device, reply envelope and buck slip on availability of financial documents 308

Figure 4:110 American Heart Association Package 5: tests of stamping and cancellation options 309
Figure 4:111 Two iconic images contrasting high touch and mass produced mail 314
Figure 4.112 Two contrasting envelope treatments for Franciscan Friars of the Atonement: a Computer HandScript addressed envelope with a naked (not cancelled) nonprofit stamp versus another with the stamp PostCode cancelled 316
Figure 4.113 Response variation between packages with cancelled versus naked nonprofit stamps............. 318
Figure 4.114 Locating this research in the world of philanthropy 323

A man seated next to famous Canadian author Margaret Atwood at a dinner party asks: "What do you do?"

She replies, "I'm a writer."

"Really? When I retire I'm going become a writer."

Margaret asks: "And what do you do?"

"I'm a neurosurgeon."

Margaret responds: "How interesting. I always thought that when I retire, I'd take up brain surgery."

Source unknown, point unaffected.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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

The unattributed anecdote above underscores the challenge inherent to writing, especially to good writing. It seems easy. We all write. But effective writing requires skillfully marshalling linguistic resources to achieve a planned rhetorical aim. And doing that is much more difficult than it looks—a reality affirmed by the fact that so few achieve the success of a C.S. Lewis, J.K Rowling, Stephen King, or John Grisham.

Though it is not their goal is to achieve popular commercial success like these legends, the leaders of America's 1.5 million-plus nonprofit organizations *write the voice of philanthropy*. What they write speaks for the people and causes their charities serve. As they *raise money with words*, they help the needy by channeling the resources of funders to points of need. The success of their discourse is measured not in sales, but in dollars raised per dollar spent, lives changed, and long-term donor loyalty built (cf. Jones & Sasser 1995; McCable & Campbell, 1986; Reichheld, 2001). Motivating people to give and building long-term donor loyalty requires that words do more than communicate facts. They must also create interpersonal involvement and connect donors to people and causes. This research examines language variables associated with achieving those ends.

The research is primarily descriptive. It presents the first comprehensive corpus linguistics analysis of the written fund-raising discourse of America's 735 largest charities. It also examines texts from 145 nonprofit organizations whose direct public support falls below $20 million per year—the threshold I draw in this study for including a nonprofit among America's *largest*. I establish linguistic benchmarks in a 1.5 million-word corpus of 2,412 direct mail and online fund-raising texts from nine philanthropic segments. These benchmarks are derived using Biber's (1988) multidimensional analysis procedure to compare the linguistic variation in my corpus against his study of variation across 23 registers of spoken and written English (Biber uses *register* interchangeably with *genre*). Using factor analysis, Biber identified consistent patterns in the linguistic profile of text registers. He did this by analyzing the variation in frequency counts of 67 linguistic features. As a result he identified seven basic factors or dimensions of variation. And he confirmed that in each genre, specific linguistic features tended to be distributed in consistent patterns along these dimensions. Moreover, these linguistic features consistently supported the same discourse tasks. For example, in academic prose the co-occurrence of nouns, prepositions, and adjectives was found to produce dense informational content. Conversely, in face-to-face conversations the high co-occurrence of private verbs (e.g. *think* and *know*) with contractions and present tense tended to produce interpersonal involvement in discourse. I compare my fund-raising corpus against scores for Biber's 23 registers on his dimensions of linguistic variation. To illustrate these patterns of co-occurrence, I also use discourse and rhetorical analysis methods to highlight salient linguistic features for each dimension. To profile those who produced the discourse examined, I report results of a survey administered to gather information on their educational backgrounds, job challenges, and needs for further training. And as Biber measured linguistic features to identify underlying dimensions of *textual* variation, I measure *paratextual* features to identify *package design* elements (e.g. physical, non-lingual features) that work *para* (alongside) texts to shape and affect results in direct mail campaigns. I examine the effects of addressing envelopes and writing notes on mail in simulated handwriting, varying the postage stamps affixed, and varying the application or absence of cancellation marks on stamps. I hypothesize that these factors affect interpersonal involvement and response, and document results of paratextual variation in mail campaigns totaling 1,247,053 letters—an important study since nothing else really matters if the envelope an appeal is mailed in doesn't get opened.

While primarily descriptive in nature, I admit to pursuing an interventionist subplot, which has motivated this research. I hope it will eventually inform the practice of those who write the voice of philanthropy for the people and causes their organizations serve. To this end, I begin with a case—an example of fund-raising discourse from the past that is relevant to those who work in the present. The following description by one of America's founding fathers introduces a man considered to be America's greatest colonial-era fund raiser.

Long before the terms *corpus linguistics* or *discourse analysis* had been coined, Benjamin Franklin notes that "in 1739 arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher." Franklin welcomed evangelist George Whitefield as a guest in his home after the preacher's usual host had moved to Germantown. Franklin seemed to admire his houseguest, perhaps because like himself he was not only influential but also controversial: "He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches, but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refus'd him their pulpits, and he was oblig'd to preach in the fields" (1777-1788/1909, p. 100). No doubt Franklin appreciated the parallel with Jesus, whose famous sermon on the mount was likewise delivered in an outdoor venue because he was unwelcome in the synagogues. Franklin documents the reach of Whitefield's social activism and his fund-raising discourse:

> Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way thro' the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun, but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for a such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shop-keepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspir'd the benevolent Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preach'd up this charity, and made large collections, for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I was myself an instance.
>
> I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me asham'd of that, and determin'd me to give the silver; and he finish'd so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. (Franklin, 1777-1788/1909, pp. 101, 102)

Although Franklin does not quote the exact text of the speech that motivated him to give, his recollection describes how Whitefield portrayed the orphans' plight (an appeal to pathos), an understanding of the cause of their predicament and a proposed solution (appeals to logos), and an unambiguous request for financial help (an appeal to the will—he called for action by passing *the collectors dish*). Whitefield was first and foremost a preacher who had learned the art of interpersonal involvement with his audiences. While not considered a particularly good writer, he was considered an extraordinarily gifted speaker, able to connect even with massive audiences on an emotional plane. The subjects of *emotion* and *interpersonal involvement* figure central to the empirical findings of this study—notions which Biber's multidimensional analysis gives operational meaning.

Franklin also noticed a significant nonlinguistic variable that contributed to Whitefield's success: "He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words so perfectly, that he might be heard and understood at a great distance" (1777-1788/1909, p. 103). However, being dubious of reports that the preacher's audience had numbered in the tens of thousands, he recalls the night Whitefield spoke from the Courthouse steps on Market Street:

> I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river; and I found his voice distinct till I came to Front-street, when some noise in that street obscur'd it. Imagining then a semicircle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it were fill'd with auditors, to each of whom I allowed two square feet, I computed that he might be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconciled me to the newspaper accounts of his having preached to twenty-five thousand people in the fields. (Franklin, 1777-1788/1909, p. 103)

Thus at a time when Philadelphia's population was estimated to be "1,500 dwellings in the town, housing an estimated population of 10,000" (Weigley, Wainwright & Wolf; 1982, p. 79), Whitefield could have been heard by all of them at once. Although it was the *textual variabl*e (the actual content of his discourse), that moved others to support the orphanage in Georgia, this *paralinguistic variable* (the reach of Whitefield's voice) was just as significant, since a message that could not be heard was no message at all. The paratextual variables of the physical packaging this study examines, which support delivery and affect response to direct mail, parallel the paralinguistic variables of prosody that supported the delivery of Whitefield's message through his powerful and clear voice. *Para*textual variables work alongside writing as *para*linguistic variables work alongside speech.

Mapping the World of Philanthropy: The Needy, The Givers, The Helpers

The essential meaning of the word *philanthropy* guides this research, as described in its two Greek roots—*φιλός* (filial, or brotherly love) and *ανθρωπός* (mankind). They combine to form *ή φιλανθρωπία* (the friend of mankind) (Gingrich, 1971). As Whitefield demonstrated, a characteristic of American philanthropy is its continuing willingness to be indiscriminately generous—to treat complete strangers as friends and family, offering help with little or no precondition as modeled by the Good Samaritan's charity. Whitefield embodied the meaning of the word philanthropy in his indiscriminate generosity. Of his philanthropic zeal Cutlip writes:

> In his seven visits to the colonies, Whitefield took up collections for poor debtors, raised money for the victims of disaster, and secured books and financial assistance for hard-pressed colonial colleges. Harvard, Dartmouth, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania all benefited from his assistance. If no single institution can be regarded as his monument, the reason is partly that he helped so many. (1965, p. 6)

As a backdrop for this study, I assume the three constituent domains in what I call *The World of Philanthropy*. These domains are illustrated in Figure 1.1 in terms of the people who populate each: 1.) *the needy* or *recipients of funding*—the persons, institutions, or causes who need aid; 2.) *the givers* or *sources of funding*—the individuals, corporations, governments, or foundations who contribute money to provide aid for *the needy*; and 3.) *the helpers* or *channels of funding*—nonprofit organizations that raise money from *the givers* and channel funds to *the needy* through aid-giving programs. This research focuses on *the helpers*—nonprofit organizations—and divides the work of a nonprofit organization between two major task domains: 1.) fund-raising tasks, which are targeted to *the givers* and 2.) aid-programming tasks, which are targeted to *the needy*:

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">The World of Philanthropy:</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">The Givers
(Sources of Funding)</td><td colspan="2">The Helpers
(Channels of Funding)
Two Distinct Task Domains of a Nonprofit Organization:</td><td rowspan="2">The Needy
(Recipients of Funding)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Fund Raising
Targeted to
The Givers
⟵</td><td>Aid Programming
Targeted to
The Needy
⟶</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1.1. The three constituent domains of the world of philanthropy.

The focus of this research is fund raising targeted to those who can financially support a nonprofit organization's mission. This follows Drucker's (1973) contention that not all areas of planning and managing an enterprise are equally important. Drucker offers an intentionally disproportionate taxonomy of eight key result areas that he argues are "the same for all businesses, for all businesses depend on the same factors for their survival" (p. 100). His taxonomy includes: 1.) marketing, 2.) innovation, 3.) human organization, 4.) financial resources, 5.) physical resources, 6.) productivity, 7.) social responsibility, and 8.) profit requirements. However, Drucker argues that "marketing and innovation are the foundation areas in objective setting. It is in these two areas that a business obtains its results. . . .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" (1973, p.103).

Fund raising is a nonprofit organization's cognate of marketing. Is fund-raising discourse is essentially its philanthropic voice. A nonprofit's ability to attract part of the $300 billion-plus Americans donate annually to philanthropy depends on its ability to write the voice of philanthropy. Thus, a nonprofit's fund-raising discourse is its medium of exchange. Apart from what it writes or says, no funds are raised, no people are helped.

Fund raising can be divided among three broad task domains—*strategy* (deciding what to do), *management* (planning, organizing, leading and controlling the implementation of strategy) and *communication* (the essential heart of the process, comprised of oral, written, and visual discourse). This study is limited to the task domain of communication as illustrated in Figure 1.2. And within the domain of communication, I focus on written discourse targeted by *the helpers* (channels of funding) to *the givers* (sources of funding). Written discourse is subdivided between the dimensions of *language* and *paralanguage*. Finally, I separate *language* into the *rhetorical* and *linguistic* sub dimensions, and similarly divide paralanguage between the para*textual* and para*lingual* sub dimensions.

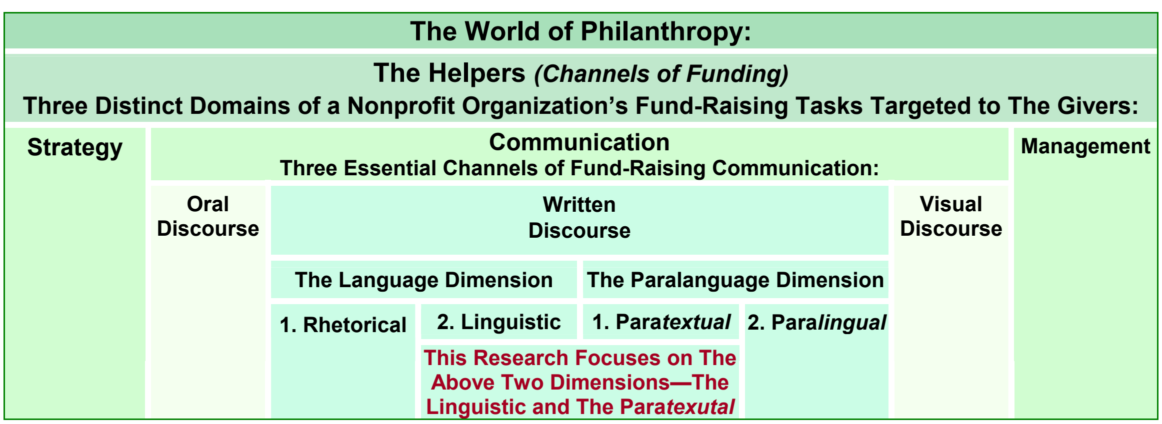


Figure 1.2. Delimiting domains in the world of philanthropy.

In the discipline of linguistics, scholarly studies of fund-raising discourse have produced valuable seminal research (Connor and Wagner 1998; Connor and Mauranen 1999; Connor & Upton 2003, 2004; Connor and Gladkov 2004; Goering 2004; Connor, Anthony and Gladkov 2007, Upton 2002). But upon reading many of these studies, I began to wonder about the degree to which the texts examined were representative of the U.S. nonprofit sector as a whole. And of greater concern was the degree to which the texts studied should be considered exemplars of best practice (as it seemed some were being treated). I believed that conclusions drawn from most research had tended to paint the genre of fund-raising discourse with brush strokes too broad for the narrow canvas each study occupied. That is, sample sizes and the profiles of the nonprofit organizations from which texts had been selected, seemed too narrow to warrant drawing sector-wide conclusions from their data.

These remain important criticisms in light of the fact that much recent research seems to almost unquestioningly follow Swales' (1990) and Bhatia's (1993) definitions of genre and ways of identifying texts that comprise genres. I believe this has unwittingly led to questionable methods in developing the corpora of fund-raising texts studied by language scholars. The problem seems to be that Swlaes and Bhatia grant status as a *genre*, to groups of texts simply based on the fact that a discourse community of speakers/writers has used them widely. This, however, fails to distinguish the *typical* from the *exemplary*—particularly problematic when language scholars envision pedagogical uses for such corpora. Bhatia suggests such prescriptive applications, noting that genre

> is generally understood to represent the study of linguistic behaviour in institutionalized academic and professional settings. Instead of offering a linguistic description of language use, it tends to offer linguistic explanation, attempting to answer the question, *Why do members of specific professional communities use the language the way they do*" (1997, p. 313)?

One such professional setting Bhatia (1993) identifies is sales promotion, under which he locates sales promotion letters as a distinct genre. He then positions fund-raising texts as a sub-genre (1998) under sales promotion letters. The corpora developed by linguists for the study of fund-raising discourse seem to have been based on rather loose criteria at best. Texts seem to have been included because they were accessible, not because they were good—the criterion of *presence* (they were readily available) versus *performance* (they raised money and developed long-term relationships with donors). This is supported by a statement of Connor and Upton's (2003) that implies their analysis did not consider performance issues when designing their corpus and/or their study:

> Furthermore, 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. The headers provided with each text inform about the intended audience of the letters, the field and size of the

> nonprofit and, in some cases, even the success rate of the letters. This information allows for continued study of the sample and makes the analysis all the more valuable to practitioners. (pp. 84,85)

Though performance criteria were available, Connor and Upton apparently did not use them to build their corpus and/or delimit the focus of their study. Thus lacking text inclusion/exclusion criteria, inferior texts were not screened out. This is particularly worrisome given that genre analysis stakes claim to a mission beyond linguistic description alone to also encompass prescription. Bhatia believes genre analysis must answer the question, "*Why do members of specific professional communities use the language the way they do?*" (1997, p. 313). This is problematic when corpora filled with mediocre texts become, de facto, *exemplars* deemed worthy of emulation, a potential danger:

> Taking communicative purpose as the key characteristic feature of a genre, the analysis attempts to unravel mysteries of the artefact in question. Genre analysis, thus, has become one of the major influences on the current practices in the teaching and learning of languages to learners in specialist disciplines like engineering, science, law, business and a number of others" (Bhatia, 1997, p.313).

For students leaning English as a second language, it makes sense to use models for resumes and many other standard documents (cf. Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995). However, texts in specialty areas like fund-raising are quite different and far more complicated than resumes. Moreover, fund-raising texts (like any genre) can be distributed on continua using Biber's dimensional analysis. And as is true of all normally distributed phenomena, the majority of texts would be mediocre (located near the mean). A rare few would be located three-standard-deviations toward either excellence or insignificance. It is the small collection of third-standard-deviation excellent texts that should be considered exemplars. Yet corpora analyzed in studies have been comprised mainly of *mediocre* texts. Without context, the mediocre can unintentionally be portrayed as models.

This was the fundamental flaw I saw in the research design of the Connor and Upton (2003) study of fund-raising letters. Their ICIC Corpus included texts of varying quality (even though most, when asked for a sample, probably tended to share one of their best). However, when arrayed on measurable dimensions of linguistic variation, most fell $\pm$ 1 standard deviations from the mean. This was not made clear in the following:

> 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. . . .This dimensional analysis of linguistic features provides valuable information about characteristics of the fundraising letter genre. (Connor and Upton, 2003, p. 84)

The authors' do not characterize texts as good or bad and they seem to generalize findings to the genre *as a whole,* not just to similar texts as defined by location and organization profiles. Only this mild caveat was offered:

> The very essence of these texts is to persuade the audience in the most effective manner possible. Some of the ways to achieve such persuasion are not covered by the dimensions analyzed in this study. Features related to achieving the communicative goal of these persuasive letters need to be

> identified through other analyses. Such analyses conducted using the sample have included the study of the rhetorical "moves" (Upton, 2001), metadiscourse (Crismore, 2001), and persuasive appeals (Connor, 2001). (Connor and Upton, 2003, pp. 84,85)

I have had two basic responses to Connor and Upton's and most other scholarly research of fund-raising discourse: 1.) the investigators failed to note that most of their texts were mediocre, and 2.) they were reluctant to discuss the larger implications of this fact. The word *mediocre* suggests *the middle*—combining the Latin *medius* for middle with the Greek *okris* for peak. Thus saying texts in corpora have been mediocre describes the reality that most have been average—halfway up the hill, as it were. In contrast, I determined to gather fund-raising texts from America's most successful nonprofits and to discuss the implications of what I found. I used organizations' IRS-reported fund-raising data to identify those whose fund-raising performance far exceeded the mean and gathered texts from these top organizations. While an indirect method of isolating excellent fund-raising discourse, it seemed a reasonable way to proceed, since it was based on the assumption that nonprofits raising the most money probably also wrote the best copy. So the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus was built on the assumption that exemplary texts would come from exemplary nonprofits. Thus, I fully anticipated that once measured on Biber's dimensional scales, my texts would score far better than those of past studies.

My original hypothesis assumed that the organizations in my corpus were probably staffed with trained and experienced professionals who had learned over the course of their careers to write exemplary fund-raising discourse. I had assumed that their work product, unlike Connor and Upton's texts, would contain linguistic characteristics associated with human-interest and narrative-style writing—two dimensions Biber's multidimensional analysis measures. **However, I was wrong!** Like Connor and Upton, I was surprised by my texts' low scores on these two key dimensions. My research placed the discourse of America's top nonprofits on par with all the rest. The study presented here will show how these conclusions were reached, describe the indices used, and illustrate what was found in several samples from the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. The good news is that this bad news can inform the work of educating, training, and managing those who write the voice of philanthropy. Among issues considered in this study important to that work is the notion of rhetorical aim or vision.

The Rhetorical Aim or Vision of Fund-Raising Discourse

This research makes an underlying assumption that to raise money with words and build long-term partnerships with donors, fund-raising texts communicate one or more of the appeals Aristotle described:

1.) *logos*—giving the reader logical reasons to give, 2.) *pathos*—humanizing the request for funds by focusing on the people their giving will help, and 3.) *ethos*—connecting with the reader at a personal level by sounding credible, compassionate, likable, and trustworthy (Aristotle, trans. 1954a; Aristotle, trans. 1954b Ramage and Bean 1998; Corbett & Connors, 1998). The *rhetorical aim* or *vision* is to raise money and build long-term donor partnerships; the *rhetorical structure* includes appeals to logos, pathos and ethos. Campbell explains that

> the "bias" of a rhetorical perspective is its emphasis on, and its concern with the resources available in language . . . to make ideas clear and cogent, to bring concepts to life. A rhetorical perspective is interested in what influences, in what persuades people" (1982, p.1).

Or as George Campbell, a key figure of the eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment wrote: "In speaking, there is always some end proposed, or some effect which the speaker intends to produce on the hearer" (1884, p. 23). Similarly, Halliday (1985a, 1985b) offers a theory *about* language theory. He contends that "the value of a theory lies in the use that can be made of it, and I have always considered a theory of language to be essentially consumer oriented" (1985a p. 7). Campbell's notion of rhetorical perspective and Halliday's consumer-oriented framework suggests that fulfilling *rhetorical vision* can be compared to a contractor's task in building a structure. First, in the mind of a builder, an *architectural vision* takes form that considers the client, the style of building the client prefers, and the ultimate function the structure will serve. The builder's *architectural vision* may be as modest as a 4' x 8' kiosk or as ambitious as a mansion. The architect's vision is ultimately *realized* when carpenters, plumbers and electricians turn wood, wire and pipe into a finished structure. Similarly, in the mind of the writer a *rhetorical aim* takes form that considers the reader, the style of writing the reader prefers, and the ultimate function the writing will serve. Just as a competent builder will have a clear *architectural vision* for what is to be constructed, for whom how, and why, so a competent writer will have a clear *rhetorical vision* or *aim* for what is to be written, for whom, how, and why. The writer's *rhetorical vision* is realized when the resources of text and paratext, governed by rules of syntax and grammar, transform words, clauses, sentences and physical packaging into *meaningful discourse* communicated in a *rhetorical structure* that fits the audience and achieves the vision (cf. Halliday, 1985a). Like building a house, good communication is not a simple task.

Rhetorical aim can be determined for a text either by asking the writer what he or she intended, or better yet by studying the text inductively. That is, by analyzing the linguistic composition, it is possible to infer rhetorical aim. What was surprising about the texts this study examines was the dissonance between their linguistic profile, and the answers respondents gave on my survey about the writing style they preferred. When asked to score the importance of using an argument-centric (expository) style in fund-raising discourse, on a 1 to 5 scale (with 5 being high), only 5.04 percent rated exposition high. However 45.21 percent rated using a human-interest narrative style high. By a ratio of nine to one, respondents affirmed the superiority of the human-interest and narrative approaches. Yet the linguistic data reflecting how they actually wrote indicated that their writing (based on patterns of linguistic features) scored lower than academic prose in these areas.

This disconnect between intent (knowing how one *ought* to write) and ability (how one actually *does* write) is disturbing. It indicates a lack of awareness, education and training. Of this disconnect, British fund raiser Burnett laments: "The point is, words matter and they should be handled with care" (2002, p. 100). If a nonprofit organization's *philanthropic voice* is to have *integrity*, if it is to be considered truthful and literally *at one* with its beliefs and values, then linguistic resources must not present facts and propositions alone, but must also use language to also create interpersonal involvement and emotional impact. Not just any writing accomplishes these tasks, as Chafe and Danielewicz observe about the lack of emotion in writing:

> much written language . . . is apt to show indications of the writer's detachment from the audience, from himself, and from concrete reality. However, linguistic features of involvement and detachment are not cognitively, but contextually determined. They can, therefore, be overridden when the context is appropriate" (1987, p. 105).

Tannen suggests two solutions to detachment—stories and writing that reads like a conversation:

> 1.) . . . features which have been identified as characterizing oral discourse are also found in written discourse, and 2.) . . . the written short story combines syntactic complexity expected in writing with features which create involvement expected in speaking. Quintessentially literary devices (repetition of sounds and words, syntactic structures, and rhythm) are shared by written and literary language and ordinary spontaneous conversation because both are typified by subjective knowing and by focus on interpersonal involvement" (1982, p.1).

Like the contrast drawn by Chafe and Danielewicz, Tannen also describes expository prose as being "typified by objective knowing and by focus on content" (p. 1). Similarly, Hunston and Thompson observe that an important linguistic resource authors use is evaluation, which they describe as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, a viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about…" (2000, p. 5). They cite three functions of evaluation:

> 1.) to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community; 2.) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker and writer or hearer and hearer or reader; 3.) to organize the discourse" (2000, p. 6).

Scholars across disciplines (cf. Barry 1990; Besnier 1990; Booth 1982; Frijda 1986, 1988; Maloney 1994) point to language resources—vocabulary and syntax—as *linguistic capital* by which such goals can be accomplished. Some writers use *linguistic capital* effectively, but as I noted, often the opposite is the case. This reality is reinforced by award-winning novelist Carol Bly (1990), who criticizes the writing of professionals in the human services sector—specifically the prose of sociologists, who often write about human crises in an academic style. In an obviously disapproving tone, Bly suggests such texts (and data suggests this applies to fund-raising texts too) *break* what she describes as a psychological law of writing:

> Only a *singular* thing can be imagined by a reader or by oneself at any one given time. Only the *specific* can be cared for. Sociologists write without exception with plurals and generics: they want to make quick, all-inclusive summaries. They do not care if we *feel* the human experience in their content or not" (1990 p. 172).

This research measures the traits described above within the Dickerson IRS 880 corpus, and in comparisons to other corpora using Biber's measures of linguistic variation. I also provide rhetorical analyses using schemas developed by Burke (1945, 1950, 1966, 1968) and Labov and Waletzky (1967).

Problem: Fund-Raising Letters and Online Texts Read Like Dissertations

The nub of the problem my data confirmed was this: *most fund-raising texts read too much like doctoral dissertations*. This was the essence of what Connor and Upton (2003) discovered as well. What was almost more surprising than findings, however, was Connor and Upton's stance toward their findings. They expressed few evaluative opinions toward what they had discovered. I now conclude that their reaction, or more accurately, their lack of reaction, was consistent with their role as somewhat detached researchers. They viewed their study from the vantatge point of *outsiders* looking *in* to the world of fund raising. As such, their main purpose was to *describe* what they had observed about fund-raising texts, and only secondarily to express atitudes toward what they had discoverred. In fairness, my contact with Tom Upton and Ulla Connor has been limited to only a few a few brief phone and email exchanges. Yet I found markedly missing from our exchanges was concen about the abysmal state of fund-raising discourse. There were no evaluative statements expressing concern about the implications of what they had discovered. In contrast, fund raisers view such data as *insiders* looking *out* to the language disciplines, seeking help from rhetorical and linguistic research protocols. As a result, they view research data about texts quite differently. I look at the data in Connor and Upton's study and my own and want to utter the moral equivalent of by Tom Hank's line in *Apollo 13*: "Houston, we have a problem" (Grazer and Howard, 1995). Since past research, for whatever reason, has not issued such a warning this research now does.

Root Problem—The Narrow Repertoire of Language Skills Among the Highly Educated Leaders of the Nonprofit Sector

A national survey profiling the educational backgrounds of nonprofit leaders by Peters and Wolfred (2001) reports that 58 percent of executive directors hold Master's degrees or doctorates. Could the measurement-reward system they learned in higher education be hindering their ability to write effective fund-raising discourse that requires greater emotional range? Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) note that

> control of a range of registers is crucial for any competent speaker of a language. It is probably accurate to say that no one controls only a single register; rather, during the course of any day, we all speak and write a wide range of registers. . . .Language you use to write a term paper is different from the language you use when talking to your roommate; and those registers are both different from the language you use for a discussion with a teacher or to write a letter to your mother" (pp. 135 – 136).

Unfortunately, linguistic evidence suggests that those who write the discourse of fund raising do not control a wide rage of registers. Missing in particular in their repertoires seems to be what Ong (1988) describes as the agonistic context characteristic of orality. He notes that agonism (the notion of conflict, battle, and struggle) is a dominant theme in oral storytelling. Oral stories describe real-life struggles such as illustrated in the Iliad, Beowulf, the biblical story of David and Goliath in I Samuel 17:43-47 and the story of the Good Samaritan. "Writing" Ong argues, "fosters abstractions that disengage knowledge from the arena where human beings struggle with one another. It separates the knower from the known. By keeping knowledge embedded in the human lifeworld, orality situates knowledge within a context of struggle" (pp. 43-44). The following excerpt from the Connor and Upton study—a fund-raising letter mailed by The Girl Scouts of America—illustrates the text's disengagement. The excerpt talks about girls in general, but no one girl in particular:

> 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. This letter is our 1997 request for a gift to the Annual Campaign for support of our operating budget. This year's Annual Campaign goal is $65,000. We invite you to consider a contribution. Your gift, along with the many others we receive, will provide vital resources for today's Girl Scouts to become tomorrow's community and business leaders (Connor & Upton, p.78).

They cite this excerpt as representative of fund-raising discourse and conclude of such letters:

> They are written with considerable care, usually going through several drafts, and thus they can show considerable lexical variety and informational density. Letters of this type can be interactive (e.g., using first and second person pronouns), but their primary focus is informational rather than involved . . . this text is clearly not interactional in nature but instead is tightly and carefully written to convey a lot of detailed information in a succinct manner." (Connor & Upton, p.78).

Returning to the views of Carol Bly, this letter excerpt reflects the *generic* and *plural*, *all-inclusive* prose that she would claim has no human *feel*: Adding qualitative definition to Connor and Upton's are Bly's (1990) comments on writing with *plurals*. She notes that "sociologists tell us millions will die if such and such happens. We feel nothing because millions is very plural. . . . we don't feel much with generics, either" (p. 173). In an imagined dialogue with a writer of such plural-sounding prose that describes the plight of the masses, Bly asks:

> "How many kids have you got?"
> "Two," she says. "Why?"
> "What are their names?" we ask.
> "James and Ellen."
> "OK" we say, "Will James and Ellen die—if—what was it?"

Her face changes. She pictures two specifics: James and Ellen, her children, dead. (Bly, 1990, p. 174)

Bly's point is that see believes effective prose pictures some*one* versus a faceless sea of humanity, one hungry person, one child who needs surgery for a cleft pallet, one student who needs a scholarship. The notion of forming a picture of individual seems central in her paradigm. The notion of forming a picture also figured central to the writing habits of C.S. Lewis, former professor of medieval and Renaissance literature at Oxford and Cambridge universities. Lewis, who was more widely known as author of the popular *Chronicles of Narnia*, describes five rules of effective writing in a letter sent to a young girl in Florida named Joan who had sent him a sample of her own writing seeking the author's critique and advice. Lewis' replied:

The Kilns,
Headington Quarry,
Oxford
26 June 1956

Dear Joan—

Thanks for your letter of the 3rd. You describe your Wonderful Night v. well. That is, you describe the place and the people and the night and the feeling of it all very well. . . .Always try to use the language so as to make quite clear what you mean and make sure your sentence couldn't mean anything else.

1. Always prefer the plain direct word to the long, vague one. Don't *implement* promises, but *keep* them.
2. Never use abstract nouns when concrete ones will do. If you mean "More people died" don't say "Mortality rose."
3. 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 it so that we'll be terrified. Don't say it was "delightful"; make *us* say "delightful" when we've read the description. You see, all those words (horrifying, wonderful, hideous, exquisite) are only like saying to your readers, "Please will you do my job for me."
4. Don't use words too big for the subject. Don't say "infinitely" when you mean "very"; otherwise you'll have no word left when you want to talk about something *really* infinite.

Thanks for the photos. You and Aslan both look v. well. I hope you'll like your new home.

With love,
Yours
C.S. Lewis (1985, p. 64)

Images were the beginning of the writing process for Lewis: "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" (1985, p.p. 5,6). Then, as Lewis related to his young friend Joan, he was able to translate those mental images to text—not expressed conceptually as abstract notions modified by adjectives, but as action scenes filled with vivid description. Benjamin Franklin observed this skill at work in the fund raising discourse of George Whitefield, who successfully motivated his audiences with word pictures to support charities ranging from orphanages in Georgia to colonial colleges like Harvard. The pattern Bly, Lewis, Whitefield and other effective communicators seem to employ in common is a progression: 1.) First a mental image of a need forms; 2.) then rhetorical structure and linguistic resources are marshalled to translate that mental picture to text; 3.) next the text is packaged for transmission through channels supported by paratextual variables; 4.) once sent, the text usually fails completely (evidence suggests most envelopes are never opened), is received in part (often only a few lines are quickly scanned), or is received and read in full (rarely); 5.) then finally, if read the text is then decoded from words on paper or screen back into mental images (its impact registers somewhere on a continuum between high informational content and high interpersonal involvement).

The first question this five-step process raises for a fund raiser is *what mental image does he or she start with*? The data presented here will suggest that many fund raisers seem to begin not with rich images of human need, but with concepts. A fund-raiser may begin with a mental image of terror—a boy seeing his mother and father machine-gunned in an African village. Or she or he may begin conceptually—with the concept of genocide and its root causes like tribal animosities, wars, population disruptions. Same subject, but far different starting points. One intellectual one emotional. Then that genesis image must be encoded as text that evokes not only propositions, but also human drama with interesting settings populated by interesting characters readers will identify with and care about. That is how Luke 10:25-37 describes the abstract notion of philanthropy. Rather than writing a propositional discourse about kindness, Jesus told a *story* about a social outcast (the Good Samaritan) who helped a crime victim. Luke's text *about* philanthropy is a model for writing the voice of philanthropy.

The notion that fund raisers raise money with words is borrowed from John Ausitn's *How to Do Things With Words*. Working backward from the two goals–*raising money* and *building long-term donor partnerships*, specific linguistic characteristics of fund-raising discourse are examined to characterize how these letters compare to other genres for which descriptive benchmarks have been identified. I use the metaphor of *voice* is used to emphasize the fundamentally human character of such communications, which includes both direct mail fund-raising letters sent by U.S mail and fund-raising texts posted on the websites of nonprofit organizations. The notion of writing the voice of philanthropy suggests that fund-raising discourse is essentially a *human voice* in *written* form. Rather than presenting a dispassionate recitation of *prepositional information* in support of an *abstract* cause, writing the voice of philanthropy suggests word pictures of one making an impassioned *appeal to values* and *call to action* (Burke, 1950; Pfeffer, 1981; Edelman, 1964). The term *leaders in the nonprofit sector* refers to those who are responsible for providing what Westley and Mintzberg (1989) call visionary leadership, expressed through work of those who write the voice of philanthropy. Biber's corpus linguistics methodology is the basis of this investigation and measures whether the linguistic makeup of texts effectively translates mental images to words.

Corpus Linguistics—Where Quantitative and Qualitative Methods Meet

By establishing benchmark measures of linguistic co-occurrence among linguistic features across 23 registers of discourse, Biber (1988) makes it possible to now identify variation in other registers and plot those patterns of on his seven dimensional scales. They can then be compared against the scores of Biber's 23 registers on those scales. Biber established his dimensional scaling technique by summing the frequencies of 67 linguistic features in texts. Then those frequencies were analyzed using factor analysis, which grouped characteristics with similar factor loadings into clusters called factors. Biber's MD-analysis yielded seven *factors* or *dimensions of variation*. The survey findings, summarized above, reveal a consensus among fund raisers that creating *involvement* and *narrative* are critical to writing successful fund-raising discourse. Yet the two key discoveries in Connor and Upton's (2003) analysis of 316 fund-raising letters were that fund-raising discourse exhibits a lack of involvement and lack of narrative. Their research, a sample text of which has been cited above, shows that instead of enhancing reader involvement, letters in their corpus often contained linguistic features that worked counter to that aim. Following Biber, Connor and Upton (2003) they made this discovery by analyzing patterns of co-occurring linguistic features in their letter corpus of fund-raising letters collected from 108 nonprofit organizations spanning five philanthropic fields. Among Biber's seven dimensions, five will be considered in this study. Because interpersonal involvement and narrative are particularly important features in fund-raising discourse so they bear further discussion. Among the issues germane to involvement is *orality*.

Linguistic Features of Orality—Do Fund-Raising Texts Converse with Readers?

Connor and Upton described the extent to which texts *involved* readers by sounding more like they were transcriptions of the written word. Chafe and Danielewicz (1987) and Chafe observe that writing can diminish emotional range by increasing detachment. Chafe (1992) noted this trend in fund-raising discourse. However, they offer that "it is possible for some written language to me more spokenlike than any spoken language" (1987, p. 105). Biber (1988) suggests as much noting that he found personal letters resemble conversations: "Although they are written, they show oral situation characteristics for shared personal knowledge, effort expended to maintain the relationship, and informational load." (p. 45).

"Ordinary conversation," according to Tannen (1989), "is 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" (p. 1).

Tannen discusses three such involvement strategies in conversation: 1.) repetition of words and phrases, 2.) constructed dialogue used to animate speech and 3.) imagery evoked by graphic detail, which she notes "are more convincing and more memorable than abstract propositions" (1989, p. 137). Tannen develops in her body of work a focus on the human voice of communication whether written or spoken (1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1985, 19986, 1989, 1998, 2001a, 2001b).

Connor and Upton (2003) found that direct mail fund-raising letters reflected traits that Biber (1988) associated with "high informational density and exact informational content versus affective, interactional, and generalized content" (p. 107)—characteristics Biber found to be associated with academic prose, press reportage and official documents. Biber defines *involvement* features in texts as those ". . . which reflect the fact that the speaker and listener typically interact with one another. . ." (1988, p. 42). Features that correlate with involved intention include present tense verbs, private verbs (*see*, *believe*, and *think*) and first person (*I*, *me, we*, *us, my*, *our*, *myself and ourselves*) and second person (*you*, *your*, *yourself*, *yourselves*) personal pronouns. Other features correlated with involvement include "affective forms such as emphatics and amplifiers, and cognitive verbs such as *think* and *feel*" (1988 p. 42). The opposite of *involved* text is that characterized by the word *detached*, which Biber notes is "typical of writing which result from the fact that the writer and reader usually do not interact (e.g., marked by agentless passives and nominalizations)" (p.43). Chafe and Danielewicz add that the ultimate example of such prose is found in academic writing, characterized as dense, and absent the hedges and inexplicit references common to conversation:

> Their writing is maximally literary, with almost no colloquial items or contractions. They show little involvement with themselves, or with concrete reality, and on the contrary make the greatest use of devices signaling detachment. This kind of language represents a maximum adaptation to the deliberateness and detachment of the writing environment. (1987, p. 43)

These findings suggest three underlying questions: Does this style of writing effectively serve the purposes of fund-raising discourse? How widespread is this style of language in the discourse of fund raising? Does linguistics research wittingly or unwittingly perpetuate the adoption of this style of fund-raising discourse?

Linguistic Features of Narrative Prose—Do Fund-Raising Texts Contain Stories?

Above I suggested that the quintessential story *about* philanthropy, the story of the Good Samaritan, might also be the quintessential model *for* philanthropy's voice. Luke, a Greek intellectual and physician chose to talk about philanthropy not as an abstract proposition, but in a narrative recounting yet another narrative—the story of a dialogue between Jesus and an expert in Jewish law. The lawyer, discussing with Jesus how he might attain eternal live, had quoted the great Levitical commandment "love your neighbor as yourself (Leviticus 19:18). He then asked Jesus "And who is my neighbor" (Luke10: 29). In answer Jesus cast as the hero of his story, one whom the lawyer, by his heritage and culture, would have despised. The hero of he story of philanthropy was a Samaritan whose ancestors in the Northern Kingdom of Israel had intermarried with their 8th century BC Assyrian invaders. The narrative more than satisfied the natural desire people feel for stories with a beginning, middle and end. However, it was also filled with conflict, danger, and resolution—all elements which produced in this narrative, what Biber's Dimension 1 of linguistic variation describes in connection with a high levels of interpersonal involvement, and what Dimension 2 describes vis-à-vis narrative.

While Connor and Upton (2003) found a lack of interpersonal involvement in texts, even greater was the lack of linguistic factors signaling the presence of narrative. Biber (1988) cites seven features is analysis identified as indicative of narrative: 1.) past tense verbs, 2.) third person personal pronouns, 3.) perfect aspect verbs, 4.) public verbs, 5.) synthetic negation. Longacre (1999) describes the structure of narrative as having a story line containing "a succession of happenings which are recounted . . . sometimes with great detail and apparent arbitrariness, and weaves it into what Ricoeur calls an *emplotment* or *plot* for short. It necessarily has participants involved in some sort of struggle. . . .It has to bring such struggle to a head and resolve it someway" (p. 140). Elsewhere (1996), Longacre presents a notional typology of discourse that distinguishes between texts characterized by *agents* and *chronology* (e.g. a story about *John* who competes in a contest) and texts organized logically and/or thematically (e.g. *an annual report* organized by *profit centers*). EM Forster (1927) framed the drive to know what happens next as the driving power of a story that works, and Burke framed all communication as essentially drama (cf. 1945, 1950, 1966, 1978). For a review of his rhetoric see Kneupper (1985). In the field of grant proposal writing, Clarke has focused on developing stories as a discourse style for foundation proposals (2001) advertisers (Caples, 1974; Deighton, 1989; Edell and Burke, 1987) cite narratives as modes for communicating sales messages, and Huntsinger (1977) asks:

> Whatever happened to real live people? . . . how do we convey a fund-raising story without being obviously and irritatingly emotional?
>
> The answer lies in the choice of subject matter: tell stories about real live people, and let the illusration show the needs, rather than resorting to long strings of super-charged emotional words. (p. 19)

Definitions of narrative are offered as far back as Plato's *Poetics* (1954) and several twentieth century scholars (Bal 1997; Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Propp, 1927; Young, Becker & Pike, 1970). But perhaps Bruner (1986) describes best the function of narrative, and why its absence in fund-raising discourse may represent a serious weakness. He describes "two modes of cognitive functioning, two modes of thought, each providing distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality . . . . A good story and well-formed argument are different natural kinds. Both can be used as a means of convincing another. Yet, what they convince *of* is fundamentally different: arguments convince one of heir truth, stories of their lifelikeness" (p. 11).

Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Propp (1927) suggest that narrative is used in specific patterned ways in conversation to animate experience. Bruner notes that from birth children learn to communicate through narrative and that throughout life, individuals organize experience and communicate meaning through "the language of skillful narrative [that] differs from that of skillful exposition in its employment of 'subjunctivizing transformations.' These are lexical and grammatical usages that highlight subjective states, attenuating circumstances, alternative possibilities" (p. 53). So on two key dimensions—creating *involvement* with readers, and presenting the human side of nonprofit enterprise through *narrative* discourse—the fund-raising letters Connor and Upton examined, and those I study from the Dickerson IRS 880 corpus, are very lacking.

Is this Research Important?—The Wide Reach and High Stakes Involved

The implications of failure and success, and the reach of the collective voice of philanthropy in America's nonprofit sector, make this research critical. Warwick cites the DMA (Direct Marketing Association) statistics for funds spent by the nonprofit sector in 2007 as reaching 689.3 million (2008a). These written texts produced by nonprofit leaders raised financial contributions totaling about two percent of America's Gross Domestic Product (GDP)—$295.02 billon in 2006 according to the AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy (2007). That figure grew to 306.39 billion and 2 .2 percent of GDP in 2007 (AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy, 2008). Of that amount, individuals gave 74.8 percent. And that figure grew to 88 percent of all giving when bequests and family foundation philanthropy were added to the total. These individual givers are the key targets of the fund-raising discourse written by the leaders of America's nonprofit sector. And while the units of analysis in this study are fund-raising texts received by mail or read online, the principles of effective language—words written to convince minds, soften hearts, and move wills to give—certainly include foundation and major gift proposals and other fund-raising discourse forms. This research also seeks to remedy a major shortcoming of past studies, in which a significant segment in the U.S. nonprofit sector (Religion) has been largely ignored. This has been a serious shortcoming given the latest giving statistics by AAFRC, which indicate that the Religion segment accounted for $102.32 billion in 2007, or 33.4 percent of all giving. While only 18 percent of the texts in this study are from religious organizations this helps fill this gap of by past omissions.

Ultimately, as leaders in the nonprofit sector write the voice of philanthropy, they carry on 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. 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. Germane to this study is the following question: *Is the discourse written by twenty-first nonprofit leaders similarly palpable, or is it verbal pabulum*? The Samaritan's visual display and verbal appeal were compelling enough to move the innkeeper to take over, albeit after being given a 2-denarii deposit. On the effectiveness of the written voice of philanthropy similarly hangs funding for those in need, ranging from feeding the homeless in inner-city shelters to educating students at elite institutions of higher learning.

Though diverse, America's nonprofit organizations share one thing in common—donors give to them only as they are made aware of and motivated to help meet needs. It is obviously impractical to solicit funds door-to-door, bringing in tow like the Samaritan did the man he rescued, those their charities help. As the Good Samaritan used the power of visual image through the victim's presence, in this study I examine how with can be used to communicate with similar impact. Even in the case of large gifts solicited face-to-face, a donor's journey to making larges philanthropic gifts are often preceded with messages painted with powerful word pictures. I began this chapter citing how Benjamin Franklin's friend, George Whitefield was skilled in using the spoken word to move audiences. I close it with another narrative further removed to ancient Rome.

Narratives portraying themes that activate human emotions—that touch on common themes with which people can relate—have a long history dating much further back to early Hellenistic and Roman philanthropy (Hands, 1968). Texts of fundraising letters appealing to the emotionally salient issues inherent to certain community projects, for example, are apparent in first century Roman fundraising like the following by letters by Roman historian Pliny the Younger. Pliny wrote a persuasive letter of appeal to Tacitus, asking for help in founding a local school. He presented his case in a narrative format and with linguistic devices that created personal involvement. First, Pliny sets his appeal for assistance in the context of a personal conversation with his fellow townsmen. He uses the device of reported speech (cf. Chafe 1982, Labov, 1972, Schiffrin, 1981) between a child, the child's father, and others privy to the conversation to create involvement.

H challenges the townspeople with the promise that he would match whatever they might contribute toward establishing a local school with a gift of his own equal to a third what they raise. So he relates in a letter a prior conversation that used linguistic features of involvement, to effectively communicate through the written word:

> Gaius Plinus to his dear Cornelius Tacitus, greeting.
>
> When I was in my native town recently, a young lad, the son of one of my fellow townsmen, came to pay his respects to me. "Do you go to school?" I asked. "Certainly," he replied. "Where?" "At Milan." "Why not here?" "Because," rejoined his father, who was with him and had in fact brought the boy, "we have no teachers here." "Why no teachers?" I asked. "Surely it would be tremendously to the interest of you who are fathers" (and quite opportunely several fathers were listening) "that your sons should by all means have their schooling here. For where could they live more happily than in their native town, or be kept better under control than under the eyes of their parents, or at less expense than at home? It is no greater task, certainly, to collect money to hire teachers, and you can apply toward their salaries what you now spend for [the boys'] lodgings, travel, and the things that have to be paid for when one is away from home (and away from home everything costs money). Indeed I, who do not yet have children, am ready to give for the benefit of the municipality, as if for a daughter or parent, one third of any sum it will please you to assemble. I would even promise the whole if I were not afraid that such an endowment might one day be tampered with through political corruption, as I see happen in many places where teachers are hired by the municipality. This danger can be met by only one remedy, namely, if the right of hiring is left only to the parents alone and scrupulous care for choosing is instilled in them by the necessity of contributing…. Then agree among yourselves, unite, and draw increased spirit from mine, for I am desirous that what I shall have to contribute shall be as large as possible…."
>
> I thought it necessary to repeat all this in detail and from the very beginning, as it were, so that you might the better understand how glad I should be should you undertake what I request. Now then, I request, and in keeping with the importance of the matter I beg, that you look around among the great number of students who come to you out of admiration of your genius for teachers whom we can solicit—on this condition however, that I do not make a binding contract with anyone, for I leave complete freedom of choice to the parents. They shall judge, they shall select. For myself I claim only the trouble and the expense. (Lewis and Reinhold, 1966, p. 354)

Pliny's letter contained an appeal to emotion presented in narrative form. First, the beneficiaries of proposed charity in Pliny's letter were children, toward whom he knew his audience would hold an inherent affection and sympathy. Thus he shaped the appeal around the emotionally resonant proposition of educating them that at home, where youth would be better under off under the watchful eyes of their parents. There were two audiences—the men who encircled him at his home in the story, which made up the narrative of the text, and Tacitus, the ultimate recipient of the letter. Pliny's discourse also appealed to the desire to build and common community assets. He used what Biber identifies as interpersonal involvement and narrative to connect emotionally with his audience—effects achieved by specific linguistic features, a subject I discuss at length. Finally, Pliny depended on the mode of orality which Chafe and Danielewicz (1987), Ong (1988), and Tannen (1989) note overcomes detachment in writing. This ancient letter reads like a story within a story. I now further set the study's context by reviewing relevant literature, beginning with yet another narrative, this one written in the historical present.

A proud potentate parades naked in public, showing off what he believes to be his fine new clothes. The emperor finds himself in this compromising position because two swindlers, posing as tailors, have conned him into believing his new royal robes really exist when, in fact, they do not.

The tailors have woven nothing but an illusion. And they have made their ruse work by ascribing magical powers to his majesty's garments—powers that they claim render them invisible to the stupid and unworthy.

So more afraid of being considered stupid and unworthy than walking around naked, the emperor pretends to admire his new clothes. Equally fearful, his subjects offer praise for what they cannot see. Everyone is duped—that is until an unassuming child blurts out: "But he has nothing on!"

Synopsis: Hans Christian Andersen's The Emperor's New Clothes

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Andersen's classic tale of the proud but naked emperor holds a moral even for an academic researcher—if you miss the obvious, your conclusions might stretch too far. This is particularly important, given the recent increase in studies of fund-raising texts by linguists and rhetoricians. None of these scholars are stupid, unworthy, or gullible like the characters in Andersen's fairy tale. Indeed, because of their scholarly efforts, Ulla Connor at the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy writes: "The discourse of fundraising is accorded respect and viewed with interest by linguists and rhetoricians, along with other new areas such as doctor-patient interaction, legal language, and the language of business and industry." But she also sounds a word of caution: "Yet linguists and rhetoricians are not familiar with the specialized language use of fundraisers. Nor do they understand the context in many cases" (1998: 111). This lack of familiarity with the language and context of the field, and in particular what constitutes best practice, makes cooperation between researchers and practitioners critical. Researchers want to create new knowledge. Practitioners want knowledge that improves practice. The former group looks from the outside in, while the latter from the inside out. The following highlights some of the recent scholarship that is heading the direction of both groups—researchers and practitioners—coming together to both create knowledge and improve practice.

Tannen (1998) observes that in the argument culture "the standard way of writing an academic paper is to position your work in opposition to someone else's, which you prove wrong" (p. 268). In the case of fundraising discourse, until recently there was nothing to oppose or accept. So it would be remiss to not first acknowledge significant headway has been made in understanding this discourse thanks to the efforts of linguists and rhetoricians. At the same time, however, it would be remiss not engage the dialogue they have begun with thoughtful criticism. Therefore, in the spirit of "collaboration" as Connor puts it, "between scholars and practitioners to identify problems and find solutions together" (1998: 112), the following review suggests areas where research has made significant contributions, but sometimes has missed the obvious and perhaps has drawn conclusions that stretch what the facts justify.

The order in which literature will be reported in the following review will follow the subject sequence of the three major areas of investigation this study undertakes: 1.) an analysis of the discourse of fund raising, 2.) a profile of those who produce that discourse, and 3.) measurements of the effects paratextual variables have had on direct mail fund-raising response in six empirical tests.

Review of Literature Relevant to Analyzing the Discourse of Fund Raising

Scholarly research on linguistic and rhetorical dimensions of fund-raising texts owes much to leaders in discourse studies who have recognized that these texts indeed constitute a distinct genre with unique purposes and linguistic/rhetorical characteristics.

John Swales (1990) defines genre as "A class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. . . .exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience" (1990, p. 58). But this raises the question—what if those members of the discourse community, whose texts define the genre, do not have expert command of the requisite tools of discourse. Better criteria are needed to declare someone an "expert" judge of text quality since what is *representative* of a genre is not representative of *excellence* in a genre.

Following Swales (1982, 1985, 1990), Bhatia (1993) operationally defines genre as "an instance of a successful achievement of a specific communicative purpose using conventionalized knowledge of linguistic and discoursal resources" (p. 16). Bhatia adds to Swales' concept of genre the additional dimension of attention to psychological factors; and among the assets Bhatia leverages in the analytic process is advice from informants who know "why the genre is conventionally written the way it is" which knowledge base, he continues, "is usually greater in those people who professionally belong to the speech community which habitually makes use of that genre" (p. 22). Bhatia argues that his particular genre analysis methodology makes it possible to "construct professional genres" because it "extends linguistic analysis from linguistic description to explanation . . . [which] is particularly relevant for any form of communicative language teaching, particularly ESP" (pp 39, 40). Obviously, Bhatia looks beyond the observation of linguistic patterns to the application of those observations to the environments of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) and EAP (English for Academic Purposes). Bhatia's view toward applying genre analysis in such educational environments accentuates again the potential downside of constructing genre models from samples of texts, which may not represent examples of expert work. Such corpora, potentially comprised of potentially mediocre texts, may indeed make them *more* representative of the genre than examples of *best practice*. Nonetheless, linguists seem to be moving beyond simply describing genre, and toward prescribing them as models of *best practice*, even though, as noted in the introduction, the texts are normally distributed.

As noted earlier, the distinction between the mediocre and excellent is important, and especially so as language scholars seek to make contributions that not only create basic knowledge, but inform and *improve* practice. Linguists conducting research in the field of fund raising, few as they are, have already made important contributions to the field of fund raising. Therefore it is important that research heed the guidance Bhatia notes as a final step in genre analysis. He notes that the researcher "double checks his findings against reactions from a specialist informant, who, generally, is a practising member of the disciplinary culture in which the genre is routinely used. The specialist reaction confirms his findings, brings validity to his insights and adds psychological reality to his analysis" (Bhatia, 1993, p 34). But again, this double check doesn't guarantee that the informant is qualified to judge whether a genre typifies *best*, *worst*, or *mediocre* practice. As my survey results indicate, with a nine to one ratio of those surveyed affirming the superiority of human-interest and narrative writing styles, but virtually none of them writing that way, it is doubtful that Bhatia's caution to essentially *ask the experts* when double check findings will help. Later (1998) as Bhatia extended his research on the genre of promotional communication to philanthropic direct mail texts, he asserted it to be genre unique from commercial promotion. Even though Bhatia holds that one of "the main goals of genre theory . . . [is] to offer effective solutions to pedagogical and other applied linguistic problems" (2002: 5), he also cautions that his study of fund-raising texts is "based on a limited set of data from a specific cultural context, and hence the input provided may seem speculative in a number of ways" (1998: 110). Despite this caution, in practice, fund-raising corpora have not been made more representative of best practice, and few cautions seem to have been heeded. As the popularity of using fund-raising texts as the objects of linguists' research grows, so grows the need for qualified practitioner-informants to monitor and inform their work.

Bhatia (1998) describes the genre of direct mail fundraising by observing generic patterns in fundraising discourse and comparing the similarities between fundraising and advertising and marketing texts. He notes that fundraising discourse, like commercial advertising, has “a relatively simple six-move discourse structure, although in practice, we see only four of them used often” (p. 102). These include, “establishing credentials, introducing the cause, soliciting support, expressing gratitude” and the other two moves include “offering incentives and enclosing brochures” (pp. 103-104). Bhatia offers a cursory glance at similarities in structure between commercial sales philanthropic fundraising discourse, and suggests that within these structures, writers employ “increasing variation in the use of linguistic and rhetorical resources” (p 104).

One of the first discourse analytic works of fundraising discourse was a doctoral dissertation in linguistics by Jane Frank (1990) at Georgetown University, an important study overlooked in every other study reviewed, predating most on the subject by at least a decade. Titled *A Discourse Analysis of the Language Used in Direct Mail Communication*, the corpus on which her work was based, contained a number of fundraising texts. Frank, describes direct mail as a “‘mixed’ genre . . . in the sense that it in part draws its communicative strength from a blending of oral and written modes of expression” (p 10). Her study examines ten linguistic and paralinguistic features among 100 direct mail letters in order to find correlates with winning letters (winning being defined as raising more money or selling more goods or services). The following features were chosen in discussions with direct mail industry practitioners whose experience qualified them as expert informants who are familiar with the genre: 1.) personal narrative and story telling; 2.) direct quotes, reported speech; 3.) questions; 4.) discourse markers (devices like “oh”, “well”, I mean”, “you know” that bracket stretches of discourse); 5.) nonspecific hedges, intensifiers, emphatics; (devices like “somewhat”, “really”, “absolutely”; 6.) contractions; 7.) colloquial expressions, idioms, formulaicity; 8.) repetition and parallelism; 9.) paralinguistic devices (non-linguistic features devices like handwritten notes and graphic elements that work “parallel” to the language elements); and 10.) deictics (words like “here” and “there” that a speaker or writer uses to identity spatial or temporal location). The study’s purpose was to determine the pervasiveness of such speech-like features in the copy of direct mail letters in the corpus. Frank suggests that her study and others like it “may be used to influence pedagogy devoted to special and practical concerns of marketing communications” (p 446). Because cell sizes in some of her tests are below the minimum required to derive statistically valid χ^2 scores, she admits that some topics researched require further validation. Overall, however, she finds that “direct mail solicitations . . . seem spontaneous [and] oral . . . by the use of linguistic strategies and devices which typify spoken interactions as those identified in previous research, and which appear to function to create immediacy and involvement" (p. 441). Despite sample size problems, her findings coincide with the conventional wisdom found among the fundraising practitioners, whose work she represents in her review of the literature. Another limiting factor of her study is that the fundraising mail segment of her corpus numbered just 15 letters, limiting the ability to generalize too broadly. To her credit, though, Frank did not dismiss as purely "anecdotal" and thus unworthy, the life experience of practitioners, whose insights and practice while if not informed by linguistic and rhetorical theories, seem to have proven consistent with them. Her research is one of the first, and one of the most thorough examinations of fundraising texts. Her framework contains a wide range of linguistic and rhetorical variables. Her work has been missed by all the other scholars reviewed (at least none cite her contribution to the field). This oversight is perhaps due to the fact that her work was never published.

One of the first published studies of direct mail fundraising letters is the work of more than a dozen linguists and rhetoricians in the edited volume of William Mann and Sandra Thompson (1992). Their volume examines a single direct mail letter written in 1985 by Susan Weber, then executive director of the nonprofit organization, Zero Population Growth (ZPG). Twelve articles examine the letter from various perspectives. Unlike the structure of Jane Frank's corpus, which was comprised of 100 texts, the analyses in the Mann-Thompson collection of studies represents more of a showcase for linguistic research tools, making broad generalization to the genre as a whole impossible. However, their study demonstrates the applicability of a wide array of linguistic research tools the study of direct mail as a genre. For example, among the dozen articles in their volume, Michael Halliday (1992) uses systemic grammar to examine 1.) theme, 2.) information structure, 3.) mood and modality, 4.) transitivity, 5.) clause complexes, 6.) lexical cohesion, and 7.) nominalization and grammatical metaphor. His analysis revealed that three topical themes stood out because they were unmarked; while appearing conversational the letter exhibited lexical density (60% being content words); the mood was positive; but the even distribution clauses portray a bland abstract action in which no one in particular is acting other than tending to processes like phone calls; the co-occurrence of need and purpose clauses lends urgency to the discourse; cohesion is created by the reference to ZPG itself and to its Urban Stress Test which anchor the total of nine sets of lexical items accounting for 65% of all lexical words, and by rewording the text as he would say it to a twelve-year-old, Halliday identified clichés and metaphors cluster around four motifs.

Abelen, Redeker and Thompson (1993) followed the Mann-Thompson research project on the ZPG letter with a more focused RST analysis. Their study consists of eight Dutch and eight U.S. fund-raising letters written by environmental groups such as American Humane Society, Greenpeace, and The Nature Conservancy. Their analysis of discovered that "American letters are more directly reader-oriented, while the Dutch writers seem to have placed more emphasis on clear textual organization" (337, 338). Stylistic features supporting this included the fact that "American letters are written in a conversational style, with relatively short, usually active-voice sentences. The Dutch letter writers applied a more factual style. The sentences are longer, and passive voice is used more often" (330, 331). Another stylistic difference noted was the use of story, a strategy that Jane Frank had observed was common in her analysis of Winning and Losing direct mail (1990). Similarly, in their study Abelen, Redeker and Thompson note: "The American letters contain many emotional and 'human interest' features. . . .The first paragraph of the American letters invariably contains narrative or expressive material. . . .None of the Dutch letters contains narrative" (331). In fact, the authors note that most of the Dutch letters did not even follow the advice of their own Dutch fund-raising experts, attributing this failure to the writers' lack of experience. If their surmise is correct, then letters that might be construed as representative of this particular text genre (Dutch fundraising letters), are not texts a practitioner there would necessarily would want to copy as a model of best practice.

The fact that Dutch fundraisers tended to not follow advice of their country's own experts in the genre, underscores the danger inherent in declaring linguistic and rhetorical traits observed in a sample corpus of texts as "obligatory" or "conventional". As noted vis-à-vis genre studies, just because a group of texts seem to comprise a unique genre does not mean they are effective. Thus the repeated use of words by genre analysts like "obligatory" and "conventional"—words that can erroneously suggest a single right way of constructing a text—can stifle creativity and flexibility.

Nancy Roundy Blyler (1992) examines the use of the narrative mode of communication in direct mail fund appeal letters, examining three letters that she suggests exemplify the writers' use of narration to organize and express "the social construction of knowledge or the social justification of belief, through language" (p. 59). She suggests a preference in many communication tasks of "narrative over analysis as a means of giving shape, and thus significance, to the details and events that comprise human life. This view is applied to an analysis of fund-raising texts, in which she concludes "the narrational rather than the analytic. . . gives shape and significance to experience and thus is central to justifying belief socially, for direct solicitations" (p. 64). Blyler's analysis looks at text samples from the view of their utility in tapping into meanings shared by a community of readers, communicated by stories that plot a drama that is given voice by a narrator. As such, this is more a study of rhetorical structure and narrative technique than an analysis of the linguistic features marshalled to communicate the stories presented. However, to my knowledge, hers is the first instance in a scholarly journal article discussing the use of narrative as a structural device in direct mail fund-raising solicitations—though many prior references are abundant in non-scholarly work (c.f. Huntsinger, 1977)

Margaret Ann Baker (1993) reflects what the views of practitioners in the direct response marketing industry, regarding trends, a description of the typical direct mail package or kit consisting of up to six items: an outer envelope, a letter, an order card, a reply envelope, a *lift letter* (an extra note designed to boost response), and a brochure or flyer. Baker summarizes, it would seem based on interviews with practitioners what seems to be three items of advice as opposed to research findings: 1.) create the look of a real letter in typographic elements and format; 2.) follow an indirect argumentation outline that includes an *invitation*, *benefits and proof*, *acceptance*, and *teaser*; and 3.) readability. she suggests using the *Flesch* readability scale (1960) to ensure easily-read copy.

Arlene Pleven (1997) examines the effectiveness of guilt as rhetorical strategy in the discourse of two environmental organizations—*The Environmental Defense Fund* and *The National Audubon* Society. She asks: "Has the language of persuasion that many publications in the environmental movement are wielding moved from more blatant apocalyptic narratives into a systematic, guilt-ridden assault? (1997, pp. 125-126). She argues for rhetorical approaches in texts by environmental nonprofit organizations that do not use threats of apocalypse or guilt, based on the assumption that if reasoned with, individuals will give. She concludes that "Guilt is not aimed at cooperatively generating 'trustworthy knowledge' . . . eventually guilt loses its rhetorical force" (1997, p. 137).

Lee A. Spears (2002), like Margaret Baker, surveys popular literature of fund-raising practitioners profession to develop a menu, as it were, of rhetorical techniques used to develop fund-raising packages. While Baker's analysis applied primarily to direct mail sales letters, Spears' focus was on the cognate structures in the literature of direct response fund raising targeted not to prospective (as opposed to current) donors. He identified virtually the same set of components in a direct mail fund-raising package as Baker had for commercial direct mail.

Thomas Upton at Indiana University (2002), a leading institution in the U.S. conducting linguistic research on the discourse of philanthropic fundraising, builds on Bhatia's genre analysis model to analyze 242 letters drawn from 71 nonprofit organizations represented in the Indiana Center for Intercultural Communication

(ICIC) fund-raising corpus. In the absence of other corpora of fund-raising texts, the ICIC Corpus has become the accepted standard defining the genre of fund-raising discourse. Upton identified rhetorical moves in 242 texts, tagged them for computer analysis, then quantified them with the Wordsmith concordance program. His analysis confirms a series of rhetorical moves—four structural elements—evident across the body of texts: "the basic moves that we see as describing the discourse of direct mail letters are: 1.) get attention, 2.) introduce the cause and/or establish credentials of organization, 3.) solicit response, 4.) offer incentive, 5.) reference insert, 6.) express gratitude, and 7.) conclude with pleasantries" (2002: 70) Upton notes that "the strength of this type of corpus analysis is that it allows us to develop prototypes of the genre" (p. 75).

Upton followed Bhatia (1998), who suggests that such patterns can be observed in *specialist* texts. However, even though rhetorical moves were clearly identified, the question remains, exactly who were the specialist authors? Were they self-declared specialists, or identified as such by criteria or by others qualified to pass judgment on their expertise as writers in the genre? I question the methods by which the authors and their texts were chosen. This comes in part from a careful analysis of IRS data for the organizations in the Corpus and in part from conversations with the author, Thomas Upton, and his colleague, Ulla Conner. These conversations revealed that most of the nonprofits studied were located within a 50-mile radius of Indianapolis. This sampling constraint immediately suggested to me that at most only a few large national nonprofits were probably in the study, and even those were probably local chapters, without the talent on staff one would find at a larger centralized national nonprofit. Moreover, although Upton reports that 242 texts came from 71 organizations, I found only 52 unique EIN numbers associated with the corpus (an EIN being the equivalent for a corporate entity that a social security number is for an individual). Since this information was not included in the database, I compiled the represented organizations' financial data from their IRS 990 forms and then developed an ICIC Corpus index. The smaller number of organizations was reconciled by the fact that several organizations identified were actually subsidiaries of larger nonprofits like Indiana University (whose intuition-wide fund-raising income in 2005 totaled 125,102,092 and from which I discovered that 99 letters had come). It was one of only four organizations that had raised $100 million or more. Seven organizations had raised $10 to $20 million, 19 had raised $1 to $10 million, and 22 had raised less than $1 million annually. Thus 42 percent of the ICIC corpus consists of letters from organizations that raise less than $1 million annually and 79 percent raise less than $10 million. This casts doubt that texts in the corpus represent models of *best practice*—a claim genre analysis seems to assume when a corpus is built. I include the ICIC Index I developed here as Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 **Index of Connor-Upton ICIC Corpus of Fund-Raising Letters**

#	EIN	U*	1a/b DIRECT SUPPORT †‡	UNUQUE ORG	T/O**	#	EIN	U*	1a/b DIRECT SUPPORT †‡	UNUQUE ORG	T/O**
1	53-0242652	*	$475,076,487	318C-L294	1	36	85-0254951	*	$1,593,407	518CWL233	1
2	53-0132400	*	$367,228,801	714C-L271	1	37	35-0893506	*	$1,550,855 ‡	110CYL067	7
3	13-5644916	*	$200,063,637	150CZL269	1	38	23-7099138	*	$1,488,859 ‡	117CWL008	2
4	35-6018940	*	$159,639,488	501C-L077	4	39	35-1186290	*	$1,412,929	609CWL239	11
5	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	502C-L083	7	40	35-1323831	*	$1,386,011 ‡	118CWL048	3
6	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	504C-L093	10	41	11-2306416	*	$1,182,222	134CUL236	1
7	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	505C-L095	3	42	35-0868114	*	$1,113,662	106CWL027	5
8	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	509C-L115	6	43	35-1880044	*	$1,082,709	115CVL035	3
9	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	513C-L140	32	44	35-0929976	*	$1,066,400	112C-L012	5
10	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	514C-L131	5	45	35-1900516	*	$697,889	116CUL032	3
11	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	516CZL125	3	46	35-0868199	*	$683,611 ‡	107CYL010	2
12	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	525C-L138	1	47	35-0230360	*	$668,723	603CWL190	6
13	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	530C-L207	17	48	35-1014954	*	$606,328	105CWL038	9
14	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	531C-L245	1	49	35-1300785	*	$604,739	406CUL238	2
15	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	532C-L246	2	50	04-2760271	*	$537,504	308CUL226	1
16	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	533C-L248	4	51	22-3061144	*	$448,857	613CWL231	1
17	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	534C-L252	1	52	35-1557200	*	$443,913 ‡	401CVL005	3
18	35-6018940		(Part of Org 4)	535C-L205	3	53	02-0513344	*	$305,103	320C-L296	1
19	13-1624102	*	$56,290,115	302CZL188	1	54	51-0179820	*	$291,211	711CWL295	1
20	31-0958507	*	$47,438,467	517CWL088	1	55	51-0179820	*	$291,211	714C-L270	1
21	35-1007590	*	$44,844,992	109CYL019	5	56	23-7351482	*	$253,743	536CUL230	1
22	13-1548339	*	$21,541,353	704CZL201	1	57	61-1220204	*	$207,038	520CUL227	1
23	35-0869045	*	$19,031,387	508CZL113	1	58	35-0869056	*	$191,063 ‡	120CUL044	3
24	99-0073494	*	$13,375,316	710CYL237	1	59	33-0484461	*	$162,124	407CQL123	3
25	35-0867955	*	$12,133,000	602CZL282	9	60	59-2137331	*	$121,844	306CTL229	1
26	35-0868167	*	$9,660,643	108CXL024	4	61	35-0876384	*	$115,937	601CZL183	1
27	35-1074747	*	$7,354,781	608CXL226	5	62	14-1730897	*	$88,105	137CUL232	1
28	35-6044374	*	$6,394,026 ‡	121CXL186	1	63	31-1227489	*	$64,924	102CTL001	6
29	57-0892070	*	$3,199,198	135CWL234	1	64	36-3389682	*	$18,593	130CWL228	1
30	34-0737794	*	$2,594,323	507CYL112	1	65	71-0738050	*	$17,258	610CVL121	2
31	31-1005792	*	$2,065,190	301CUL073	4	66	99-0318697	*	$4,909	618CRL134	1
32	35-0868211	*	$1,972,586	119CWL041	4	67	Indiana.gov	*	$Unknown	303C-L189	1
33	35-0888754	*	$1,921,981 ‡	113CWL017	3	68	02-0466349	*	$Unknown	622CQL281	1
34	35-1715910	*	$1,752,018	402CWL184	2	69	13-1632516	*	$Unknown	702C-L187	1
35	35-1156756	*	$1,698,705 ‡	114CUL057	4	70	35-6254955	*	$Unknown	526C-L273	3

TOTALS: ORG ***70*** **EIN** ***56*** ***$1,473,978,175*** **TEXTS** ***245***

\# Organization number in Corpus

U* Unique EIN (Employer Identification Number

T/O** Texts per organization

† Direct support prior to 2006 is reported from IRS form 990 line 1a (or 1b from 2006 forward), and represents funds given by individuals and foundations. It does not account for fees or services on line 2, or government grants.

‡ I mark (‡) organizations with negligible or no Direct support on line 1a (or 1b) and include line c (or d) income sourced in United Way or Combined Federal Campaigns, or contributions by affiliated parent/subsidiary organizations.

This table lists ICIC corpus EINs; then in the UNIQUE EIN column, (UI*) each EIN is marked *only once* (*) per group of texts associated with it. For example, under Indiana University's EIN (35-6018940) are subsumed 99 texts, but is marked *only once*.

The codes for each of the 70 represented organizations are listed under the UNIQUE ORG (U*) column. The TEXTS/ORG column (T/O**) lists the number of texts in the corpus for each organization. The DIRECT SUPPORT column lists contributions given directly by the public (though as noted in the footnote to the left, in some cases indirect support is counted as well). Using the direct support figure is more useful than any other measure, since the focus of the ICIC (and the current) research is the use of discourse to raise funds. The total funds raised by ICIC organizations represents 2.9 percent of the $50,481,772,399 in direct support raised by the Dickerson IRS 880 organizations which are analyzed in this research.

In addition to these geographic and income constraints, the fact that the nonprofit sector of Religion is missing from the analysis raises still more questions about the sample selection process. This is a serious oversight since, as noted earlier, Religion is the largest segment of the U.S. nonprofit sector. It accounts for $96.82 billion, or 32.8 percent of the $295.02 billion raised in 2006 and $102.32 billion, or 33.4 percent of the $306.4 billion raised in 2007. In the ICIC Corpus Religion is not a separate category, and only a very small number of religious organizations are lumped into the catch-all category labeled *Other*.

In addition to the corpus not representing larger nonprofits since it is limited to the Indianapolis area and lacking Religious organizations, the moves mentioned do not include a strategic type of discourse mentioned by Jane Frank (1990) of her corpus. Frank writes that "story telling was found to be a relatively popular option for writers of the Winners, and less so for writers of the Losers"—her differentiation between successful and unsuccessful letters in her corpus (1990, p. 378). She observes that successful letters contained twice as many stories as the less successful ones. And like Jane Frank, Abelen, Redeker, and Thompson (1999) reported that U.S. nonprofits in their study contained more narrative prose than the Dutch half of their corpus. Therefore, the fact that Upton's analysis of moves structure does not identify narrative adds yet one more level of evidence that there may be a problem with the ICIC sampling methodology. I do not question the representativeness of texts, but as with prior studies, I question whether Bhatia's process for identifying texts yields samples of best practice from which prototypes may be confidently developed—a claim genre analysts' use of the word *specialist* suggests characterizes their intention. I believe the texts are mediocre (mean-quality).

From the moves identified by Upton, the texts in the ICIC Corpus seem to more closely resemble the formulaic structure Abelen, Redeker, Thompson found in the eight Dutch letters they studied, using Rhetorical Structure Theory methods. Upton concedes that the genre proposed "offers little insight into how these moves are realized linguistically" (2002, p. 80). By not even mentioning the absence of narrative (identified as an important feature in two previous studies) his analysis either dismisses the importance of stories a priori and thus he ignores the form, or stories are simply not present. As the later linguistic study he conducts with Connor affirms (2003), he does not ignore narrative, it is just not present. So I conclude that these texts do not represent prototypes of the genre and I believe their selection represents a naïve yet serious error in corpus development. But this was an important first step, and like any first steps, lessons are learned, and the fact is that despite these issues, the study yielded what was intended—documentation on the rhetorical moves structure of fund-raising texts. My only quibble is that the texts must not be seen as best practice or even good practice, they are just what is. I would, therefore, certainly argue that the ICIC Corpus is not representative of the national nonprofit community, and that conclusions drawn from it should not be over generalized to the broader genre of direct mail fundraising texts. Rather, it would be safe to state that the ICC corpus *reflects the genre of direct mail fundraising letters of organizations within a 50-mie radius of Indianapolis* and not in the direct mail fund-raising genre as a whole.

Five years later in a follow study of this initial work on rhetorical moves, Upton was joined by Douglas Biber and Ulla Connor in a similar study titled *Identifying and Analyzing Rhetorical Moves in Philanthropic Discourse* (2007). The stated goal was "to generalize the findings and develop representative prototypes that can be used for exemplification and training (p. 69)." I have to admit that pursing the same goal with the same data stuck me as a mistake being doubled, since any conclusions could not legitimately be generalized to a national population. And when they used the word prototype in their discussion, they again raised the question to which I alluded in the introduction and vis-à-vis their first rhetorical moves study—of what texts these moves prototypical? Are they prototypical of what seems to be claimed—*all* fund-raising letters? No. Were they typical of letters representative *best practice*—what Frank (1990) classified in her study to be "winning" letters? No. Or do they reflect *mediocre* discourse? Yes, I would say so. This study seemed to be more of the same error, rooted in the same problem of the samples not being comprised of the best-practice texts. The analysis was valid. But the conclusions were not. These texts should not be considered models. No one apparently cried the moral equivalent of *but the emperor is naked!*

Again, regardless of shortcomings, the development of the ICIC Corpus and these studies on rhetorical moves are important steps in documenting the rhetorical patterns in fund-raising discourse. Valuable insights have been gained from these two rhetorical analysis studies. However, the lesson of the Emperor's New Clothes teaches that by missing the obvious—the lack of larger nonprofits in the corpus, lack of Religious organizations, and lack of narrative—wrong conclusions might be made with embarrassing consequences.

These same cautions and caveats about over-generalization apply to the conclusions Connor and Upton draw in their linguistics analysis that followed in their 2003 article, *Linguistic Dimensions of Direct Mail Letters* (reviewed already in some detail in the introduction). This study builds on the pattern established in that review of fund-raising letters in the ICIC Corpus. While their cataloguing of rhetorical moves described the macro structure and flow of *topics* within fund-raising letters (what I would call their rhetorical *architecture*), their study of linguistic dimensions of those texts describes the microstructure within those *topics* (what I would call the linguistic *interior design*). Rhetorical architecture suggests a coarse grain view of the text, comprised at a macro level of major sections and global intentions, while linguistic makeup is a fine grained look at constituent parts—the micro level of a text's lexicogrammar. This is where intention is operationalized as words hit paper.

Reiterating briefly again, the researchers examined 316 fund-raising letters, using the corpus-based methods of linguistics research developed by Biber (1988), whose multidimensional analysis identifies and explains dimensions of linguistic variation across 23 text registers. Biber defines these groupings of texts as "associated with particular situational contexts or purposes. Although register distinctions are defined in non-linguistic terms, there are usually important linguistic differences among registers as well. In many cases, registers are named varieties within a culture, such as novels, letters, editorials, sermons, and debates" (1995, p. 1). Connor and Upton's (2003) study compares linguistic dimensions of fund-raising letters against the 23 genres of text scored in Biber's original research (1988). However, their study failed to raise an alarm, which I mentioned in the introduction and again vis-à-vis their two studies of rhetorical moves. They did not seem to be overly concerned by the fact that fund-raising mail did not read like they thought it would. One would think that savvy researchers, seeing this discontinuity between the expected and observed—like the differences in the cells of a x^2 text—would have said more in their article's discussion and conclusions. However, their caveat only noted that "some of the ways to achieve such persuasion are not covered by the dimensions analyzed in this study. Features related to achieving the communicative goal of these persuasive letters need to be identified through other analyses" (2003, pp. 84,85).

As with prior research by Connor and Upton and other researchers at Indiana University, faced built in constraints of the ICIC Corpus—the limit of 316 fund-raising letters, the limit of 108 nonprofit organizations (or as my analysis found, just 70 unique EINs), the virtual lack of religious organizations, the lack of large nonprofits. Despite these constraints inherent to the corpus, their work is valuable and indeed seminal. Indeed, I am indebted to both Thomas and Ulla for their kindness in providing a very workable template for further study, and especially for guiding me to Dr. Douglas Biber, who ran both their data and then mine. In his first study of rhetorical moves, Upton had concluded it "offers little insight into how these moves are realized linguistically" (2002, p. 80). The study of linguistic dimensions of direct mail filled that gap. However, the same problem existed as before regarding the nature of the corpus—it was an examination of the mediocre. This fact motivated me to replicate their study by examining a corpus I would have to build from scratch—one comprised of texts from America's largest, most successful nonprofit organizations which I call the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus.

Unlike Biber's original study (1988), the Connor and Upton research (as is true of mine) did not require use of factor analysis to establish new dimensions of variation. Rather, for each dimension studied, the researchers summed the positive and negative mean frequencies per thousand words of text, which had been translated to measures of standard deviation in order to level the playing field among short and long texts. They then plotted these frequencies on Biber's dimensional scales to compare their texts against the dimensional for the 23 registers that had been assigned profiles in Biber's original factor analysis. The benchmarks already existed, and Connor and Upton were simply measuring their texts against those measures on Biber's dimensional scales. They limited their study to comparisons of scores on the first five of Biber's seven dimensions: 1.) Involved versus Informational, 2.) Narrative versus Non-Narrative, 3.) Elaborated/Context Independent versus Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent Explicit versus Situation Independent, and 4.) Overt Expressions of Argumentation.

As a result of their computations, it was possible to plot their dimensional scores on four scales alongside the scores of Biber's 23 registers, not unlike a girl can compare her height against marks on the kitchen door jamb where mom has marked to record how tall her siblings are. In comparing their texts on Biber's scales, they concluded the following about their corpus of fund-raising letters:

> This genre . . . 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. . . . these direct mail letters are more informational than even academic prose on this dimension—and quite unlike the personal letters that we tend to consider them modeled after.…Direct mail letters are more strongly non-narrative than almost all other genres—spoken or written—analyzed by Biber, including professional letters and academic prose. (2003, pp. 78, 81, 84)

Given the fact that earlier studies (Frank 1990, Abelen, Redeker and Thompson 1993) highlighted the conversational nature of direct mail and frequent use of narrative, it would seem that the localized composition of the ICIC Corpus may account for these texts' low scores on Biber's first two dimensions of variation (showing lack of interpersonal involvement and lack of narrative). These low scores suggests that the staff serving with smaller local nonprofits who are responsible for writing their direct mail discourse may not have been mentored or trained how to write effective direct mail fund-raising texts.

The research that follows builds on the Connor and Upton study by analyzing a national nonprofit corpus comprised of 2,412 fund-raising texts across nine philanthropic sectors. Again, the Connor and Upton study, despite the inadequacies of the corpus, laid down the tracks I now follow. In addition to linguistic analysis, I am indebted to guidance supplied by the study by Ritzenhein, considered next, whose analytic techniques based on Burke (1945) I follow in analyzing the qualitative aspects of texts examined.

Donald Ritzenhein's (1998) analyzes the content of twenty-one fund-raising letters found in Torre and Bendixen's (1988), *Direct Mail Fundraising: Letters that Work*. Texts were evenly divided among hospitals, universities and community service agencies. He uses arguments within letters as the unit of analysis including data. Each unit is comprised of a reasoning process and conclusion; a total of 190 discrete arguments are identified in the corpus. He discusses the corpus and draws on terms from Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad to posit hypothetical structures that illustrate the applicability of Burkean structure: "*Given social needs* (scene) *or an organization of high quality* (scene), *a prospective donor* (agent) *is asked to contribute* (act) *money* (agency) *so that the organization can address those needs or maintain its high quality* (purpose)" (1998, p. 29). He also employs Burke's notion that elements of text may be arranged asymmetrically in different combinations Burke called ratios, in order to shift emphasis from one element of the pentad to another and thus better accomplish the communicative goal of the analysis. Ritzenhein illustrates ratio manipulation of the elements in Burke's pentad by recounting Senator Edward Kennedy's 1969 Chappaquiddick speech. Citing Ling (1998) he notes that Kennedy focused attention on the "scene or situation (that is, the swift, dark river into which his car, along with Mary Jo Kopechne, had plunged), as one over which he had no control and in response to which he was a victim" (p. 30). In his Kennedy's speech "the agents, or voters of Massachusetts, rather than he, himself, were in control of the future" (p. 30). Applying the pentad to direct mail fundraising, Ritzenhein found that 71 percent of the letters he studied "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" (p. 30). He concludes that the practice of fundraisers in focusing on the scene suggests a conviction that if they "describe their organization (scene) accurately and compellingly, their prospects will give, an act that is in keeping with the described scene" (p. 30).

With his heuristic use of Ken Burke's dramatistic pentad, Ritzenhein broadens the analytic frame for direct mail fund-raising letters. He views them as dramatic efforts and interprets their construction as such—examining setting (scene), actors (agents), motives (purpose), plot (agency), and actions (narrative) the linguistic assets used to words move actors within settings, and to express motives and the plot fulfillment (funding for a worthy cause). This framework suggests that the efficacy of a fundraising text is more helpfully evaluated when it is judged for its impact as a dramatic act. Burke sees all communication essentially as drama—complete with players, scenes, plots, places, words, and motives. The Burkean dramatistic pentad is perhaps not only a useful lens for evaluating but also crafting fund-raising discourse effect. Although it stretches the original context and intention of Burke's pentad and Austin's speech act theory, they frame the question: To what extent does the discourse of direct mail fund-raising letters and online text, mobilize the five elements of Burke's dramatistic pentad so that it becomes, in John Austin's paradigm, a performative utterance that *raises money with words*?

Had Ritzenhein reviewed the ICIC Corpus using Burke's paradigm, the rhetorical analysis would probably have been consistent with the findings of Connor and Upton already discussed. Their linguistic analysis on Biber's dimensions of variation (2003) indicated scores on the dimension of narrative that were not only lower than academic prose, but lower than official documents as well—devoid of the human drama and the identification of which Burke spoke (1945, 1950). A rhetorician, Burke considered all forms of communication to be essentially drama—complete with elements of a scene populated by actors who are motivated by other people and circumstances to act out a plot. As a literary critic, he looked for these essential dramatic elements in writing. In contrast, most fund-raising discourse contains no drama according to the linguistic evidence.

Vergarao (2002, 2007) compares discourse English Italian discourse strategies in sales letters across cultures and Fusari (2007) recently compared Italian and American fund-raising discourse and noted that in contrast to American letters, Italian fund-raising discourse used very high-pressure techniques, getting quite personal. Whether high or low pressure, a commonality fund-raising professionals agree on is the need to get personal—that in order to *raise money and build partnerships with words*, most agree that the voice of philanthropy must seek *to make a human connection*. And though the words are read on a sheet of paper or computer screen, an underlying assumption of this research is that that human connection can best be made if words are written as though they were spoken—as if the writer were sitting across the table from the reader in a coffee shop where hiding behind words is hard. The tendency of words getting in the way of full-bodied communication is a subject Tannen (1998) addresses in her observations about what she terms America's argument culture. Of the tendency to think of writing and speaking as verbal combat, in which there are winners and losers, she writes:

> Our schools and universities, our ways of doing science and approaching knowledge, are all deeply agonistic. We all pass through our county's educational system, and it is there that the seeds of our adversarial culture are planted. . . .The argument culture, with its tendency to approach issues as

> polarized debate, and the culture of critique, with its inclination to regard criticism and attack as the best if not the only type of rigorous thinking, are deeply rooted in Western tradition, going back to the ancient Greeks. (p. 257)

The academic style of writing among the fund-raising letters in the ICIC Corpus reflects the argument culture in education Tannen describes. As noted above, if that culture's measurement-reward system honored writing that exhibited logic, argumentation, and expository prose and even penalizing the converse—subjectivity, emotion, and narrative—then that conditioning could explain why fund-raising letters sound more like academic than a conversation between friends. In this case, writers were simply applying the style of writing learned throughout their formal education. However, the problem is that the form prose takes must fit its function. In organization design theory among management scholars, this notion is given formal status in contingency theory (Galbraith 1973), which is based on two premises: 1.) there is no one best way to organize and 2.) not all ways of organizing are equally effective. Applied to the task of writing fund-raising discourse, if data suggest that a more conversational, narrative, and involved form of prose better fits the aim of creating a human connection that will be more likely to prompt the reader to make a contribution, then that form should be used in writing fund-raising copy for mail or web-based appeals.

I propose that an alternative method of processing and communicating language is explained in an area of investigation of the neurobiology of language acquisition and processing I will call here, *the narrative brain*, a subject that dates to the use of electroencephalograph (EEG) to observe brain activity. Gastaut and Bert saw that subject readings changed as they watched a movie (1954). Almost forty years after that beginning, a breakthrough discovery was made by neuroscients at the Instituto di Fisilogia Umana, in Università di Parma, Italy. In 1995, resaerchers made tentative discoveries abot how the brain processes stimuli. These discoveries have led to additional findings by neurologists at USC and UCLA which help inform the growing field of neurolinguistics. They provide a basis for understanding how humans acquire and process language and in turn this knowledge can inform the practice of writing. Since many recent discovers directly relate to linguistic dimensions of communication and how language parts of the brain process different types of languate, the evidence of these studies can lead to an understading of not only how and why language is processed, but how a writer can best create language for maximum impact.

The 1995 team at Parma was led by neuroscientist Giacomo Rizzolatti. The seminal dioscovery was the identificaton of a special class of neurons that fired in the brians of macaque monkeys during specific grasping activities like picking up a peanut. What took the team by surprise even more, however, was the fact that neurons in their subjects were activated not only during motor activity, but also when a monkey *saw* a another subject or a lab worker engage in the same actions (Jeannerod, Arbib, Rizzolatti & Skata 1995; Rizzolatti, Fadiga, Gallese & Fogassi, 1996; Arbib 2006). In one instance, "a graduate student entered the lab with an ice cream cone in his hand. The monkey stared at him. Then, something amazing happened: when the student raised the cone to his lips, the monitor sounded—brrrrrip, brrrrrip—even though the monkey had not moved but had simply observed the student grasping the cone and moving it to his mouth" (Blakeslee, 2006).

The connection between the activation of a monkey's neurons and processing language is found in the common neurological heritage between motor activity, such as reaching for and grasping and learning, and language acquisition. Rizzolatti & Arbib (1998) claim that the human ability to now communicate by transferring information represented symbolically as words was preceded by the ability of humans to recognize the actions of others. "This mechanism" they write, "was the neural prerequisite for the development of inter-individual communication and finally of speech." (p. 190).

Further research has led to the discovery of in human subjects of far more sophisticated mirror neural nets. These discoveries collectively suggest that these cells not only allow people to perceive action, but also process the social meanings suggested by those actions. Gallese, Keysers and Rizzolatti (2004), write about the larger implications of their original discovery in article that suggests implications to the realm of human communication and empathy, a line of argument directly relevant to those who write fund-raising discourse:

> We provide a unifying neural hypothesis on how individuals understand the actions and emotions of others. Our main claim is that the fundamental mechanism at the basis of the experiential understanding of others' actions is the activation of the mirror neuron system. A similar mechanism, but involving the activation of viscero-motor centers, underlies the experiential understanding of the emotions of others (p. 396).

At the core of the Gallese, Keysers and Rizzolatti's discovery is evidence from fMRI scans of human subjects, what was only sugested in their experiments with monkeys—that the human brain contains ". . . neural mechanisms (mirror mechanisms) that allow us to directly understand the meaning of the actions and emotions of others by internally repilcating ('simulating') them without any explicit reflective mediation" (p. 396). The researchers acknowledge the ability of humans to reason and thus "understand other people's minds at the conceptual, declarative level" (2004, p. 396). However, they suggest that such propositional language fails to recruit the empathetic mirror neurons they discovered. Ironically, the prose of those who compose the discourse of fund raising—who, of all writers, should be keenly aware of the need to target the emotional side of the brain—may be missing the mark. This seems to be the case in the use of the *conceptual, declarative* language ubiquitous in discourse of fund raising in the nonprofit sector (e.g. found by Connor and Upton in their studies of fund-raising letters). Connor and Upton (2003) suggest fund-raising discourse is skewed toward the conceptual and declarative style of academic prose (see Biber 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1993, 1995, 2004; Biber, Connor, and Upton 2007; Biber and Conrad 2003; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998; Biber and Conrad 2003; Biber, Conrad, Reppen, Byrd, and Helt, 2003; Biber and Finegan 1988).

Yet Gallese, Keysers and Rizzolatti argue that "the fundamental mechanism that allows us a direct experiential grasp of the mind of others is not conceptual reasoning but direct simulation of the observed events through the mirror mechanism" (2004, p. 396). The implication to writing fund-raising discourse is this—perhaps writing so focused on factual content, by its design, circumvents the way the human brain is hard wired—preferring to learn of socially significant content not through propositional language, but through narrative and conversation-like prose that involves the reader (Rosen, 1988; Tannen, 1982, 1989). This is consistent with the commonly acknowledged understanding that a moviegoer will almost always prefer an action adventure or romantic comedy to a talking-head documentary. It also may suggest that writers seeking to persuade others to support charitable causes should consider writing in a more conversational or narrative style that *shows* rather than *tells* a donor how he or she should feel.

"The novelty of our approach" write Gallese, Keysers and Rizzolatti, "consists in providing for the first time a neurophysiological account of the experiential dimension of both action and emotion. What makes social interactions so different from our perception of the inanimate world is that we witness the actions and emotions of others, but we also carry out similar actions and we experience similar emotions' (2004, p. 396). While these researchers acknowledge that a cognitive approach can inform one person about the emotional state of another (e.g. through a description of a their low income level, hard life in the context of a city with a high cost of living), the emotional impact may be greater were the writer to tell a short anecdote that *shows*, rather than *tells*, what it is like to be poor. Gallese, Keysers and Rizzolatti describe what happens in the mirror when the *showing* approach is used: "information concerning the emotions of others is directly mapped onto the same viscero-motor neural structures that determine the experience of that emotion in the observer. This direct mapping can occur even when the emotion of others can only be imagined. . . . It is likely that the direct viscero-motor mechanism scaffolds the cognitive description, and, when the former mechanism is not present or malfunctioning, the latter provides only a pale, detached account of the emotions of others" (p. 401). The question for writers is this—does their style of prose limit the impact it can have among readers, by providing what Gallese, Keysers and Rizzolatti describes as *only a pale, detached account of the emotions of others*? Moreover, is it reasonable to expect that fMRI experiments that indicate others have felt empathy upon seeing empathetic images is even applicable to written prose?

As noted above, more recent research at the University of Southern California (USC) suggests that the *channels* by which another's actions are understood and can trigger mirror neuron response are not limited to visual input alone. Just *reading* or *hearing* about an action can produce the same response as *seeing* the action firsthand. Among the resarch team was the lead investigator in the lead investigator from the Parma group that discovered the presence of mirror neurons in 1995—Giacomo Rizzolatti. The lead researcher at USC was Lisa Aziz-Zadeh from the schools Brain and Creativity Institute. Representing UCLA was Marco Iacoboni, director of the Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation Lab at the Ahmanson Lovelace Brain Mapping Center in the David Geffen School of Medicine. Aziz-Zadeh and her team found that among 12 volunteers studied, the premotor cortex of their brian's indicated *the presence of the same neural activity when they heard words describing an action as when they saw it*. "In sum" Aziz-Zabeh writes, "these results support a key role of premotor areas with mirror neuron properties for embodied semantic representations of actions, whether they are delivered through visual or linguistic modalities" (Aziz-Zadeh, Wilson, Rizzolatti & Iacoboni, 2006, p. 1521). In other words, this study suggests that *semantic representations* (reading or hearing about another person's circumstances) creates the *same effect* in the brain as if the reader/hearer were in the situation the described. That is, hearing or reading is almost like being there. UCLA's Marco Iacoboni describes this as the new science of how we connect with others (2008). It is an issue at the very heart of effective writing and thus at the heart of effective fund raising. (cf. Rizzolatti, Fogassi & Gallese, 2006; Shamay-Tsoory, et al., 2005; Stemmer, 2005, Vignemont & Singer, 2006; Xu, Kemeny, Park, Frattali & Braun, 2005).

It is also consistent with the feeling that many people experience, when they read a book that is just too good to put down. Iacoboni explains: "Mirror neurons suggest that we pretend to be in another person's mental shoes. . . . In fact, with mirror nerons we do not have to pretend, we practically are in another person's mind (Ker, 2005, p. 1). The results of the work by Iacoboni, Molnar-Szakacs, Gallese, Buccino, Mazziotta, and Rizzolatti (2005) suggests that mirror neurons enable that which is written in an empathetic style to actually create empathy, as indicated by neural activity observed in their testing. The implications to the process of persuasion is apparent If nerual activity measured by fmri suggests that the brain can differentiate between a static image of a isolated tea cup, a tea cup in a to-be-enjoyed setting, and a tea cup in a to-be-cleared-from-the-table scene, then it would follow that prose written to accentuate emotional content by portraying a person in an empathy evoking scenario would work better. These findings are consistent with previous research by Damasio (1994, 1999, 2003) and other neuroscientists and neurobiologists (Gazzaniga, 1998, 2004; LeDoux 1996, 2002). Empathetic writing is illustrated below in a paragraph written by science writer, Gordy Slack, which he composed to summarize the implicatoins of the the past decade's neuroscientific discoveries vis-à-vis mirror neurons. As he describes how we feel what feel when we see a sad person, like a play within a play Slack's words not only illustrate the empathy factor, but also illustrate how narrative creates greater reader involvement through creating empathy (which in fund raising is assumed to help motivate response):

> A young woman sat on the subway and sobbed. Her mascara-stained cheeks were wet and blotchy. Her eyes were red. Her shoulders shook. She was hopeless, completely forlorn. When I got off the Ftrain, I stood on the platform, paralyzed by emotions. Hers. I'd taken them with me. I stood there, tears streaming down my cheeks. But I had no death in the family. No breakup. No terminal diagnosis. And I didn't even know her or why she cried. But the emotional pain, her pain, now my pain, was as real as day. (2007, p. 1)

Twenty-first century neuroscience forces those who write the discourse of fund raising to question how they write. Do some writing strategies stand a better chance of evoking empathy in the brain that others? Given that the brain is already hard-wired to interpret empathy-evoking messages, what does this imply for writers? Does it suggest that a conversational style might be more personal and thus more empathy-evoking than expository prose? Does it suggest that human-intgerest andecdotes are better for evoking empathy than carefully edited factual declarations? Does it suggest referring to specific indivuduals by name (like characters in a story) rather than as classes of people (like subjects) evokes greater empathy? The data in this study will measure the presence or absence of linguistics features in prose that are connected with these styles of writing.

Frank's (1990) discourse analysis of the language used in direct mail communication acknowledges that among professionals in the field, the use of emotion is ubiquitous, as she shows that direct mail copy often resembles the 'speech-like' writing tendencies. She observes that in an attempt to add emotion, copywriters use a conversational style. Research into the nature of what I call the narrative mind seems to provide empirical underpinning for the observations of practitioners in fund raising which has long posited that nothing communicates as well as a good story. Next I review the relevant literature of fund-raising practitioners.

Two of the variables discussed above (narrative-style discourse and hand-personalized direct mail), have been reported to correlate positively with increased results. Narrative copywriting, featuring brief human-interest anecdotes to dramatize charitable causes, has been advocated by Jerry Huntsinger (1977, 1989a, 1989b, 1992), and advocated by most direct mail fundraisers. This practice parallels a similar format popularized in advertising by John Caples (1936, 1938, 1957, 1974, 1983) and David Ogilvy (1963, 1983). Both Caples and Ogilvy achieved statistically significant results using the short story/long copy technique, making them two of the most widely cited advertising copywriters in the advertising field, as Huntsinger is in fundraising.

Effective advertising and fund appeals are often expressed in story form in order to create an emotional connection. Harold Seymour (1988) suggested that "Giving is prompted emotionally and then rationalized. The heart has to prompt the mind to go where logic points the way" (p. 29). Harrison (1984) cites six primary emotions that can be tapped in developing fund-raising communication: joy, surprise, grief, anger, fear and disgust. He concludes that, "while we cannot underestimate the importance of a logical, rational, well-developed case, we also cannot afford to overlook the power of human emotion in our approach to the potential giver" (p. 78). Herschell Gordon Lewis (1984, 1989) suggests that by substituting emotional words for more their more abstract synonyms can increase reader response to direct mail copy. Among 100 pairs of word choices, he contrasts "give" with the more abstract word, "donate."

It is one thing to say that emotional content is important. It is quite another to describe how to produce such prose. Thus, much of the knowledge needed in the field of direct mail fundraising must be garnered from those who write not for charitable causes, but in order to connect with readers in their fields.

Sandell (1977) conducted his research before the advent of readily available computerized corpus analysis in Sweden, a nation that has since led the way in computerized analysis of texts. His work, titled *Linguistic Style and Persuasion* is framed by the question: "Can linguistic style influence the persuasive effect of a message" (1977, p. vi)? His work begins with a 100-page literature review ranging from the concept of style and how it is operationalized through such measures as lexical density measured by type-token ratio—the measure of "the number of different words (types) to the total number of words (tokens) in a text" (1977, p. 26). Other operational characteristics Sandell identified include parts of speech, structural organization that form larger discourse units, use of rhetorical devices such as tropes.

Douglas Biber's research (1988), whose methodologies are used in this study, seems to follow closely Sandell's work, yet Biber does not seem to have been aware of Sandell's seminal efforts. Among the many sources Sandell cites is an early study by Carroll who isolated 38 linguistic features in nine general categories (articles, nouns, adjectives, count words, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, and organization measures) to determine "What are the basic dimensions in which style varies" (1960, p, 283). Carroll's study was innovative in the late 1950s by selecting not just one or a small range of style criteria, arrayed on 29 scales measuring semantic differentiation. His schema presaged what Biber would do a similar study in the 1980s, with the assistance of computer technology. In a manual calculation environment, Carroll found that thirty-one variables in his study offered useful data with median correlation coefficients of .58, six had coefficients over .80, nine over .70, one was under 2.0 and just three were under 3.0. Sandell noted what Biber observed about the complementary nature of some linguistic features (that is, when one is present in a text another is may be absent). However, the studies Sandell reviewed often contradicted one another: “Variables that load the same factor positively in one study are in another found to load the same factor with opposite signs” (1977, p. 46). He concludes his extensive review noting that “we have not found any single study, or series of studies, focusing on the whole or the main part of the range of persuasive effects and employing a systematic set of style variables chosen on the basis of theory” (1977, p. 101). Sandell chose advertising texts from eight national magazines for which two 1968 issues were chosen. From these 14 advertisements focusing on consumer food advertising were settled on, which represented 20 percent of available ads. In consultation with Swedish advertising executives, twelve variables for analysis were identified (average word length, average clause length, average sentence length, percentage of nouns in texts, percentage of verbs, percentage of adjectives, percentage of other parts of speech, unusual words, reinforcers, ellipses, initial assonances, end assonances). The strongest correlation coefficient was in relation to adjectives, of which Sandell remarked: “Apparently persuasive texts rely heavily on using adjectives to achieve their ends” (1977, p. 128). Additional correlates found included the use of ellipses, word length, use of reinforcers, assonance (the repetition of vowel sounds to create a rhythmic sound to the text). Nouns and verbs did not seem related to persuasive intent in the factor analysis.

Review of Literature Relevant to Profiling Those Who Write the Discourse of Fund Raising

Margaret Duronio and Eugene Tempel (1997) found that patterns of effectiveness among those who have made the field of fund raising their career are preserved and passed on through informal apprenticeship, mentoring, how-to seminars. A relatively limited body of scholarly research that has been published. However, numerous fund-raising professionals have published practical guides to practice (cf. Geller, 1998, 2002; Huntsinger, 1977, 1989a, 1989b, 1992; Housden and Thomas, 2002; Jutkins, 1994; Kuniholm, 1989, 1985; Lautman, 1984, 2001; Lewis, 1989; Warwick, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c 2008a, 2008b 2008c, 2008d, 2008e; Warwick, Har, and Allen, 2002). In addition to book-length works, a few serial publications include regular contributions from practitioners (*The Chronicle of Philanthropy, NonProfit Times, Fund Raising*

Management). Three academic journals feature research on philanthropy and the nonprofit sector (*Nonprofit and Voluntary Quarterly, Nonprofit Management & Leadership, Voluntas*). According to Kelly (1991, 1998) among the nation's 34 academic research centers on philanthropy, *acts of asking* (soliciting funds for charity) generally takes second place to the research on *acts of giving* (the impact and motivations for giving). This was confirmed by Layton, whose annotated bibliography of the literature of philanthropy found that "while there is an enormous practical literature on fund-raising, there is almost nothing which examines the phenomenon of "getting" with the same depth and comprehension that the phenomenon of giving has received. Within this realm, the impact of fund-raising and competing for resources on the performance of nonprofit organizations merits particular attention" (1987, p. xv). The lack of scholarly study on *acts of asking* seems consistent with the research of Duronio and Tempel (1997) which found that "one of the most serious challenges facing fund raisers and hampering the professionalization of the field is the discomfort with and distaste for fund raising experienced by fund raisers themselves. . . . What was a surprise was the realization that many fund raisers themselves have a negative perception of fund raisers and the field in general" (p. 191).

Drucker observed that in the twentieth century, institutions supplanted families as the dominant structures entrusted with "every major social task whether, economic performance or health care, education or the protection of the environment, the pursuit of new knowledge or defense" (1973, p. 3). He also noted that the ascendancy of institutions gave birth to the profession of management, as the "organ of the modern institution . . . . It is professional—management is a function, a discipline, a task to be done; and managers are the professionals who practice this discipline, carry out the functions, and discharge these tasks." (1973, p. 6).

Like their commercial counterparts, nonprofit institutions proliferated in the twentieth century, and for their success, they too depend upon the vision and management skills of their leaders. "Their management," Drucker predicted, commenting on all non-business institutions, "may well become the central management problem—simply because the lack of management of the public-service institution is such a glaring weakness, whether municipal water department or graduate university" (1973, p. 8).

From the 1960s to the early 2000s nonprofit organizations learned the language of management and marketing. Key figures include Borden (1964); Bagozzi (1975); Engel, Blackwell, and Kollat (1968); Kotler (1969, 1982); Kotler and Levy (1983); Kotler and Fox (1985); Levitt (1960, 1986); Lord (1981, 1988); Lovelock and Weinberg (1980); McCarthy (1960); McLeish (1995, 2007); Nash (2000); Sargeant (1999); Stone (1979, 1996); Stone and Jacobs (2001); Vögele (1992). Seminars, books, and academic programs proliferated and applied principals of management to the running of non-profit organizations. Among the nonprofit functions cognate to those of commercial organizations, fund raising held particularly high hope for benefiting from the gains of management science, particularly those of marketing, since results were measurable. Fund-raising results belonged to what Drucker (1973) described as the economic sphere that has measurements both for the allocation of resources and for the results of decisions.

In their struggle for survival, a sort of economic Darwinian competition predestines that few commercial ventures, once birthed, actually survive. Those that survive owe their lives to the fact that they achieved results in the key result area of profit. Similarly, nonprofit institutions that survive have established and achieved measurable objectives in the key result area of fund raising. Although nonprofit organizations are prohibited from distributing revenues in excess of expenses, beyond that constraint, they are not prohibited from achieving a surplus of revenues over expenses (commonly called profit). Indeed, to effectively survive and serve its constituencies, nonprofit organizations must generate more income than expenses.

As fund raising seeks to mature from a field to the rank of profession, the codification of both fund-raising principles and practices becomes critical. The quality of what I am calling the voice of philanthropy (the written texts of fund-raising discourse) varies widely not only in form, but also effectiveness. Regarding form, Fisher Howe, writing in Harvard Business Review (1985), conceptualized this level of variability as a ladder of communication effectiveness. On the bottom rung he placed the least effective channel—handouts. On the top rung he placed the most effective channel, the medium of one-to-one conversation. In the middle he placed the predominate mode of fundraising discourse in America—direct mail. Fund raising by mail and online is a component of the larger direct marketing industry, which The Chase Econometrics and Wharton Economic Forecasting Group predicts will account for $2.33 trillion by 2004, and will grow 8.8 percent annually, compared to an expected overall growth rate of 5.3 percent (Stone & Jacobs, 2001, p. 4).

Mastering the art and science of effective written communication with donors and potential contributors is, therefore, critical to maintaining the financial support of nonprofit organizations. Unfortunately, those who would choose fundraising as a career must master this body of knowledge if they are to advance as professionals in the field. Sullivan (1995) suggests that for any field to be called a profession, in addition to achieving a degree of autonomy and commitment to the greater public good over self interest, its members must be trained in the principles and practices which have been codified into a body of knowledge.

The individual parts of the body of knowledge, which informs the tasks of fundraising communication are scattered in hundreds of intellectual nooks and crannies throughout the social sciences.

In addition to the product of scientific method, Schön (1979, 1983, 1987) argues that practitioners reflecting-in-action create much knowledge in response to the challenges they face. Therefore, in addition to the more established social sciences, the contributions of many fundraising practitioners will be evaluated as well. The spade for unearthing this knowledge will be the question: *what is relevant to the task of enabling fundraisers to communicate effectively in writing with their constituents, in order to gain support for philanthropy?*

Answering this question is critical, if fundraising is to evolve from eclectic trade to bona fide profession (Duronio & Tempel, 1997; Tempel, Cobb & Ilchmann, 1997). For organizations whose income is gained and maintained primarily from direct mail fund appeals, and in accelerating volume from fund-raising texts online, understating the art and science of effective written communication is fundamental to survival. Even for organizations whose donors are come through more personalized communication approaches—e.g. group events and person-to-person solicitation—support comes because something is communicated. So regardless of the medium or size of gift, fund raising by and large boils down to the skillful use of words. The question is, are those responsible for writing and speaking voice of philanthropy adequately educated in the theory and trained in the skills necessary to do their jobs? Kotter, Schlesinger and Sathe's (1986) organization design perspective that is a useful heuristic for evaluating leaders' preparedness for the communication *tasks* of their jobs. I use the word *task* in the sense that Kotter, Schlesinger and Sathe define it in Figure 1.1 with a model, which follows a analytic sequence. That sequence first evaluates *tasks* to be accomplished (vis-à-vis this research, writing fund-raising texts). Then it aligns people and designs the organization to achieve those tasks.

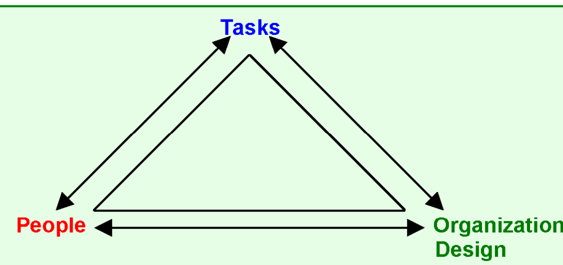


Figure 2.1 Three-way fit among the three key organization design variables.

Note. Adapted from Kotter, Schlesinger, and Sathe (1986, p. 16). Their model of organization design and change suggests that effectiveness in an organization is dependent upon creating a three-way fit among *people*, *task*, and *organization design* variables. This is accomplished as 1. *tasks* are clearly defined, 2. *people* are chosen who have or are helped to acquire the knowledge tasks require, and 3. the *organization design* components of *selection*, *development*, and *management* are orchestrated by leaders. This research questions whether leaders in the field of fund raising are adequately orchestrating a key organization design variable necessary to ensure those who write the discourse of fund raising are equipped to do their work—language training. Instead, those who *write the voice of philanthropy* learn their craft mainly from mentors and on the job. Thus the work of one of the most critical tasks in fund raising relies upon apprenticeship and oral tradition. Little codified knowledge exists. If fund raising is to become a profession, this must change.

Thus by considering tasks first—what actually has to be done—the helps develop the criteria by which success is measured, and the preparation necessary to perform well. This led to questions in the survey administered in this research, which sought to identify the *educational and training experiences* leaders believed had contributed to preparing them to fulfill their writing responsibilities. Other questions related to this overarching inquiry included those designed to identify the nature of their tasks, what respondents liked most and least about their jobs, what they thought were consequential trends in their work, how newcomers to the field might be best prepared for their jobs, and how they viewed their careers in fund raising.

Kotter, Schlesinger and Sathe's organization design model is useful since it forces one to work backwards to evaluate and create an effective three-way-fit between task and people, between task and organizational design, and organizational design and people variables, giving rise to questions such as: Does an organization consider issues like the following:

- Does an organization clearly understand what effective fund-raising discourse looks like (e.g. having examples of such discourse would define the tasks)?
- Do the people who are responsible for writing fund-raising discourse have the skills and aptitudes well fitted to the task demands of writing that discourse?
- Does organizational design include clear selection criteria for hiring, then measuring and rewarding the performance of the people who have (or who can be trained to have) the skill sets and aptitudes matched to the writing tasks?
- Does the organizational design include training and mentoring resources that are matched to these tasks? (It is ironic that most practitioner literature and training programs—even the best—fail to treat writing for fund raising in detail).
- Does the organizational design's training and mentoring resources fit well with the organization's people—are they accessible, based on both practitioner experience and validated theory, representative of best-practice, and pedagogically sound?

As the above review of Connor and Upton's two studies of rhetorical moves and their corpus analysis of fund-raising of letters in the ICIC Corpus suggest, answers to these questions may well explain some of the counter-intuitive results their studies surfaced. I suggest that one of the causes underlying the poor quality of fund-raising discourse (my evaluative take on the data, not theirs) can be traced to organization design problems like those outlined above—a lack of training, education and literature such as is common with other professions such as law, medicine, theology, etc.).

Review of Literature Relevant to the Effect of Paratextual Variables on Direct Mail Fund-Raising Response

Pennycook (1985) notes that Trager (1958) was the first to use the term paralanguage in a study that synthesized linguistic and psychological data to classify factors that, in addition to the actual content of speech, create the overall communicative context between a speaker and hearer. Paralanguage literally means that which *comes alongside* language (whether text or speech) to intensify, clarify, modify, contextualize or otherwise assist in the communicative process. In speech such devices might include changes in the speaker's tone of voice, a smile or frown, a wavering voice, laughing or crying, a rapid pace or pause, gestures, whispering and perhaps even silence. In writing the range is more limited, but familiar devices include <u>underlining</u>, headlines like the one above this paragraph with numeric markings (2.12.1), *italicized print*, special glyphs like bullets (●), photographs, lines of text beneath photographs called cut lines. Such paralinguistic features are literally situated *beside the lingual* (literally alongside the tongue). I distinguish between paralinguistic features that work closely with words, and another class of design features those that work above the level of words that are more issues of design. In this research I refer to these design features with the word *paratextual* from the Latin *textus* the style or texture of a work, literally the thing woven, as a cloth (Bringhurst, 2004). The evocative word picture Bringhurst paints is that of a writer who weaves words into a flowing new cloth. Among these are issues of the physical context. For example, a books cover may be paper or hard, its pages may be of glossy or matte paper, the stock may be text or cover weight. Other paratextual features may be strategically designed to create greater reader involvement (cf. Tannen, 1982), such as greeting formats, addressing with real or simulated handwriting, adding personalized notes in blue penmanship, affixing live postage stamps (Warwick, 2008f) rather than using a postage meter or indicia to communicate a hand-prepared look.

The importance of such paralinguistic and paratextual features can be significant as among the total list of variables affecting communicative outcomes. In the area of speech, Pennycook cites Birdwhistell's claim that "probably no more than 30 to 35 percent of the social meaning of a conversation or an interaction is carried by the words" (1970:158). "These figures appear to have gained fairly wide acceptance," Pennycook observes, "as a number of authors cite 65 percent as the communicative load carried by the paralinguistic channels" (p.261). Thus, many language scholars suggest that in speech and writing alike, paralanguage makes a significant contribution to cohesion. Cohesion, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976), is defined as the quality that gives them the form of a unified whole as compared to a string of unrelated sentences. They suggest that in a cohesive text, "some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another" (p. 4). Schiffrin describes cohesion as "how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meanings, and actions to make overall sense of what is said" (1987, p. 49).

Tannen (1982) says that "cohesion is established in spoken discourse through paralinguistic and non-verbal channels (tone of voice, intonation, prosody, facial expression, and gesture" (1982, p. 3). Then she extends the notion of cohesion to both spoken and written texts, by reframing the orality/literate dichotomy. She argues that "orality and literacy should not be seen as elements of a dichotomy. Rather, any particular instance of speaking and writing is a rich texture of features associated with these two modes" (1988, p. 40). Tannen thus advocates avoiding hard and fast labels distinguishing the oral from the literate, and suggests that it is more useful to describe oral or textual discourse using the continuum of more or less involved/more or less detached. Biber (1988, 1995, 1998) develops this notion in his Involved/Information Production dimension, one of seven such dimensions of variation he has identified in written and spoken English. Paralanguage, therefore, applies to both written and spoken discourse.

Though she did not use the term cohesion, Sullivan (1998), a professor of rhetoric at Purdue University, recasts the above discussion in terms of the discipline of rhetoric. She casts many of the paralinguistic features described above as tools of *visual rhetoric*. She traces designers history of concern for the look of text as being rooted in a desire to increase readability, utility, and comprehension. Medieval illuminators viewed the works they transcribed as worthy of a context worthy context (which means to literally weave together two things into one). Moreover, in the twenty-first century, holy books in the Middle East are never prepared as cheap paperbacks, as a pocket New Testament might be printed in America. Rather, according to David Harriman (personal communication, May, 2001) a Qur'an would be constructed with elegant design considerations that honor its status. Like McLuhan (1964, 1967) who made the medium of communication more than ancillary but constitutive, Sullivan (1998) suggests that in addition to intensifying the meaning of text, variables of visual rhetoric has the potential to add new meaning: "Even when text is the focus, as it is in print literacy, visual connections carry meaning—through tactics such as grouping, emphasizing, and employing or breaking aesthetic rules" (p. 76). Schiffrin (1987) disagrees with this view, saying: "Cohesive devices do not themselves create meaning; they are clues used by speakers and hearers to find the meanings which underlie the surface utterances" (p.9). Of course, Schiffrin is a linguist. I concur with McLuhan and Sullivan and suggest that if the physical characteristics reflect a wide enough break from aesthetic norms, that deviation in creating a new medium essentially becomes a message in and of itself.

Most systematic attempts to describe a grammar of visual rhetoric have helped enhance readability by setting standards for readably through initiatives like specifying font size and type. Sullivan (1998) notes that researchers (Berryman, 1984; Williamson, 1989) have created helped establish design protocols for that arranging visual elements and according to the natural viewing path the human eye travels as it moves across a page of text (Keyes, 1987; Dragga and Gong, 1989; Meggs, 1992; Hilligoss & Howard, 2002; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). In reviewing the research of direct marketing, both commercial and fund raising (Geller, 2002; Nash, 2000; Stone, 1979, 1997; Stone & Jacobs, 2001; Warwick, 1990 2003; Yadin, 1994) certain package styles seem to have become standard-bearers for the genre—traditional number 10 business envelope-size packages, use of window envelopes, use of Times New Roman or Arial fonts). However, shifts in elements of the visual side of page-bound rhetoric can add shift style and thus add meaning. For example Tannen notes that type can add the involvement (1982): "An appeal from Rosalynn Carter to support Habitat for Humanity could hardly be expected to follow the strict visual conventions of a government research proposal. We would expect such a letter to have a personal insignia and be printed using a typewriter font. We might also expect handwritten emendations (or at least a handwriting font), perhaps in a blue ink that would create visual contrast in type and color" (p. 84). By shifting the visual rhetoric of the piece, involvement between writer and reader is enhanced.

Following Sullivan's notion that shifts in visual rhetoric can add meaning and Tannen's thesis that such elements create both cohesion and involvement, in addition to the linguistic analysis, this research also tests two paralinguistic manipulations of direct mail packages. These include addressing direct mail in real and simulated handwriting and canceling stamps that are normally mailed *naked*—that is, with no cancellation marks, which creates more of a mass-produced look. The working hypothesis is that these *para*textual manipulations may enhance involvement with the reader, in the way Biber (1988) observes that certain linguistic devices (e.g. personal pronouns, contractions, questions, and narrative style) create involvement at the level of text. This research will test three paralinguistic variables described more fully below—the manipulation of the physical appearance of envelopes to create a more personal and involving look by addressing them in real handwriting or Computer HandScript and by manipulating the appearance of discount postage stamps to make them look like first class postage stamps. These manipulations will test the hypothesis that mail which looks more looks more personal achieves deeper reader writer involvement, and this, in turn, improves response.

These experiments can be valuable in light of the fact that trends in the direct mail fund-raising industry seem to the lack variety and levels of personalization this sort of text exhibits. It could reveal valuable lessons and is significant from a financial perspective in that the best text in a fund-appeal, targeted to the best donors on a nonprofit's list is of no value if the envelope in it is sent never gets opened. Thus, one of the areas investigated is the impact adjustment in the paratext of a mailing package (e.g. the envelope) on response.

Goddard (1998) illustrates the use of such devices in advertising. For a British charity a black and white full-page photograph shows a baby whose eyes are bandaged. A vertical text box, measuring slightly less than a quarter page, is positioned in the upper left next to the bandaged head of the infant. The 24-point Times New Roman headline in the text box reads: "All this baby will ever remember seeing is her mother, her teddy, and the tips of her father's fingers." In the lower right corner of the ad a similar size text box contains a clip-and-mail coupon, with which the reader can supply their name and address, check a box, and mail the form along with a gift to the charity. At the top of this coupon is the equivalent of a short direct mail fund-appeal that begins: "This child is three months old and blinded for life. In a momentary loss of control, her father repeatedly jabbed her in the eyes with his fingers: (p. 14). The text then continues with a request for a donation to help prevent child abuse before it occurs. Goddard's point is not so much the verbal message of the ad as it is with the paralinguistic elements hat work para (*beside*) the text to strengthen and give the message added cohesion. Goddard defines graphic elements like the photograph as "aspects of communication that surround and support the verbal language . . . This baby cannot communicate with us, but the fact hat she is pictured as if she could (of wants to) is an important contribution to the overall effect of the image, because it makes us interactive partners in the communication process" (p. 15).

Cook (1992) notes the strong influence in communication of paralinguistic variables: "paralanguage interacts with language and on occasion outweighs it. To see that this is true, one has only to imagine the effect of someone sobbing while saying: 'I am not upset'" (p. 67). Goddard notes that just as the photograph of an infant creates what Tannen (1982) calls involvement, in this case portraying human vulnerability, so too the style of type used can "suggest particular qualities as a result of how it appears: in other words, writing is a form of image-making too. It could be said to have its own paralanguage, as a result of the type of 'clothing' the copywriter has chosen for it" (p. 15). Relevant to this research is the "sharp distinction" noted by Goddard, "in how writing appears . . . whether it is handwriting or typed print, since we are likely to read handwriting as more to do with human agency and therefore more personal and individualistic than machine-produced typeface" (p. 15).

Linguists draw a distinction between involvement and fragmentation (Chafe, 1979), creating meaning versus paradigmatic abstraction (Brunner), identification versus alienation (Burke, 1945). Research indicates that specific linguistic devices help create involvement, meaning, and identification (Biber 1988, 1995; Tannen 1989; Rosen, 1987; Schiffrin, 1987). Little research measures the effect of paratextual variables like human or human-looking handwriting on creating involvement. A valid question is whether handwriting, like linguistic heighten features, can heighten interpersonal involvement as well. This seems consistent with Halliday and Hasan's notion that words create cohesion in text "where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another" (1976. p. 4). If a text maximizes personal involvement though narrative, direct quotes, and other speech-like strategies, would the additional involvement device of a handwritten address on the envelope create added cohesion and involvement by creating an emotional tone, as prosody does in sppech?

This research examines the impact of two forms of non-verbal paralanguage: 1.) hand-personalized mail using computer simulated and genuine handwriting to address envelopes and add personal notes to fund-raising mail and 2.) manipulation of the appearance of postage, which Warwick lists last among the variables that should affect outcomes. Neither of these variables precisely match Warwick's list, although the moderate potential variable of *personalization* and the low potential variable of *stamp, indicia or meter* come close.

These two paralanguage variables are chosen because they are consistent with the investigation of linguistic characteristics that create affect—those associated with producing involvement and with the use of narrative in texts. Similarly, both of these paralinguistic variables are typically used to enhance involvement by emulating the look of personal correspondence. First, a real handwriting is emulated by addressing envelopes with a computer simulated handwriting program called Computer HandScript. Then nonprofit stamps are canceled to give them the look of first class postage stamps, since stamps that are not cancelled are typically associated with mass mailings, which impression, it is hypothesized, depresses response rates. Stating the research goal as a hypothesis, *is there a statistically significant difference in response between two direct mail fund-raising appeals, one of which is addressed with Computer HandScript and on which nonprofit stamps are cancelled, and the other, which is addressed in Times Roman font and on which nonprofit stamps are not cancelled?* The underlying assumption is that if the addressing and postage treatments can give mail more of a personal correspondence look and will improve response rates—less mail will be discarded and more will pass the first challenge—to just get opened.

Goddard (1998) describes this as an example of paralanguage, "a type of 'clothing' the copywriter has chosen, . . . whether it is handwriting or typed print, since we are likely to read handwriting as more to do with human agency and therefore more personal and individualistic than machine produced typeface" (p. 16). However, Cook (1992) believes such techniques are genre-bending: "Real confusion . . . is sought by junk mail, which, mindful of its unopened destiny in the rubbish bin, frequently poses as something else. Thus there are circulars which look like postcards, telegrams, newspapers and invitations" (p. 31). Cook dislikes the direct mail medium, complaining: "junk mail is particularly persistent, and often very annoying. It also infringes privacy, making use of large databases of personal information about individuals" (1992, p. 199). Yet I argue that Cook also builds a case for combining genuine or simulated handwriting with the unexpected substance of personal-looking stationery to create "a third meaning which is quite different from either. This third meaning may undermine or enhance the advertiser's intention" (1992, p. 28). Nonetheless, his bias causes him Cook to call hand-personalized direct mail as an ill-advised attempt to "take on and take over, the features or another type. Only one or two of the identifying parameters of the imitated discourse type are different. The sender of the postcard is not a friend but a firm; its function is not to greet but to sell. In every other respect it is a regular postcard. The trick may backfire, not only on the public, who may overlook important communications, but also on the firms themselves, as it is more likely to annoy than persuade" (Cook, 1992, pp. 32-33).

Despite these harsh opinions, several descriptive statistical analyses of hand-personalized direct mail campaigns—both those produced using genuine handwriting and using computer-simulated handwriting—have shown positive results (Williams, 1981; Barnett, 1991; Grace, 1997; Printz and Maltby, 1997; Carpenter, 2001; Lautman, 2001; Lewis, 2001, Warwick, 2001; Warwick, 2003). These studies have indicated correlations between hand-personalization and increased response rates, average gifts, and return on investment. However, none have hypothesized a theoretical explanation for the phenomena observed. I suggest that hand-personalization acts paratextually to create interpersonal involvement in the same Biber observes that linguistic features such as first person personal pronouns, contractions, and private verbs have create an emotional tone in written and spoken discourse. What these are to verbal rhetoric, hand personalization is to visual rhetoric.

Of the homogenization of most direct mail, Burnett (2002) warns: "First you are an individual donor. Then you become an entry on a supporters' file. Then you are part of a database. You can almost hear the machine swallowing the donor" (2002, p. 96). In reaction to the perils of depersonalization that technology brings, some nonprofits use low-tech donor cultivation strategies. Barnett (1991) alludes to value of using a high touch strategy of writing personal notes to donors. And Kay Sprinkel Grace (1997) says:

> *Personalized letters* . . . written by hand from one individual are highly effective in solicitations. . . .The power of the handwritten message cannot be underestimated: a full letter, a note on a word-processed letter, or a thank you note all spiral in their effectiveness when handwritten. A lost art, especially in this age of technology, the handwritten letter is read and valued far more than word processed letters" (p.125)"

Grace's sentiments were foreshadowed in Naisbitt's (1982) content analysis, *Megatrends*, which observed that American culture was "moving in the dual directions of high-tech/high touch" (xxii). One expression of this is seen in handwritten notes sent by nonprofit organizations to donors in order to accentuate the relationship factor by personalizing the communication process. Williams (1981) notes that Ohio Wesleyan University recruited class agents who handwrite letters, which were printed on an offset press, then returned to the class agent who hand wrote salutations on each letter before mailing them to their classmates. Although she did not report specific results, Williams noted that this personalization process "certainly lifts the Ohio Wesleyan appeal out of the 'junk' mail category, and its ability to attract new gifts is quite impressive" (1981, p. 209).

Printz and Maltby (1997) describe, the results of two hand-addressed note card-style mailings. The authors noted, "many of the models for generating donor support (through the mail) for humanitarian organizations rely on high volume of inexpensive mailings to generate strong net revenue (1997, p. 18). The results of their two campaigns are reproduced below, comparing outcomes alongside another mailing described as having "more of a general focus on the needs of the Mission . . . expressed in terms of food, shelter, job training, housing and other 'traditional' causes for rescue missions" (1997, p. 18).

Table 2.2

Conventional versus Hand-Personalized Mail for a Rescue Mission			
	Conventional Mailing April, 1995	By-Hand Mailing April, 1996	By-Hand Mailing December, 1996
Pieces Mailed	28,440	8,767	9,275
Responses	945	2,238	1,658
Response Rate	3.32%	25.53%	17.88%
Average Gift	$42.27	$53.51	$89.50
Gross Income	$39,943	$119,747	$148,395
Total Cost	$16,729	$18,916	$16,881
Net Income	$23,214	$100,831	$131,514
ROI	$2.39:1	$6.33:1	$8.79:1
Note. Adapted from Printz and Maltby (1997).			

Syracuse (2008) reports that Deborah Flateman, CEO of the Maryland Food Bank mails a request to new donors for a second gift using a folded note card with a generic (non-variable) typed thank-you message, but "below the message, in handwriting, is the statement: 'Thank you for your gift. Repeating your gift of (amount) would mean so much.' The latter is personalized with the amount of the individual's donation" (p.28).

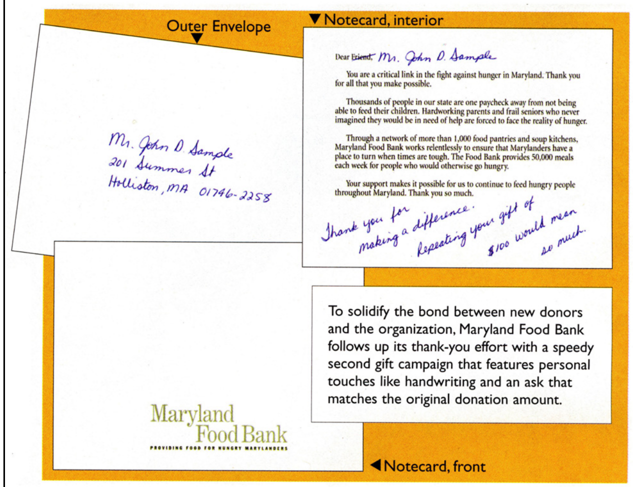


Figure 2.2 Maryland Food Bank note card. Source: Syracuse (2008).

The Maryland Food Bank's hand-personalized package in Figure 2.2 "has helped the organization achieve an average gift across all donors of $80" Syracuse (2008, p. 28) reports.

Carpenter (2001) reporting for the trade publication, *The NonProfit Times* cited four organizations that use hand-personalized mail: the American Cancer Society (ACS) located in Atlanta, Life Outreach International (LOI) in Texas, Feed the Children (FTC) in Oklahoma, and Lighthouse Ministries (LHM) in Indianapolis. All mailed hand-personalized note cards to both thank donors for contributions and appeal for additional contributions. ACS targeted its note card mailings to donors who had contributed $100 or more and LOI reported sending one hand-personalized mailing per year. LOI's Vice President, Terry Redmon notes that their hand-personalized mail "typically outperforms other correspondence mailings 2 to 1 and often as much as 3 to 1, considering return on investment. Response rates have also been well above average . . . ranging between 7 and 20 percent" (p. 14). Larry Correa, FTC's Vice President notes that their annual hand-personalized packages, targeted donors who give $1,000 or more, "drops on December 25 to get that very last donation from the donor" (p.14). Summarizing their Christmas time mailing results, sent to 100,000 donors, Correa reported a response rate of 15 percent. Dale Collie, president of LHM in Indianapolis reported their hand-personalized packages usually yield double their normal appeals' response.

Partney Lautman describes a similar direct mail package that looks more like a friendly note on personal stationery, from New York's Central Park Conservancy. She writes that such packages "are usually sent to high dollar donors because of the expense. The carrier envelope is actually hand addressed while the note is printed. A handwritten P.S. is usually tailored to the donor's past giving history and urges a contribution. For example, it might say, 'Mrs. (name), can you increase your last year's gift to $150?'" (2001, pp. 86-88).

Warwick (2001) describes a by-hand direct mail package for the San Francisco AIDS foundation, as an "*upscale offer*, entirely consistent with the high production values [and] the $1,000-and-up ask" (2001, p. 198). Lewis, (2001) describes a by-hand by international relief agency CARE USA, sent to donors who had made gifts of at least $50, and whose gifts had been made 11 month prior to the mailing date of this renewal package.

Like Printz', Lautman's and Warwick's examples, CARE's included a hand-addressed envelope. However, rather than adding just a handwritten P.S. beneath a preprinted message, the appeal was entirely handwritten—34 words in all. Of their ongoing program, CARE's head of direct marketing, Beth Athanassiades, reported that it "typically prompts 9 percent of recipients to give, with an average donation of $41" (Lewis, 2001, p. 27).

Warwick (2003c, p. 12) notes such mailings can range from hundreds to a millions, are hand addressed with pre-printed body copy, yet personalized with a handwritten P.S. He reports seven cases:

Table 2.3	**Description**	**Response**
Public Radio Station (Fall 2002): Additional Gift Series *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	First drop (conventional bulk mailing)	6.8%
	Second drop (conventional bulk mailing)	4.8%
	Third drop (Written by Hand)	9.5%

Table 2.4	**Description**	**Response**
New England Public TV Station (Winter 2003): Additional Gift Series *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	First drop (conventional bulk mailing)	0.87%
	Second drop (conventional bulk mailing)	0.68%
	Third drop (Written by Hand)	3.0%

Table 2.5	**Description**	**Response**
East Coast Public Radio Station (Winter 2003): Additional Gift Series *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	First drop (conventional bulk mailing)	2.6%
	Second drop (conventional bulk mailing)	4.5%
	Third drop (Written by Hand)	9.0%

Table 2.6	**Description**	**Response**
University (Winter 2003): "Do Not Call", $1,000 Ask *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	Number sent	249
	Number received	24
	Response rate	10%
	Dollars received	$4,119
	Average gift	$172

Table 2.7	**Description**	**Response**
Fraternal Organization (Fall 2002): "Do Not Call" Current, LYBUNT, and LYBUNT Unconnected *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	Number sent	671
	Number received	40
	Response rate	6%
	Dollars received	$1,750
	Average gift	$43.75

Table 2.8	**Description**	**Response**
Fraternal Organization (Fall 2002): $250 Ask *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	Number sent	888
	Number received	100
	Response rate	11%
	Dollars received	$13,800
	Average gift	$138

Table 2.9	**Description**	**Response**
National Nonprofit (Fall 2002): $1,000 Ask *Note.* Adapted from Warwick (2003c).	Number sent	5,410
	Number received	217
	Response rate	4%
	Dollars received	$50,174
	Average gift	$231

Warwick (2003c) describes several paratextual features common to hand-personalized mailing strategies. A typical package “features such touches as first-class postage, real handwritten addresses, personalization, high-quality stocks, and handwritten postscripts and components” (p.1). He reports that the range of response is often “anywhere from 10-15%—although a 20% response rate isn’t uncommon” (p. 1). Common goals, according to Warwick, are to increase the giving of typically 10 percent of an organization’s mid-level donors, using a series of three highly personalized mailings. Donors already committed to contributing monthly financial support give three times as much as occasional donors, and overall organizations make $40-$50 per name mailed. “With an approximate total cost a hefty $8 per name, the strategy is well worth the investment” Warwick concludes. “Especially when you add in the subsequent years of renewal. Plus, even nonresponders increase their giving the following year” (2003c, p. 1)

Goddard (1998) explains the power of such campaigns, distinguishing between the impact achieved with handwritten and typed copy: “we are more likely to read handwriting as more to do with human agency and therefore more personal and individualistic than machine-produced typeface. These boundaries of ‘human’ and ‘non-human’ are, of course, constructed notions in contemporary society. (p.16).

It is helpful to judge strategies across genres. Certainly one far removed from philanthropy is car sales, where from 1963-1977 Joe Girard “sold more automobiles on a one-to-one basis than anyone else in the world” (AHF, 2008, ¶1). His key was the human touch of hand-personalized cards, which he used to build lifelong relationships and repeat customers. To him mail was “the most important means of contacting . . . prospects and customers on a regular basis” (Girard, 1977, p. 76). He sent customers a card a month, mailing 13,000 a year. He

> holds the all-time record for car and truck sales in one year—1,420 vehicles! He sold more cars than anyone ever has in one day—18. His lifetime total of one-at-a-time selling was 13,001 all retail sales. Only five percent of dealerships in the U.S. sold 1,000 cars a year. Girard was averaging that amount each year by himself! Audited by accounting firm of Deloitte & Touche. (AHF, 2008, ¶4).

The increasing popularity of by-hand direct mail is consistent with the major cultural restructuring of American society foreseen by Naisbitt when he observed:

> The introduction of the high technology of word processors into our offices has led to a revival of handwritten notes and letters. We couldn’t handle the intrusion of this high technology into . . . our lives without creating some human ballast” (1982, p. 38).

The style of simulated handwriting (Computer HandScript) that this study tests against more conventional means of addressing and personalizing mail, bears a remarkable resemblance to genuine handwriting, since its letters connect and multiple versions of characters adds verisimilitude as Figure 2.2 shows:

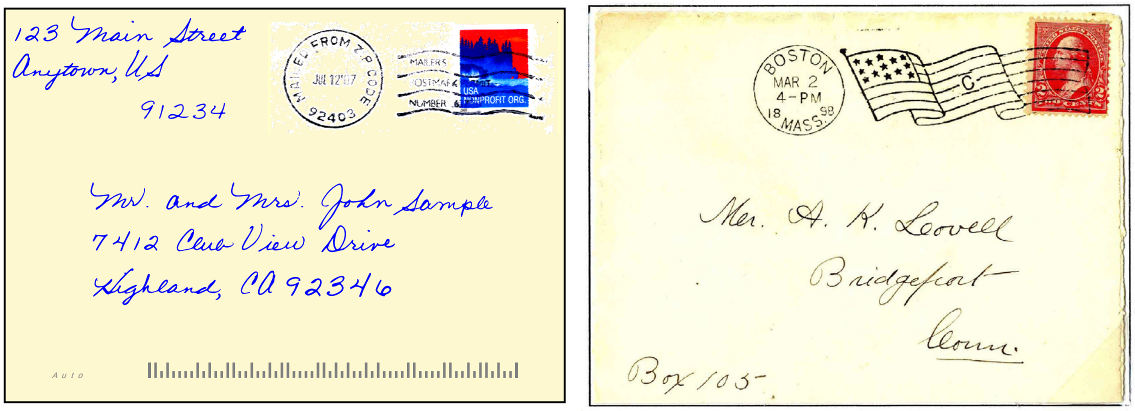


Figure 2.3. Comparison of 2007 envelope addressed in Computer HandScript with one written by human hand in 1898.

Note. Unlike Fake HandFonts, the letters of Computer HandScript look authentic because they connect, vary, and are made from real handwriting. The intention is to recapture the warmth of personal correspondence exemplified by the 1898 Boston envelope on the right. The Boston facsimile's stamp was defaced by one of its Post Office's first postmark/canceling machines (Barlow, 2008). The HandScript envelope nonprofit stamp is also cancelled to make it look like first class mail and thus boost response.

The idea of using Computer HandScript is to create the look and emotional warmth of personal mail like that pictured in Figure 2.2's hand-addressed letter from 19th Century Boston. I also test the effect of canceling standard discount-rate stamps (commercial, presort first class, and nonprofit denominations) with a mailer's postmark called PostCode. These classes of postage stamps are normally mailed naked (not canceled), simply because the USPS Domestic Mail Manual (DMM) classifies them as precanceled—a classification that belies the reality they are not defaced in any way. The term *precanceled* is just a technical definition indicating they do not *have* to be cancelled. But the DMM goes further than just *defining* the category and actually *prohibits* their cancellation without a special written exemption from the rule. Exemptions are sought because it is believed that canceling discount stamps makes mail look as though it had been sent at the full first class rate which, in turn, enhances interpersonal involvement, gets more envelopes opened, and thus can increase response. PostCode, shown first in Figure 2.3, has a round town circle, date, zip code, and wavy lines defacing the stamp. Like the 1896 Chicago and 1922 Dubiln examples, this is consistent with a style dating to the first use of such marks in 17th century England:

> In 1660 Henry Bishop was made Postmaster General. Bishop is remembered as the man who introduced the first post mark, issued in 1661. The Bishop Mark, as it is called, only showed the day and month of the posting; its purpose was to ensure that the letter carriers did not delay the mail, either for espionage purposes or simply due to laziness. At this time, all letters were taken to London, Edinburgh or Dublin before being sent to their destinations and Bishop marks were used in these cities (Edinburgh's being red). Similar postmarks were simultaneously being used in America, notably in Philadelphia and New York; they are still often referred to as American Bishop marks or Franklin marks (after Benjamin Franklin, the one-time Deputy Postmaster General). (BBC, 2008, ¶3)

Figure 2.4. Three examples of cancellation marks: 2006 PostCode; 1896 Chicago, IL postmark; and 1922 Dublin, Ireland postmark.

Note. USPS regulations prohibit postmarking precanceled stamps. But when mailed naked (not postmarked), they look like *junk mail*. So PostCode is used to cancel stamps with a postmark, make letters look like full-rate first class mail, get them opened, and thus increase response rates. The Chicago postmark is from Forte (20008) and the Dublin from Raven Stamps of Ireland (2008).

In his online advice column Mal Warwick, acknowledged as one of the leading practitioners in the field of direct mail fund raising, refers to the cases I cite above in Table 2.3 to 2.9, as well as the recent use of computer simulated handwriting for similar campaigns:

> Of course, all produced impressive results—but, as you already know, that merely corroborates the experience that many professionals (including Domain Group and Kay Lautman as well as my colleagues and I) have had using variants of their technique.
>
> However, I have no similar experience using simulated handwritten fonts. That's on my list of tests to conduct … I admit that I've seen computer-generated text that, at first glance (and sometimes second) fooled me into thinking it was handwritten, too.
>
> Within limits, the size of your organization or of your donor list doesn't matter. I think you're on the right track to pursue the use of this technique. Since I know that true handwriting usually does work well for me and my colleagues, I have no hesitation in recommending that you try it. If you're a little more adventurous, you might try one of the best, custom-tailored handwritten fonts instead.
>
> (Warwick, 2008e, Do hand-written appeals really work better?, ¶ 13-15)

In another interchange about computer-generated handwriting, Warwick cautions that such strategies must be considered in light of cost/benefit ratio, and do not necessarily enable one to raise more with less:

> **Q: Are "Hand-signed and hand-addressed" packages worth the cost?**
> I recently received a direct-mail piece from High Touch Direct Mail, which uses "Genuine HandWriting" or "Computer HandScript" to "get it read!" In addition, the company uses live postage stamps and High Touch BarCodes to "get it read!" When I received a piece from High Touch, I opened it immediately thinking that it was a personal invitation. I fell for it completely. What do you think of this and similar services? Is it worth the cost to invest in this service? Are the return rates higher? Will I spend less to raise more as the company promises?—
>
> *Rachel Fine, Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra, San Francisco, California, 7 September 2004*
>
> **Mal answers:** Packages like these—available from a number of vendors across the country—have been widely adopted for fundraising . . . because they work so often. However, you're not likely to "spend less to raise more." It's more probable that you'll "spend more to raise more." Hand-signed and hand-addressed packages like these cost considerably more than offset-printed packages. But, when mailed to the right list—almost always a list of your active donors, not a list of prospects—they tend to give a higher return on investment because the response rate, and sometimes the average gift as well, are substantially higher.
>
> (Warwick, 2008d, Are Hand-signed and hand-addressed packages worth the cost?, ¶ 19-20)

Warwick also comments on the impact of live postage stamps over preprinted indicia or metered mail:

> In a businesslike appeal meant to resemble official correspondence, I would almost always specify a metered indicia (as opposed to one that's pre-printed), simply because that gives the appearance of business correspondence mailed from an office.
>
> By contrast, in a mailing designed to convey a personal character, I would opt for live stamps. That would look more natural than an indicia in those circumstances.
>
> (Warwick, 2008f, Which is better—a stamp or indicia?, ¶ 17-18)

Tests of the effect canceling precanceled stamps are rare, since this feature requires special authorization from the USPS. However, many studies comparing the use of stamps versus indicia or metered mail have been conducted by those who mail opinion surveys. Linsky (1975) thoroughly reviews the literature in this area, especially in connection with survey design and response. More recent studies include manipulation of the envelope used by Asch and Christakis (1994), who found that by using a different style envelope for a survey, they were able to increase response by 20 percent. The effect of postage class was tested by Allen, Cordes, and Filkins (1998); who found no statistically significant difference in response rates when surveys sent by first class mail and at the nonprofit rate. However, Hager, Pollak, and Rooney (2003) discovered that while survey complexity and monetary incentives did not affect response, their recent study showed that the mailing vehicle used did matter. By using Federal Express to send their surveys to half a test segment, they got a response rate of 61.7 percent from the Federal Express segment compared to 38.3 percent from the half sent by first class mail. This result was statistically significant at the .05 level of confidence with a Chi-square of 6.533. Traditionally survey research design has sought to follow systems to increase response rates in surveys (Slocum, Emprey, and Swanson, 1956; Dillon 1978, 2000; Dillman, Clark, and Sinclair, 1995).

One of the three main aspects of this study adds to the growing body of research in this arena of paratextual variation in the package design. Specifically, I report the results of six test mailings that measure the effect on response of the variables just discussed—real and computer-simulated handwriting and PostCode cancellation of discount stamps (in one test first class presort and in another nonprofit). Five tests were conducted by the American Heart Association and one was conducted by Franciscan Friars of the Atonement. Responses are measured in campaigns that targeted mailings to an aggregate of 1,247,064 households. From one test I hypothesize that an organization mailing a similar quantity with a similar offer to a similarly receptive audience (lots of assumptions are made in that statement that are just that—assumptions) *might* be able to save $301,578.76 and increase net income through those savings alone by as much as 36%. I readily admit that these projected savings and net income fact are based on optimistic best-case assumptions of *possible* not *promised* results. Of course, that is why important variables are tested and hoped-for results are only pre-test best surmises, based on limited facts, exposed to the chance that unaccounted variables might intervene. This was affirmed in one of the six tests reported. Two changes in the paratext of one mailing sent to 464,835 households accrued a loss of $52,018.87 in income over the test from the prior year. Changes by the nonprofit in two paratextual variables caused response to drop 296% and income to plummet 181%. These and other tests will be discussed in the results section. But first, I describe the three methodologies used in the three major investigations designed to measure the effect on response of the paratextual variables just discussed, quantify linguistic variation in the Dickerson IRS 880 corpus, and profile the individuals who wrote those texts.

In the year of our Lord 1432, there arose a grievous quarrel among the brethren over the number of teeth in the mouth of a horse. For 13 days the disputation raged without ceasing. All the ancient books and chronicles were fetched out, and wonderful and ponderous erudition, such as was never before heard of in this region, was made manifest.

At the beginning of the 14th day, a youthful friar of goodly bearing asked his learned superiors for permission to add a word, and straightaway, to the wonderment of the disputants, whose deep wisdom, he sore vexed, he beseeched them to unbend in a manner coarse and unheard-of, and to look in the open mouth of a horse and find the answer to their questioning.

At this their dignity being grievously hurt, they waxed exceedingly wroth; and, joining in a mighty uproar, they flew upon him and smote him hip and thigh, and cast him out forthwith. For, said they, surely Satan hath tempted this bold neophyte to declare unholy and unheard-of ways of finding truth contrary to th teachings of the fathers.

After many days of grievous strife, the dove of peace sat on the assembly, and they as one man, declaring the problem to be an everlasting mystery because of a grievous dearth of historical and theological evidence thereof, so ordered the same writ down.

Francis Bacon, (quoted in Milton, 1972, pp. 18,19)

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Francis Bacon's parable of the youthful friar, who vexed his elders by suggesting they look in the open mouth of a horse to *count its teeth,* can be extended to linguistics. Computer technology now enables language scholars to peer into the mouth *their* horse—the written text. I do just this and more by describing 1.) the *discourse* of fund-raising, 2.) the *people* who write or cause that discourse to be written, and 3.) the utility of *paratextual variables* to enhance reader involvement and improve response to fund-raising discourse. Three separate investigations, each using a different research method, include:

- *Linguistic Patterns Revealed by MD Analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus*—the unit of analysis is *a fund-raising text*. Among America's largest nonprofit organizations, fund-raising discourse is examined using Douglas Biber's (1988) research methods.
- *Profiles of Those who Write Fund-Raising Discourse Drawn from the Voice of Philanthropy Survey*—the unit of analysis is *a nonprofit leader*. Among America's largest nonprofit organizations, leaders who write or cause the discourse of fund raising to be written are profiled using a survey.
- *Measures of Change Attributable to Paratextual Variation in Package among Six Direct Mail Campaigns*—the unit of analyses is a *paratextual variable*. In six A/B split panel tests, variation in response

between control and test packages, each of which feature a paratextual variable, is measured using five indices: number of gifts raised, percent response, total dollar income, average gift, and income received.

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

What Does MD-Analysis Measure? A forewarning before answering the above question. Just as a dentist can make teeth sound complex by numbering and prefacing each with a Latin deictic (*labial* next to *lip* or *lingual* next to *tongue*), so a linguist can complicate discussion of discourse by examining it from various perspectives and levels. Yet complexity is inevitable as Biber writes, positioning his MD-analysis approach: "complexity is required to characterize adequately the relations among genres in English; a simpler analysis would be misleading with respect to the overall relations among at least some genres" (1998, p. 169).

Figure 3.1 illustrates that relations among genres from several perspectives: that of semantics (*meanings* of words), lexis (*words* as they are actually used in specific contexts), or grammar (*arrangement* of words *together* in a *structure* governed by *rules*). The focus could be at the level of morpheme (word component), word, clause, sentence, or discourse (beyond the sentential level at the plane of contextualized spoken or written language):

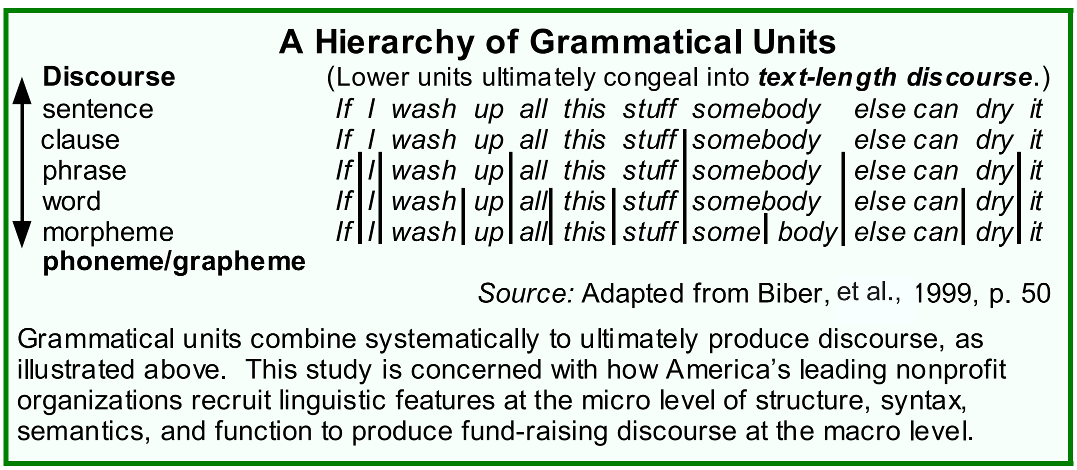


Figure 3.1 Graphical representation of relationships between grammatical units.

Note: Discourse analysis is concerned more with broader spans of language in use. From Biber et al., 1999, p. 50.

This study prefers the plane of discourse. The word discourse (*discurrere*) gains meaning from its two Latin roots: *dis* (apart) + *currere* (to run), which taken together suggest that meaning is best derived as a *full* text is viewed as it *runs about* the entire language *context* in which it resides. Even the word context (*contexere*) further informs this notion from its own two Latin roots: *com* (together) + *textere* (to weave). Therefore, discourse analysis asserts that smaller text units are best understood as they are considered running about the larger space created for them as a result of weaving together individual swatches of language into a larger cloth of meaning. This larger cloth of meaning is mediated by words, informed by writer and reader assumptions about one another, and constrained by communication context (which here includes paratextual variation).

Like a garment one wears, this larger cloth of meaning (discourse), can differ contingent on occasion. The discourse may appear in the form of a speech, an academic paper, a television ad, a comedy skit, or in the case of this study, either an online fund-raising text or a direct mail fund-appeal letter. The complexity to which Biber alludes in describing his analytic approach, can be imagined as *un-weaving* a 1,000 thread-count cloth of many colors, such that the strands do not tear, the job is quickly accomplished, and in the end each stand of thread is neatly spooled, sorted, and measured according to one of the 67 colors from which it was woven. Before computer processing and software power made it possible, the analysis of large corpora of texts was just as impractical as unweaving a cloth. It was virtually impossible. However, Biber's innovative marriage of computer processing capabilities with linguistics software has yielded *a new way of looking at discourse* by examining 67 constituent linguistic parts in large bodies of texts across many genres. This is accomplished by blending multivariate statistical analysis with cross checks to past qualitative linguistics research. By viewing micro level linguistic features, the higher plane of a genre of discourse at the macro level can be better understood.

The Tradition of Campaign Versus Text as Unit of Analysis in Marketing. This macro view of discourse through the micro lens of linguistic features brings to marketers and fund-raisers, a new set of metrics for evaluating *campaigns*. In Biber's research protocol, the *text* is the unit of analysis. The metrics are interval measures calibrated in units of linguistic co-occurrence. For marketers and fund raisers, however, the *campaign*, not the *text*, has traditionally been their unit of analysis. Consequently, for the most part they have neglected micro analyses of the linguistic features out of which their messages have been constructed. Their research work has favored adjusting gross elements in the marketing or fund-raising mix at the *campaign* level. Marketing scholars like Borden (1957, 1964) and McCarthy (1960) gave more definition to such analyses by conceiving and developing the notion of the *marketing mix*. While this placed focus on distinct elements (product, price, place promotion) like the ingredients of a recipe, their model failed to explain the effects of language in the promotional ingredient *of* that recipe.

Only in the past 20 years have language scholars in the field of genre analysis begun to focus on what they describe as *rhetorical moves* (specific divisions of promotional discourse developed to achieve explicit purposes). Their unit of analysis has been the *rhetorical move* as observed in various genres of texts (Swales, 1990, Bhatia, 1998). However, genre analysis seems to have merely re-labeled what one influential marketing practitioner identified a full century before. In 1898 Elias St. Elmo Lewis identified four common rhetorical moves in what is still the most widely used communication process model in marketing, sales, and fund raising (Howard, 1990). Lewis observed that persuasive discourse typically moved through four stages: grab attention, arouse interest, motivate desire, and call to action. Lewis was also ahead of his time in applying theory to practice—in the 1890s he conducted one of, if not the first, rigorous customer research surveys on record, among 5,000 doctors to study their use of serums and anti-toxins (Advertising Hall of Fame, 2008). Throughout the 20th century marketers and fund raisers have referred to Lewis' model, using the acronym AIDA (Attention-Interest-Desire-Action). Researcher/practitioners (Starch, 1910, 1923a, 1923b, 1937, 1966; Staats and Staats, 1958), trained in psychology, created an industry devoted to measuring the effectiveness of advertising. In discussing the promotional genre—to which discourse community he observes that sales and fund-raising belong as sub genres—a century after Lewis developed AIDA, Bhatia (1998), has revived his rhetorical moves paradigm. Bhatia and others (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 1999; Sless, 1999; David, 1999; van Nus, 1999) seem to have nuanced Lewis' approach, rather than inventing a new one. Upton (2002), for example, has used a rhetorical moves analysis design to evaluate the discourse of fund-raising letters. Connor and her colleagues have similarly analyzed grant proposals (Connor & Wagner, 1998; Connor and Mauranen, 1999; Connor, 2000, Connor & Gladkov, 2004). However, while having precise terminology helps more precisely focus research, merely adding a formal term to a longstanding research process for identifying consistently re-occurring portions of text in a genre says little about its effectiveness. It affirms the presence of rhetorical moves, like a novice might rightly observe that opera's generally have songs peppered throughout the performance, yet it says nothing about the quality of arias heard. However, MD-analysis aids in this task by empowering practitioners (in this research, fund raisers) with knowledge about the micro-level constituent parts of a text (Biber's taxonomy of 67 variables), and how inferences from those observations can be drawn at a macro-level about a text's use and usefulness:

> Studies of language can be divided into two main areas: studies of structure and studies of use. Traditionally, linguistic analyses have emphasized structure. A different perspective . . . is to emphasize language use. From this perspective, we can investigate how speakers and writers exploit the resources of their language. Rather than looking at what is theoretically possible in a language, we study the actual language used in naturally occurring texts. (Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998: p.1)

A Computer-Based View of Discourse at Both Micro and Macro Levels. Biber's MD-analysis blends quantitative and qualitative methods that yield *a new way of looking at discourse*, producing a synoptic perspective. This multi-view approach differs from past language research, which Biber argues has tended to proceed on an *a priori* basis from assumptions about discourse, to expeditions in search of evidence to support those preconceptions. For example, he observes that many studies assumed it self-evident that writing, compared to speech is:

1. more structurally complex . . . (O'Donnell et al., 1967; O'Donell, 1974; Kroll, 1977; Akinnaso, 1982, [1986]; Chafe, 1982; Tannen, 1982, 1985; Gumperz, et al. 1984; Chafe & Tannen, 1987);
2. more explicit . . . (DeVito, [1965], 1966a, 1966b; Olson, 1977);
3. more decontextualized, our autonomous . . . (Kay, 1977; Olson, 1977);
4. less personally involved . . . and more detached and abstract . . . (Blankenship, 1974; Chafe, 1982; Chafe and Danielewicz, 1986);
5. more [concentrated] with new information . . . (Stubbs, 1980; Kroch and Hindle 1982; Brown and Yule, 1983); and
6. more deliberately . . . planned . . . (Ochs, 1979; Rubin, 1980; Akinnaso, 1982; Brown & Yule, 1983; Gumperz et al. 1984). (Biber 1988, p. 47)

MD-analysis, however, works in an *a posteriori* (from the *prior* facts) basis: 1.) it begins with linguistic evidence, 2.) then it compares quantitative analysis with past qualitative research, 3.) and only then does it draw conclusions about text registers. The present research follows this process—describing the larger macro plane of fund-raising discourse by first looking at micro level of features (e.g. semantics, lexis, grammar, words, clauses, and sentences) and then forming conclusions based on linguistic evidence. Each text described reflects the work product of a writer (in this case one serving a nonprofit organization) in a pragmatic situation (needing to compose a letter to be mailed or an online text to be posted or emailed) tasked with achieving a rhetorical aim (persuasion) with a specific type of a reader (a current or potential donor), with success measured in terms of a reader's response (what he or she does after being asked to make a financial contribution). Therefore, the purpose of this study is *not* to consider how well a text conforms to rules of *proper grammar* but rather, to describe *what the writer writes* from a constituent parts (linguistic features) perspective, and then consider whether the stuff of which their writing is made helps or hinders *achievement of their rhetorical aim* (to persuade the reader to give). From knowledge about the dispersion of these constituent linguistic parts in texts, I not only compare patterns of variation among texts with the findings of the Connor Upton (2003) study, but also across other genres of English.

This simultaneous breadth and depth of analysis uses software that tags linguistic features, counts them, and then summarizes their distributions. This descriptive power comes from factor analysis, which congeals clusters of linguistic features into dimensions that reflect broad categories which characterize text registers—what Biber calls *underlying dimensions* that describe *linguistic variation*. These patterns characterize the co-occurrence of linguistic features in texts, which (should) also reflect the purposes for which the texts were composed (e.g. academic articles use precise, tightly integrated language to serve an informational purpose, while conversation and personal letters are less formal, are often fragmented, and serve the purpose of creating hearer/reader involvement).

Describing the uniqueness of his model, Biber notes that past studies "have considered texts to be related along particular situational or functional parameters, such as formal/informal, interactive/non-interactive, literary/colloquial, restricted/elaborated." Bernstein, for example, posited the notion of restricted versus elaborated codes (1961, 1964). In contrast, Biber notes that his factor analysis yields *seven* sets of linguistic markers that form independent *interval scales* of linguistic variation which "can be considered as dimensions because they define continuums of variation rather than discrete poles." Groups of texts are measured on the salient linguistic features from which scales are constructed, enabling genre differentiation. The interval nature of the dimensions favors of a more nuanced approach and frees observers from having to view textual variation in terms of dichotomies. Rather than having to settle for a description such as formal or informal, a text can be scored somewhere between such poles. "It is more accurate," Biber argues, "to describe it as more or less formal; formal/informal can be considered a continuous dimension of variation" (1988, p. 9).

Applying MD-Analysis to the Discourse of Fund Raising—What This Research Accomplishes. Following Biber (1988), I describe the linguistic makeup of electronic- and paper-sourced fund-raising texts. The corpus of texts examined includes 2,412 electronic- and paper-sourced fund-raising texts, comprised of more than 1.5 million words. I then compare these texts against those in the Connor-Upton corpus (2003) and across the 23 genres of discourse for which Biber has already described dimensional scores on 67 linguistic features. Like a ruler is calibrated in linear units (inches and feet), making it possible to measure a person's height, Biber's multi-dimensional/multi-feature analysis is calibrated in linguistic units, making it possible to characterize a text. His not only *counts* features like nouns, verbs, adjectives, and the length of words, but through factor analysis, also groups features into salient *clusters* that statistical evidence confirms co-occur in a text (or in some cases are reciprocally related—that is, when one feature is present, the another is usually absent in a text).

The notion of co-occurrence is, therefore, central to the process used here to describe fund-raising discourse. It is based on Biber's observations confirming that linguistic co-occurrence reflects and supports a genre's *rhetorical aim* and/or reflects its *production* circumstances. Contractions, for example, are often used in personal conversations to expedite the flow of interaction. The quick back-and-forth pace makes such discourse sound fragmented. Conversations often contain (are *marked* by) the use of *private verbs* (e.g. I *think*, I *feel*, I *believe*) to support the *affective rhetorical aim* of expressing a *personal viewpoint* (marking a writer's *stance* toward the subject) (Conrad and Biber, 2000). Together, these linguistic features (*contractions*, *fragmentation*, *private verbs*, and *stance*) support the rhetorical aim of *involving* another person in *dialogue*, yet constrained by a *real-time production* environment, on a subject about which the person may *have strong personal feelings*. These feelings are often *given voice* in the venue of personal conversation. Personal letters were found to share many features in common with conversations. So Biber places conversation and personal letters at one end of his first dimension of linguistic variation, which pole he labels *Involved*—suggesting the goal of *involving* a reader or hearer by the way something is written or said.

On the other end of this first dimensional scale, Biber places genres like academic prose and official documents. In contrast to conversation, academic papers and official documents seldom use contractions, are characterized by precise vocabulary, usually include high type/token ratios (number of unique words [types] to total number of words [tokens] in a text), are dense and highly integrated, are produced in environments that allow for careful editing, and seldom use private verbs to expresses personal stance. Biber labels this pole *Informational*—suggesting the goal of *informing*.

The other six of Biber's scales (save for two that are unipolar) are similarly calibrated in units of co-occurring *clusters* of linguistic features, arrayed on continua defined by opposing poles. Each *cluster* of linguistic features can be used to judge *one* character trait of a text's *total* character. His methodology is premised on the view that a full and accurate description of a text's character is not possible unless several traits (dimensions of variation) are considered.

For example, were you to describe a person, it would be inadequate to limit observations to height (which would only explain if someone were short or tall). A fuller, more accurate, and ultimately more meaningful description might include six additional physical measures: age, weight, body/mass ratio, blood pressure, visual acuity, and aerobic stamina. Together, these seven measures could be critical were the person being evaluated for a *physically* demanding task like firefighting. Analogously, Biber's seven linguistic dimensions can be used to evaluate texts for a range of *rhetorically* demanding communicative tasks—for instance, important academic discourse, medical procedure discourse, and airline pilot discourse. It even applies to seemingly less demanding discourses such as improvisational comedy and everyday conversation (although improv comedy is one of the most demanding discourses, and important if poor performance jeopardizes your livelihood). In all cases, a single measure (like formal or informal, oral or literate, fragmented or integrated) is inadequate to fully and accurately characterize a text, just like only knowing a person's height is inadequate to develop a robust profile of an individual.

Biber illustrates the value of using several dimensions to describe a text or speech event, referring to the hybrid genre of public conversations. Interviews and panel discussions, he notes "have a relatively informational purpose but participants are constrained by on-line production and actively interacting with one another" (Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998: p. 153). MD-analysis identifies salient linguistic features that form interval scales for the following seven scales measuring linguistic variation.

Table 3.1 **Biber's Seven Dimensions of Linguistic Variation**

1.	**Interpersonal Involvement**	**Informational Content**
2.	**Narrative**	**Non-Narrative**
3.	**Elaborated/Context Independent**	**Not Elaborated/Context Dependent**
4.	**Overt Expression of Argumentation**	**(Unipolar—No Opposing Pole)**
5.	**Abstract/Impersonal**	**Non-Abstract/Non-Impersona**
6.	**On-Line Informational**	**Edited or Not Informational**
7.	**Marking Academic Hedging**	**(Unipolar—no opposing pole)**

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988).

These scales not only help compare one genre against others, but as noted above, make it possible to compare each against its *rhetorical aim*. For instance, in this present study understanding the linguistic characteristics of fund-raising discourse inform judgments about the *fit* of a text's linguistic *form* to the *function* it is created to fill—the rhetorical aim of making appeals to Aristotle's ethos, pathos, and logos in pursuit of the goal of raising money. Biber's *dimensional scales* are calibrated with units reflecting normalized frequencies (counts per 1,000 words) of the linguistic features that define each dimension.

Benefits of This Method: How Understanding Variation Empowers Writing. While the issue of utility is not the primary focus of this study, it is a motivating reason for it. Knowing the details about how linguistic features give text registers their characteristic *look*, *sound*, and *effects* on readers can empower writers whose work requires that they control a variety of registers for a variety of situations. As noted earlier, a style that informs (like academic prose) does not work as well as a style that involves (like a warm friendly letter that reads like a conversation sounds) when the task is to raise funds. However, knowing what a genre should *look like*, and the task of marshalling linguistic resources to produce such a text, is not self-evident. While one can be familiar with the style of John Grisham, J.K. Rowing or Stephen King, exactly how to emulate that style is not patently obvious. Whether the genre is popular fiction or the discourse of fund-raising writing text *that accomplishes its rhetorical vision* is not easy. However, it seems that everyone thinks anyone can write anything. Yet data refutes this myth.

For example, most would be able to *describe*, in general terms, what an action-adventure movie is like and what it is about—fast cars plummeting down hills, people kicking one another in fight scenes, suspense and resolution with the good guy winning in the end. However, crafting a script that *achieves* those ends—with all the complicated interplay of characters, the interweaving of words into dialogue and scenes with dramatic impact—all of that is hard, complicated work. Even when adapting a written text like a novel to the medium of visual story telling—selectively omitting some narrative, accentuating other, even adding new material—the task is not simple. It is one thing to *recognize* and *describe* a genre at a macro level, it is quite another to marshal resources at a micro level that *create* a successful text within a genre. The latter requires understanding how and why the constituent parts come together to create an end product that successfully achieves it rhetorical vision. Like an fMRI or PET scan that can reveal what fires or doesn't fire in the human brain when a communicative input is perceived, the following MD-analysis reveals what specific linguistic features are present in the texts examined. In turn, this diagnosis yields a set of clues by which texts may be judged and through which more effective fund-raising discourse can be written.

Composition of the ICIC Corpus. The Connor and Thomas Upton (2003) study was characterized by five distinctions of common to corpus linguistic studies:

- It examines linguistic patterns in texts encountered in the real world.
- Texts are compiled digitally into corpora .
- Computer processing and software capabilities do the majority of the work.
- The computer output consists of descriptive frequency counts of 67 linguistic features
- Frequency counts are used to draw inferences using multivariate techniques
- Quantitative inferences are evaluated in light of qualitative discourse studies

The Connor and Upton study ICIC Corpus included the following nonprofit sector texts:

Table 3.2 Profile of Indiana Center for Intercultural Communication (ICIC) Corpus

Category	Orgs	% Total	Texts	% Total	# Words	% Total
Health and Human Services	33	31%	91	29%	54,187	28%
Environmental	10	9%	13	4%	8,126	4%
Community Development	10	9%	17	5%	10,875	6%
Education	27	25%	118	37%	72,583	38%
Arts and Culture	16	15%	63	20%	37,485	20%
Other	12	11%	14	4%	8,824	5%
Totals:	108	100%	316	100%	191,540	100%

Note. From Connor and Upton (2003, p. 75). Their corpus overlooked the largest sector in America, Religion (which accounted for $96.82 billion or 32.8 percent of the $295.02 billion raised in 2006). The Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus represents all nine segments of the U.S. nonprofit sector.

As noted earlier, at the outset the researchers imagined what most people probably would surmise about such prose—that its rhetorical and linguistic characteristics would resemble a warm, chatty personal letters, portraying the needs of the nonprofit with an emotional style, illustrated with human-interest stories. However, taking the researchers by surprise was the diametrically opposite picture the linguistic evidence painted. The rhetorical design and linguistic stuff of which letters were constructed indicated that they:

- Concisely packed dense information into texts, which read like academic prose
- Exhibited a factual/propositional rather than affective/relational rhetorical aim
- Distanced readers from writers by using few linguistic involvement devices
- Sounded formal by avoiding resources used in conversation, like contractions
- Contained a high ratio of different words used (types) to total words (tokens)
- Preferred precise and occasionally complex vocabulary over simpler words
- Preferred exposition of concepts to human-interest narratives about individuals
- Contained few past tense verbs, consistent with non-narrative procedural style
- Contained a low ratio of main verbs to other parts of speech

Two of the researcher's counter-intuitive findings stood out and prompted this follow up study. First was their discovery that these texts are "much more informational even than professional letters and are very much like academic prose on this dimension—and quite unlike the personal letters that we tend to consider them modelled after" (2003, p. 80). Second was their observation that their texts devoted scant space to telling human-interest stories, which they had thought would be present in abundance: "Direct mail letters are more strongly non-narrative than almost all the other genres—spoken or written—analyzed by Biber (1988), including professional letters and academic prose" (p. 81).

When I first read their description, I questioned the degree to which results represented the direct mail fund-raising genre *as a whole*—especially the work product of successful larger nonprofit organizations. I questioned whether the sample size was robust enough to warrant such broad conclusions. In addition, I began to hypothesize that perhaps the academic acculturation of these letters' authors might correlate with the counter-intuitive results Connor and Upton's analysis yielded. Tannen (1998) observes that academia tends to foster an agonistic approach to written composition, and 58 percent of executive directors in nonprofit organizations, according to a nationwide survey by Peters and Wolfred (2001), hold Masters or doctoral degrees. So if Tannen's argument has merit and the nonprofit executive writers in Connor and Upton's study have been acculturated by higher education experiences that conditioned them to prefer an academic, uninvolving, non-narrative style, then this factor might account for Connor and Upton's unexpected dimensional scores. It might explain why writers reflexively appropriated the same composition style that earned them rewards during their graduate work. A hypothesis suggested, then is framed by the question, *is there a difference in scores on Biber's multidimensional scales between the Connor and Upton ICIC study and the Dickerson IRS 880 study?*

Composition of the ICIC Corpus. To extend the seminal work on fund-raising discourse done by Connor and Upton (2003), I replicate their study here among larger U.S. nonprofit organizations, whose staff writers, it is assumed, probably have greater experience in crafting persuasive direct mail fund-raising prose. A key research objective is to determine how their scores on Biber's dimensional scales differ from those of writers associated with organizations represented in the ICIC Corpus. To determine which organizations to include in the corpus, a database of all nonprofit organizations that raise at least $1 million or more in direct support was purchased for $8,000 from Guidestar.org. Table 3.3 below describes the corpus of organizations represented:

Table 3.3 Dickerson Internal Revenue Service 880 (Dickerson IRS-880) Corpus in Context of U.S. Nonprofit Sector*

Organization Size by $		Number of Organizations			Funds Represented by Orgs in Corpus	
From	To	All Orgs	% All Orgs in U.S.	Number Orgs/ % Orgs in IRS 880 Corpus	Direct Support	Total Revenue**
$1.00	$0.99 Million	1,485,318	99.00%	36 / 4%	$2,363,060	$1,182,691,617
$1 Million	$4.9 Million	11,445	0.76%	43 / 5%	$102,279,339	$2,712,812,499
$5 Million	$9.9 Million	1,662	0.11%	20 / 2%	$111,550,464	$1,223,911,734
$10 Million	$19.9 Million	840	0.06%	46 / 5%	$672,294,048	$3,240,123,293
$20 Million	+	735	0.05%	735 / 84%	$72,222,066,967	$151,433,518,515
	Totals:	1,500,000*	100%	880	$73,110,553,878	$159,793,057,658

* 1.5 Million size of sector is an estimate from the IRS Data Book (Schwartz, 2006) and a report by the National Council of Churches (Linder, 2006).

** High volumes of Total Revenue among organizations raising under $10 million reflect the presence in those ranges of hospitals and similar health delivery organizations that are actually quasi-charities, since most of their revenues come from fees for services versus philanthropy.

Note. Precise income levels are out of date almost immediately after reporting them, and organizations vary in their timeliness in reporting to the IRS. However, the relative size of direct support raised and revenue levels remain relatively proportionate over time. The level of precision reflected in this data suffices quite well, given the purposes of this research, which requires a good estimate of relative size in the categories measured.

The primary targets of this study are the top 735 organizations that raise at least $20 million or more in direct public support annually. In addition, the corpus includes texts from 46 organizations that raise $10 million to $19.9 million, 20 that raise $5 million to $9.9 million, 43 that raise $1 million to $4.9 million, and 30 organizations that raise less than $1 million annually, and for 6 organizations, income levels are unknown, making a total of 880 organizations. Virtually all U.S. nonprofits that raise $20 million or more are represented and many that raise less. The texts gathered consist of more than 1.5 million running words, contained in 2,412 documents, approximately half are fund-raising letters sent by U.S. postal mail, and half come from online electronic sources:

Table 3.4 **Composition of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus**

IRS Category of Nonprofit Organization	Orgs in Corpus	% of Total Orgs	Texts By Org	% of Total Texts	P =(Paper) Total Words	E=(Electronic) Total Words	P + E = Grand Total Words in Corpus	IRS Form 990 Line 1a/b: Total Annual DIRECT Support	% Total Dollars Raised
A. Arts, ulture, & Humanities	77	9%	118	5%	33,608	31,756	65,364	$3,942,781,789	4%
B. Education & Research	252	29%	670	28%	114,358	254,602	353,083	$26,908,002,110	20%
C. Environment & Animals	31	4%	74	3%	33,384	30,184	63,568	$2,021,511,169	5%
D. Health	116	13%	294	12%	90,644	99,022	189,666	$11,333,657,422	12%
E. Human Services	98	11%	245	10%	81,765	69,389	151,154	$9,464,101,910	13%
F. International	56	6%	345	14%	127,917	94,424	222,341	$7,596,906,213	19%
G. Public, Societal Benefit	38	4%	98	4%	38,396	33,621	72,017	$1,384,206,647	4%
H. Religion	62	7%	285	12%	201,784	41,761	243,545	$2,775,049,217	18%
I. Other	150	17%	283	12%	26,347	105,672	132,019	$7,724,714,985	5%
Totals:	**880**	**100%**	**2,412**	**100%**	**1,352 org: 748,203**	**1,060 org: 760,431**	**2,412 org: 1,508,634**	**$73,150,931,462**	**100%**

Note. Previous table's total direct support ($73,110,553,878) and total here ($73,150,931,462) due to IRS estimating variance.

The footprint of the current investigation moves well beyond the 50-mile radius of Indianapolis, which Connor suggested was the geocenter of organizations represented in their corpus. To my knowledge, this is the first linguistics study that comprehensively covers top tier nonprofit organizations across the United States. In addition, a dozen nonprofits that raise at least $20 million annually in the U.S., but which are domiciled in other countries, are included—one French, one Israeli, and ten Canadian. Finally, the study expands coverage beyond the categories of nonprofits represented in ICIC Corpus to all nine types of charitable organizations listed in the IRS taxonomy. Together, the nonprofit organizations in the corpus raise 73.2 billion in total contributions (or 25 percent of the total of $295.02 billion in contributions raised in the U.S.), and generate $159.8 billion in total revenue.

MD-Analysis Procedure. Since the basis of this research is a previous study by Biber (1988), I summarize the four distinct phases of his methodology here: 1.) identification of corpus, 2.) development of descriptive statistics, 3.) multivariate analysis., and 4.) interpretation of analysis vis-à-vis past qualitative research.

Biber's (1988) seminal research drew samples from two established corpora and one created for his study. The aggregate total of all three sources ran approximately 960,000 words. These parent sources of his final data are detailed in table 3.5. The first source was the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen) corpus, representing a wide range of texts published in Britain in 1961. Comprised of 500 documents running approximately 2,000 words each, the LOB corpus was developed in 1978 at the University of Lancaster, the University of Oslo, and the Norwegian Computing Center for the Humanities at Bergen. The second data scource was the London-Lund corpus, which represents private conversations, public conversations such as interviews and panel discussions, telephone conversations, radio broadcasts, spontaneous speeches and public speeches. Comprised of 100 transcriptions of spoken British English running approximately 5,000 words each, the London-Lund corpus was compiled at University College London and computerized at Lund University. Since these corpora were limited to published texts, Biber compiled a third of professional and personal letters to fill that gap.

Table 3.5 Composition of the Biber Corpus of Standard Spoken and Written English

Corpus	Type	Description	Texts	Words
Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB)	Written sources	British English published in 1961	500	1,000,000
London-Lund	Spoken	Spoken British English Transcripts	87	500,000
Biber	Letters	Personal and professional letters	16	16,000

Note. From Biber 1988, p. 72.

To create a body of texts to analyze, Biber 1.) compiled samples from the above corpora, 2.) tagged their linguistic features, 3.) counted the frequencies of occurrence by genre, 4.) normed frequency counts to a common basis of occurrence per 1,000 words of text to eliminate bias from larger samples. Biber notes criteria that guided his choice of linguistic elements to include in his examination of register variation:

> Previous research was surveyed to identify potentially important linguistic features—those that have been associated with particular communicative functions and therefore might be used to differing extents in different types of texts. No a priori commitment is made concerning the importance of an individual linguistic feature or the validity of a previous functional interpretation during the selection of features. Rather, the goal is to include the widest possible range of *potentially* important linguistic features" (Biber, 1988. p. 72).

Table 3.6 lists the 67 linguistic features, organized across 16 categories, which his research examined:

Table 3.6 **Sixty-Seven Linguistic Features Used in the Analysis of English in Sixteen Categories**

A. Tense and aspect markers	21. *that* verb complements (e.g., *I said that he went.*)	46. Downtoners (e.g., *almost, barely, hardly kind of, merely, nearly, only, slightly, somewhat*)
1. Past tense (e.g., *I parked the car*—past tense is narrative's main surface marker (Schiffrin, 1981))	22. that adjective complements (e.g., *I'm glad that you like it*)	47. Hedges (e.g., *at about, something like*—(Hyland, 1996, 1998, a & b, 2000; Lakoff ,1972))
2. Perfect aspect (past action with continuing effect [Quirk et al. 1985, 189ff.], e.g., *I have parked it*)	23. WH-clauses (e.g., *I believed what he told me.*)	48. Amplifiers (e.g., *absolutely, completely extremely, perfectly*—(Lorenz, 1999))
3. Present tense (immediate e.g., *I think it stinks*)	24. Infinitives (to + verb e.g. *to fight*)	49. Emphatics (e.g., *a lot, for sure, really*)
B. Place and time adverbials	25. Present participial adverbial clauses (e.g., *Stuffing his mouth with cookies, Joe ran out the door*)	50. Discourse particles (e.g., *sentence-initial forms: well, now,* and *anyway; so, but now, then, I mean, y'know*) --(Abraham, 1991; Aijmer, 2002; Schiffrin, 1987; Schourup, 1985))
4. Place adverbials (situated as opposed to abstract content e.g., *above, beside, outdoors*; *in* and *on* mark relationships and are omitted).	26. Past participial adverbial clauses (e.g., *Built in a single week, the house would stand for fifty years*)	51. Demonstratives: *prn* & *adj* * (from Greek δείξω to point out or show (Arndt & Gingrich, 1957, p. 171); e.g. *this, that, these,* and *those*; * see O'Dwyer (2005, p. 230) on *prn* & *adj* differences))
5. Time adverbials (e.g., *early, instantly, soon momentarily, today,* but words like *last* and *next* that mark logical relations are omitted)	27. Past participial postnominal WHIZ deletion relatives clauses (e.g., *the solution* [0] *created by this process* deleting [0 = *which*])	**L. Modals**
C. Pronouns and pro-verbs (Including contracted forms)	28. Present participial postnominal (reduced relative clauses (e.g., *The event causing this decline was . . .*)	52. Possibility modals (used to make subjective statements about possible realities—(Lyons (1977, p. 799); Palmer (1979, 2003)) e.g. *can, may, might, could*)
6. First-person pronouns (e.g., *I, me, myself, my, mine, we, us, ourselves, our, and ours*)	29. *that* relative clauses on subject position (e.g., *the dog that bit me*)	53. Necessity modals (from Greek δεῖ [necessity]—Lyons, (1977, p. 823); e.g. *ought, should, must, have to, have got to, has to, need to*)
7. Second-person pronouns (e.g. *you, your yourself, yourselves*)	30. *that* relative clauses on object position (e.g., *the dog that I saw*)	54. Predictive modals (used to express futurity—(Dancygier, 1998, p. 44); e.g. *will, would, shall*)
8. Third-person personal pronouns, except *it* (e.g., *she, he, they, her, him, them, his, himself, herself*)	31. WH relatives on subject position (e.g., *the man who likes popcorn*)	**M. Specialized verb classes**
9. Pronoun *it* (treated as separate entity since it is a key marker of time-constrained conversation.	32. WH relatives on object position (e.g., *the man who Sally likes*)	55. Public verbs (e.g., *assert, declare, mention* (Goosens, 1987))
10. Demonstrative pronouns (*that, this, these, those* for exophoric or endophoric references)	33. Pied-piping relative clauses (e.g., *the manner in which he was told*)	56. Private verbs (e.g., *assume, believe, doubt, know*—(Palmer , 1974; Leech & Svartvik , 1978))
11. Indefinite pronouns (e.g., *anybody, anyone, anything, everything, everybody, nobody, no one, nothing, somebody, someone, something*)	34. Sentence relatives (e.g., *Bob likes fried mangoes, which is the most disgusting thing I've ever heard of.*)	57. Suasive verbs (e.g., *agree, allow, command, concede, decide, determine, ensure, insist, intend, prefer, pronounce*—(Mischke, 2005))
12. Pro-verb *do* (e.g., *I did it*, reduces density)	35. Causative adverbial subordinator (*because*)	58. *seem* and *appear*
D. Questions	36. Concessive adverbial subordinators (*although, though*)	**N. Reduced dispreferred forms**
13. Direct WH questions (e.g. questions using *who, what, when, where, which, how*)	37. Conditional adverbial subordinators (*if, unless*)	59. Contractions (e.g., *I'm, you're, he's, she's*)
E. Nominal forms	38. Other adverbial subordinators (e.g., *since, while, whereas*)	60. Subordinator *that* deletion (e.g., *I think* [0] *he went* [0=*that*])
14. Nominalizations (turning verbs and adjectives into nouns with *-tion*, *-ment*, *-ness*, *-ity* endings, eg. *describe* becomes *description*)	**I. Prepositional phrases, adjectives, and adverbs**	61. Stranded prepositions (e.g., *provide the help which several of our girls were hoping for*)
15. Gerunds (participial forms functioning as nouns, e.g. *rafing is fun*)	39. Total prepositional phrases (e.g. *at night, under the clouds, along the crowded road*)	62. Split infinitives (e.g., *He wants to convincingly prove that*)
16. Total other nouns (all words that name things people, places, things, and abstract notions)	40. Attributive adjectives (e.g., *the big horse*)	63. Split auxiliaries (e.g., *They were apparently shown to . . .*)
F. Passives	41. Predicative adjectives (e.g., *The need is great*)	**O. Coordination**
17. Agentless passives (the *by-phrase* is absent and the agent that instigates an action is not represented, e.g. *the report was doctored*)	42. Total adverbs (words that clarify the meaning of verbs, adjective, clauses and other adverbs, e.g. *he walked quietly, ends* often with *ly*)	64. Phrasal coordination (NOUN *and* NOUN; ADJ *and* ADJ; VERB *and* VERB; ADV *and* ADV—e.g., the dog jumped and the cat ran)
18. *by*-passives (e.g. *the car was stolen by the valet, the data was received by the staff*)	**J. Lexical specificity**	65. Independent clause coordination (clause-initial *and*, e.g. He hit me and she fell down)
G. Stative (State of Being) forms	43. Type-token ratio ratios (ratio of different lexical items [types] to total of words [tokens])	**P. Negation**
19. *be* as main verb (e.g. *I am convinced, I am confused, the house is big*)	44. Mean word length (orthographic letters divided by total words in text [cf. Flesch, 1960])	66. Synthetic negation (e.g., *No dog is good*—is considered more literary; (Tottie, 1984, 1991))
20. Existential *there* (e.g. *there are several explanations for this, there's something else*)	**K. Lexical classes**	67. Analytic negation (e.g., *That's not likely*—is considered colloquial and more fragmented)
H. Subordination features	45. Conjuncts (e.g., *as a result, consequently, for example, furthermore, however, instead, moreover, rather, similarly, therefore, thus*)	

Note. Adapted from Biber (1988, pp. 221-245; 1995, pp. 95-96). I have supplemented examples of some linguistic features for clarification.

Overview of Multivariate Statistical Analysis. Biber (1988) next ran a factor analysis to identify clusters among the linguistic features in table 3.6, which commonly occurred together in the texts of his corpus. He interpreted these co-occurrence patterns as indicative of underlying dimensions of variation. That is, by comparing statistical findings against past qualitative studies that identified *writing* and *talking* patterns unique to various registers of text, he discovered a consistent mirroring of those patterns in the data, as reflected in variables (linguistic features) with strong levels of shared variance. These patterns of co-occurrence were congealed into *factors* (which he uses synonymously with *dimensions of linguistic variation* and *dimensions* in the following discussion).

Biber's factor analysis confirmed statistically that certain kinds of texts indeed tended to *read* or *sound* the same *because* they tended to be comprised of similar linguistic features. He confirmed this by mining past qualitative studies that reflected the patterns observed. The essential innovation of his work, then, was its use of multivariate analyses to observe and plot texts on continuous scales, based on their mean frequency counts of salient (defining) linguistic features—the equivalent of how an fMRI scans and maps the firing patterns of neurons.

As already illustrated in the distinctions between academic prose and conversation (with academic prose seldom using contractions while conversations often do), features like those differentiating conversation from academic prose were identified in seven dimensions across 23 registers of spoken and written English. These dimensions were defined by the co-occurrence patterns of linguistic features within the texts studied. Each register of texts was then given a dimensional score on Biber's seven continuous scales by summing the variance of frequencies among linguistic. Table 3.7 lists the text registers Biber's original study evaluated:

Table 3.7 The Twenty-three Genres of English Text and Talk in the Biber Corpus					
Written (1-15) from the LOB corpus			**Genre**	**Texts**	**Words**
Genre	**Texts**	**Words**	13. Adventure fiction	13	26,000
1. Press reportage	44	88,000	14. Romantic fiction	13	26,000
2. Editorials	27	54,000	15. Humor	9	18,000
3. Press reviews	17	34,000	**Letters (16-17) from Biber Corpus**		
4. Religion	17	30,000	16. Personal letters	6	6,000
5. Skills and hobbies	14	30,000	17. Professional letters	10	10,000
6. Popular lore	14	30,000	**Spoken (18-23) from the London-Lund corpus**		
7. Biographies	14	30,000	18. Face-to-face conversation	44	115,000
8. Official documents	14	28,000	19. Telephone conversation	27	32,000
9. Academic prose	80	160,000	20. Conversations, debates, interviews	22	48,000
10. General fiction	29	58,000	21. Broadcast	18	38,000
11. Mystery fiction	13	26,000	22. Spontaneous speeches	16	26,000
12. Science fiction	6	12,000	23. Planned speeches	14	31,000
Note. Adapted from Biber (1988, p. 67).			**Approximate Number of Words: 960,000**		

Seven Dimensions of Variation Produced by Analysis of Textual Relations. Biber's original study (1988) created seven measurement devices—seven *factors* or *dimensions of variation* by which it is possible to *measure* linguistic characteristics of texts. "Once linguistic dimensions are identified and interpreted," Biber writes, "they can be used to specify the 'textual relations' among different kinds of texts in English. Each text can be given a precise quantitative characterization with respect to each dimension, in terms of the frequencies of the co-occurring features that constitute the dimension" (1988, p. 20).

Central to Biber's research was that each dimension of linguistic variation "represented a different set of co-occurring linguistic features" (1985, p. 107). Like the marks on a ruler, which make it possible to determine the length of an object, Biber's linguistic benchmarks thus made it possible to compare any text (or genre of texts) side by side with the 23 registers in his corpus. This makes it possible, for instance, to determine whether a text is more informational or more affective in tone, more abstract or more concrete, more narrative or more non-narrative. This interpretive capability is rooted in the power of multivariate procedure used.

Biber's research made this capability possible by analyzing the corpus through principal factor analysis with a promax rotation. This multivariate procedure was able to account for the shared variance in frequency counts among 67 linguistic features across the 23 genres of texts listed in table 3.7 above. The analysis resulted in the extraction of the maximum amount of shared variance among these linguistic features, with calculations subsequent to the first identifying additional sets of co-occurring linguistic features. Each co-occurring set of features—each factor—formed an underlying *dimension* of linguistic variation. These factors were arrayed in a scree plot of eigenvalues that graphically represented the "additional amount of shared variance accounted for by each subsequent factor" (Biber, 1995, p. 120). The analysis yielded an optimum seven-factor solution, with factor one in table 3.8 below accounting for 26.8 percent of shared variance. Factors two, three, and four accounted for 8.1, 5.2, and 3.5 percent of variance respectively. After identifying the first four sets of features, "additional shared variance," Biber notes, "accounted for by additional factors drops off" (1995, p. 121). In aggregate, the co-occurring linguistic features identified by Biber's seven factors accounted for 52 percent of the total shared variance. (Biber uses the terms *factor* and *dimension* or *dimension of linguistic variation* interchangeably to refer to the co-occurrence patterns extracted by his factor analysis). Each dimension is made up of *linguistic features*, which are the *variables* giving definition to his analysis. The seven factors or *dimensions of linguistic variation* that his research has identified are defined by the variables or *linguistic features* arrayed in table 3.8 below. Each variable (linguistic feature) is listed along with the weight (factor loading) indicating the variable's significance.

Table 3.8 **Linguistic Features Defining Seven Dimensions of Variation in Speech and Writing**

Dimension 1

Interpersonal Involvement

Positive features / (examples)	***Score:***
Private verbs *(fear, hope, think, know)*	.96
THAT-deletion *(I think [that] he went)*	.91
Contractions *(can't, she's, you're, we'll)*	.90
Present tense verbs *(is, likes, wants)*	.86
Second person pronouns *(you)*	.86
DO as pro-verb *(So did Sandra)*	.82
Analytic negation *(that's not likely)*	.78
Demonstrative pronouns *(this shows)*	.76
General emphatics *(really, a lot, wohoo)*	.74
First-person pronouns *(I, we)*	.74
Pronoun *IT (I didn't like it)*	.71
BE as main verb *(that was sad)*	.71
Causative subordination *(because)*	.66
Discourse particles *(well, so, anyway)*	.66
Indefinite pronouns *(nothing, someone)*	.62
General hedges *(kind of, something like)*	.58
Amplifiers *(really, so, very, absolutely)*	.56
Sentence relatives *(he quit, which is usual)*	.55
WH-questions *(why did you go?)*	.52
Possibility modals *(can, could, might)*	.50
Non-phrasal co-ordination *(and, then)*	.48
WH-clauses *(Jill asked what happened?)*	.47
Final prepositions *(one I thought of)*	.43
(Adverbs (always, significantly, very)	*.42)*

Informational Content

Negative features / (examples)	***Score:***
Nouns *(community, case, gift, donation)*	-.80
Word length *(average of characters)*	-.58
Prepositions *(of in, for, beside, during)*	-.54
Type/token ratio *(Unique/Total Words)*	-.54
Attributive adjectives *(good, possible)*	-.47
(Place adverbials (above, beside, there)	*-.42)*
(Agentless passives (it was left)	*-.39)*
(Past participial postnominal clauses (cooked in an hour, they would last a week)	*-.38)*

Note. These tables represent factorial scores calculated by Biber for salient co-occurring linguistic features across 23 registers of English. Whenever a feature's score is *italicized and placed within parentheses*, it has a higher factor loading on one of the other dimensional scales shown, and thus ***is not used*** to compute that particular dimension's score.

Dimension 2

Narrative

Positive features / (examples)	***Score:***
Past tense verbs *(considered, told)*	.90
Third-person pronouns *(he, she, they)*	.73
Perfect aspect verbs *(had been, has run)*	.48
Public verbs *(assert, declare, mention)*	.43
Synthetic negation *(she was unable to pay)*	.40
Present participial clauses *(having x, we can)*	.39

Non-Narrative

Negative features / (examples)	***Score:***
(Present tense verbs (is, likes, wants)	*-.47)*
(Attributive adjectives (good, possible)	*-.41)*
(Past participial WHIZ deletions (the solution [which was] produced by)	*-.34)*
(Word length (supercalafragilistic-expealadocious versus nice, good, help)	*-.31)*

Dimension 3

Elaborated / Context Independent

Positive features/ (examples)	***Score:***
WH-relative clauses on object positions *(the man who sally likes)*	.63
Pied piping constructions *(the way in which she was fired)*	.61
WH-relative clauses on subject positions *(members who needed a camp scholarship)*	.45
Phrasal coordination *(salt and pepper)*	.36
Nominalizations *(adjective or noun + "tion")*	.36

Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent

Negative features / (examples)	***Score:***
Time adverbials *(early, instantly, soon)*	-.60
Place adverbials *(above, beside, there)*	-.49
Adverbs *(always, significantly, very)*	-.46

Dimension 4

Overt Expression of Argumentation

Positive features / (examples)	***Score:***
Infinitives *(hope to go)*	.76
Prediction Modals *(will, would, shall)*	.54
Suasive verbs *(command, insist, propose)*	.49
Conditional subordination *(if/unless x)*	.47
Necessity modals *(must, should, have to)*	.46
Split auxiliaries *(should really be)*	.44
(Possibility modals (could, may, might)	*.37)*

(Unipolar—No Opposing Pole)

No Negative features

Dimension 5

Abstract / Impersonal

Positive features / (examples)	***Score:***
Conjuncts *(although, however, therefore)*	.48
Agentless passives *(all were cleaned)*	.43
Past participial adverbial clauses *(Made by mama, the food is delicious).*	.42
BY-passives *(he was beaten by the boy)*	.41
Past participial postnominal clauses *(the course chosen by the vast majority)*	.40
Other adverbial subordinators *(since)*	.39
(Predicative adjectives (she is sad)	*.31)*

Non-Abstract / Non-Impersonal

Negative features / (examples)	***Score:***
(Type/token ratio (Unique/Total Words)	*-.31)*

Dimension 6

On-Line Informational

Positive features / (examples)	***Score:***
THAT clauses as verb compliments *(I said that he went)*	.56
Demonstrative adjectives *(that, this, these, those)*	.55
THAT relative clauses on object positions *(the dog that I saw)*	.46
THAT clauses as adjective compliments *(I'm glad that you like it)*	.36
(Final prepositions (where he came from)	*.34)*
(Existential THERE (There is a need)	*.32)*
(Demonstrative pronouns (this, that, these, those)	*.31)*
(WH relative clauses on object positions (provide the help which several of our girls)	*.30)*

Edited or Not Informational

Negative features / (examples)	***Score:***
(Phrasal co-ordination (worked and ran)	*-.32)*

Dimension 7

Academic Hedging

Positive features / (examples)	***Score:***
SEEM/APPEAR *(the study seemed true)*	.35
(Downtoners (barely, nearly, slightly)	*.33)*
(Adverbs (always, significantly, very)	*.31)*
(Concessive subordination (although we were out of money, we offered our food)	*.30)*
(Attributive adjectives (the generous gift)	*.30)*

(Unipolar—No Opposing Pole)

No Negative features

Note. Adapted from Biber (1988, pp. 89-90; 1995, pp. 141-169; & 1998, pp. 135-157) and Biber et al. (2004, pp.15-16)

Detail on How Factor Analysis Measures Dimensions of Variation. In Biber's factor analysis,

> the size of the correlation (whether positive of negative) indicates the extent to which two linguistic features vary together. A large negative correlation indicates that two features covary in a systematic, complementary fashion . . .a large positive correlation indicates that the two features systematically occur together" (1988, p. 79).

Squared coefficients of correlation measure the percentage of variance two variables share. In the example above, the co-occurrence of second person pronouns and contractions are common in highly involved discourse, in which the focus is on interpersonal interaction, such as in face-to-face conversation (e.g. *Kathleen, you know that isn't so*). Conversely, passives and nominalizations (turning verbs and adjectives into nominal forms) occur in discourse characterized by a densely packed and lexically complex communication style. In discussing methods for determining the required magnitude of statistically significant loadings, Biber notes that to ensure that data considered contributes to the definition of an underlying dimension of variation and are

> not due to random patterns of variation . . . loadings having an absolute value less than .30 are generally excluded as unimportant even if they are statistically significant. Only the important, or 'salient' loadings should be interpreted as part of each factor. (1988, p. 87)

Therefore, to qualify as being significant, Biber set his minimum factor loading threshold at |.35| on a 0 to 1 scale (with a score of 1 indicating perfect correlation). Correlated scores were determined by factors' *absolute* factor scores |≥.35| (whether the sign was positive or negative). Biber arrayed variables with positive and negative factor scores on opposite ends of continua to add to the interpretative power of his dimensional scales. Linguistic features with opposite signs tend not to occur together in the same text. For example, on Biber's dimension 1, first and second person personal pronouns and contractions (bearing positive signs) are common in conversation, but seldom appear in academic prose. Conversely, passives and nominalizations (which bear negative signs on dimension 1), while common in academic prose are infrequent in personal conversation. Thus they are considered complimentary—when one is present in a text, the other usually is not.

While factor analysis *identifies* dimensions of variation, they derive their *definitional power* by evaluating their use based on qualitative linguistics research. This cross check compares patterns observed in the data with trends observed in past studies. For example, in past studies of transcripts of personal conversation (Chafe 1982; Goffman 1959, 1981; Tannen1982, 1989), researchers observed a high frequency of contractions and personal pronouns. These texts also had relatively low frequencies such as prepositional phrases and other devices common to literate discourse. In the end, seven dimensions of linguistic variation were hypothesized that reflect factors underlying the range of linguistic variation. To further empower the heuristic value of the factors, the labels naming dimensions reflect the operational functions served by the linguistic features comprising each. This gives linguists a language with which to speak of language variation among texts. Essentially, each dimension's name reflects the continuous range of characteristics it measures. While all of Biber's dimensions of linguistic variation are presented above, this study focuses on the first five. I compare my data against that discovered in the Connor-Upton ICIC Corpus (which ranked texts only on the first four dimensions). Then I add Biber's fifth dimension to my study and compare my data with his 23 genre scores.

Factors Derived. Each factor extracted was used in only one of the above scales, thus forming seven *bundles* of co-occurring features that define *what texts actually do*, as illustrated by each dimension's *label*. Biber notes that factor

> scores are computed for each text to characterize the text with respect to each factor. A factor score is computed by summing , for each text, the number of occurrences of the features having salient loadings on that factor. Due to the large number of features loading on most of the factors in the present analysis, I use a conservative cut-off of .35 for those features to be included in the computation of factor scores. . . .Some features have salient loadings on more than one of the factors; to assure the experimental independence of the factor scores, each feature was included in the computation of only one factor score (Gorsuch, 1983:268). Thus, each linguistic feature is included in the factor score of the factor on which it has the highest loading (in terms of absolute magnitude, ignoring plus or minus sign). (1988, p. 93)

Since each dimension's operational definition (exactly *what* each one *measures*) is fundamental to understanding my data, the following describes each dimension in detail. Biber defines dimensions as "bundles of linguistic features that co-occur in texts because they work together to mark some common underlying function" (1988, p. 55). Biber identifies seven functions, listed in table 3.9 below:

Table 3.9 Seven Functions of Linguistic Features: How they Work in Clusters to Accomplish Tasks

Functions	DESCRIPTION OF TASKS AND/OR DISCOURSE VARIABLES
1. Ideational	• Presentation of propositional meaning • Informational density
2. Textual	• Different ways of marking informational structure and prominence • Different ways of marking cohesion • The extent to which informational structure, prominence and cohesion are marked
3. Personal	• To mark group membership of addressor • To mark idiosyncratic characteristics of addressor • To express attitudes towards the communicative event or content
4. Interpersonal	• To mark role relationships • To express attitudes towards particular participants
5. Contextual	• To mark a physical or temporal setting • To mark purpose • To mark some 'psychological' scene
6. Processing	• Caused by or in consideration of the production and comprehension demands of the communicative event
7. Aesthetic	• To conform to grammatical prescriptions • To conform to "good style"

Note. Adapted from Biber, 1988, p. 35.

Biber's dimensions of linguistic variation suggest that texts are "related along particular situational or functional parameters, such as formal/informal, interactive/non-interactive, literary/colloquial, restricted/elaborated. These parameters can be considered as dimensions because they describe continuums of variation rather than discrete poles" (1988, p.9). I suggested earlier that a useful heuristic exists in the analogy between rhetoric's relationship to linguistics, and the correlation of architecture to construction. A contractor's task in building a structure is to marshal the resources of wood, wire and pipe to realize the architect's vision. A board can be used to build a condominium or mansion. The master plan that determines which gets built. That plan is *realized* when carpenters, electricians, and plumbers turn wood, wire and pipe into a framed and finished building. Of course, that one knows how, where, and why to use the raw materials available. Same with discourse. To write effective copy that builds the desired rhetorical structure (the envisioned text), skill at using a range of linguistic features (the writer's wood, wire and pipe) is essential. First, the task requires knowing what resources are available and which ones work best to accomplish what tasks. Biber et al. note that "linguistic features can be said to actually perform particular tasks in discourse. For example, first person pronouns 'function' to refer to the speaker/writer, relative clauses 'function' to elaborate and make explicit referential identities; passives 'function' to give informational prominence to the noun phrase occurring before the main clause verb; *that*-clauses together with main-clause verbs of speaking 'function' to provide indirect reports of speech (1999, p. 41). Biber provides a useful list of *functions served* by various linguistic features that form an important theoretical basis for MD-analysis. That is, texts work together to accomplish specific tasks in texts. Therefore, writers and speakers often call upon clusters of texts to accomplish specific communicative goals like those listed in Table 3.9. Biber's dimensions of variation show how different genres use linguistic features to accomplish the functions listed above, which as Green notes, is more than talking or writing:

> Many use the term *communicate* interchangeably with *speak* or *write*, never noticing that the term *communication* presupposes achievements of the intended effect of verbal action on the addressee, while *speaking* and *writing* do not. Contrary to popular belief, communication is not accomplished by the exchange of symbolic expressions. Communication is, rather, the successful interpretation by an addressee of the speaker's intent in performing a linguistic act. (1996, p. 1)

Thus, as a mirror is limited in its purpose and power, so statistical data from MD-analysis can only show what is true about naturally occurring discourse. It reflects but does not create reality. MD-analysis is *descriptive*, not *prescriptive* and cannot guarantee communication will occur. But that description, like a doctor's diagnosis, can address the question, *does linguistic form fit rhetorical function?* As I present data for each dimension of variation, I use a two-step process. First I present an abbreviated table reporting salient features with coefficients of $|\geq .35|$). Then I present: a.) *an exemplar text* to illustrate features (including those not used in defining a factor because they had higher scores elsewhere on another dimension) b.) I present tables listing *features*, *functions*, and *examples* from exemplar texts; and c.) I discuss *how features contribute to rhetorical functions*.

Table 3.10	Dimension 1: Informational Content versus Interpersonal Involvement						
Positive Features	**Score**	**Positive Features**	**Score**	**Positive Features**	**Score**	**Negative Features**	**Score**
Private verbs	0.96	General emphatics	0.74	Amplifiers	0.56	Nouns	-0.80
THAT-deletion	0.91	First-person pronouns	0.74	Sentence relatives	0.55	Word length	-0.58
Contractions	0.90	Pronoun *IT*	0.71	*WH*-questions	0.52	Prepositions	-0.54
Present tense verbs	0.86	*BE* as main verb	0.71	Possibility modals	0.50	Type/token ratio	-0.54
Second person pronouns	0.86	Causative subordination	0.66	Non-phrasal co-ordination	0.48	Attributive adjectives	-0.47
DO as pro-verb	0.82	Discourse particles	0.66	*WH*-clauses	0.47		
Analytic negation	0.78	Indefinite pronouns	0.62	Final prepositions	0.43		
Demonstrative pronouns	0.76	General hedges	0.58				
Note. Adapted From Biber, 1988.							

Biber's first dimension reflects the conceptual destination to which Deborah Tannen's intellectual journey brought her as she sought to understand the underlying factors powerful enough to account for textual variation among registers. Tannen notes that in her early work on the analysis of conversational discourse, she had discovered a useful heuristic in the contrast others had drawn between orality and literacy (1980 a,b,c). In one study, for instance, the contrast between spoken and written discourse helped her explain variation between the way American's and Greeks described a film (1980 c). She notes that Greeks used a narrative approach (which exhibited characteristics of story telling), while Americans used an expository approach (which showed greater concern for factual accuracy). Delving into the work of scholars who had developed this paradigm (Olson, 1977; Goody, 1977; Ong, 1967, 1977, 1981, 1988; Havelock, 1963; Kay, 1977; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981), Tannen found that "the oral/literate dichotomy had the power and fascination of a revelation" (1985, p.126).

However, that revelation had so reified concepts, that it also had the unhappy effect of obscuring a still more fundamental differentiating structure from view. Eventually finding her own voice, Tannen's (1985) intellectual journey led her to posit that the greater underlying differentiator among texts is not the oral/literate continuum, but a relative focus on *interpersonal involvement* versus *informational content*. This new inflection anticipated what Biber's later (1984, 1985, 1986, 1988) empirical quantitative analyses would confirm—that of the seven dimensions his factor analysis produced, the dimension represented by Factor represents the most powerful differentiator among texts. His empirical research not only confirms Tannen's distinction between *involved* and *informational* discourse, but also confirms her observation that adequate differentiation demands more than a simplistic bifurcation of texts into one category or an other, but rather calls for a continuum on which texts can be arrayed between Interpersonal Involvement on one end, and Informational Content on the other. So to the above table of dimension 1, repeated here for convenience, I have added the adjective Tannen originally used (interpersonal) to modify Biber's label Involvement. Similarly, I have added the noun Tannen uses (content) with the word Informational. These revised labels thus place emphasis on *person* and *content*, which words really do reflect the core contrast the model seeks to depict.

Biber derives the Interpersonal involvement versus informational content dimension based on his identification of 28 co-occurring linguistic features among the 67 discussed above. In summarizing the results of his factor analysis he observes: "High factor loadings on nouns, word length, prepositional phrases, type/token ratio, and attributive adjectives all have negative weights larger than .45" (1988, p. 104). These features, Biber notes, are consistent with academic expository prose, in which a high concentration of nouns, sometimes long and specialized words and prepositional phrases are necessary to precisely communicate specialist concepts and facts into a relatively short discourse space. In his bi-polar scales, one set of features tends to be mutually exclusive of the others. That is, when negative factor loadings are present, positive features are absent, and vice versa.

Following Tannen, Biber also notes that texts with positive scores on linguistic features on his dimension 1 scale reflect a more diverse set of features that "can be associated with an involved, non-informational focus, due to a primarily interactive or affective purpose and/or a highly constrained production circumstances" (1988. p. 105). Tannen describes the presence of the linguistic features on both ends of the Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational continuum as indicative of "the universal simultaneous human needs to be connected to others and to be independent" (1985, p. 125). In personal conversations, Tannen notes that maintaining relationships demands interpersonal involvement; at the same time, however, she acknowledges Kay's (1977) view that "autonomous language" (Biber's negative end of dimension 1) exists to fill the needs of specialist discourse communities to transfer information precisely and efficiently. Tannen's approach to discourse analysis uncovers its human side. Biber's methodologies provide a high *tech* analysis that measures texts' high *touch* characteristics. MD-analysis is truly a high tech way to measure high touch.

Among those linguistic features that would indicate the presence of Tannen's *Interpersonal Involvement* and Naisbitt's (1999) *High Touch*, Biber places *private verbs* at the top of the list (e.g. I *think*, I *feel*) on the positive end of dimension 1. Such words are used to express a personal *stance* about the subject of discourse. Biber and Finegan (1988) categorize three types of stance—epistemic (reflecting degree of certitude in argumentative rhetoric), attitudinal (reflecting feelings about a subject), and manner (reflecting style of expression). Hunston and Thompson describe stance as "expression of the writer's or speaker's opinion" (2000, p. 2) and Precht (2000) identifies 1,400 stanced words in English, individuals use only about 15 words ninety percent of the time.

Other high-scoring features consistent with involved discourse include *that-deletion*, *contractions*, *present tense*, and do as *pro-verb*, all of which have factor loadings above +.80. Biber et al. (1999) describe the absence of the word *that* in relatives clauses (e.g. *You could tell* ***[that]*** *her 10-year-old mind was really racing*) as the use of the *zero relativizer*. Omitting *that* is consistent with the informality of personal conversation: "About 25% of all relative clauses in conversation omit the relativizer" (p. 620). *LSWE* data indicate that between 80 to 90 percent of the time, the relativizers whom and that omit the word *that* when not in the subject position. Similarly contractions are common in spoken English, and informal writing. *Present tense* can refer to actions occurring now, one's own actions, or those of another. The *pro-verb do* substitutes for lexical verbs (e.g. *That* ***did*** *it. I felt my heart break*). Biber et al. note that "face-to-face communication, coupled with online production needs, result in the common use of *pro-verb do* in conversation. This device leaves implicit the exact referent of the verb, as well as following noun phrases, other complements, or adverbials in many cases" (1999, p. 432).

Six additional features have factor loadings between +.71 to +.78: *analytic negation*, *demonstrative pronouns*, *general emphatics*, *first person pronouns*, *pronoun IT*, and *BE as main verb.* Fitzmaurice notes that "synthetic negation conveys positive negation of a proposition, e.g. *she's not unkind*, analytic negation conveys neutral negation of a proposition, e.g. *she's not kind*, and a combination of the two conveys negation of a negative proposition, e.g. *she's not unkind*" (2000, p. 175). Tottie (1983) explains that "negative sentences with an indefinite expression after the verb can be of two types in English, SYNTHETIC as in *He saw nothing*, or ANALYTIC, as in He *did not see anything.* It has been argued, by Jespersen (1917) and Poldauf (1964: 370) that the syntactic variant is favoured in formal language 'because it yields a more elegant expression'" (p. 18). Thus, in conversation, the elegant usually gives way to the plain and simple analytic version among texts scoring high on dimension 1. *Demonstrative pronouns* (*this, that, these* and *those*) are used to mark a person or thing as known and to specify the proximity of a referent. It can refer to animate and inanimate addressees. Among these the *LGSWE* notes that demonstrative *that* is the most common, occurring 11,000 times per million words in conversation. What Biber (1988) describes as general emphatics are described in *LGSWE* as part of a class of degree adverbs. In American conversation the most commonly used emphatics in *LSWE,* ranked in order of frequency, include: *so*, *very*, *really*, *real*, *completely*, *absolutely*, and *totally*. For example*: You could tell her 10-year-old mind was* ***really*** *racing and spinning dreams of what it'd be like.* Because conversation naturally involves speakers talking about one another, *first* *person pronouns I* and *we* are common for texts scoring high on dimension 1. Because conversation requires processing speech in real time, the pronoun *IT* is used as a general-purpose pronoun that is easily substituted in the real-time context of speech, it is common in conversation and thus scores high on dimension 1. Biber (1988) describes *BE as main verb* as a Stative form that, when used as a main verb, is considered non-complex, transmitting a low amount of information.

The second dozen features scoring high on the positive side of the scale on dimension 1 fall between +.42 to +.66. Biber notes that *causative subordination* can use a number of words (e.g. *as*, *for*, and *since*), but his dimensional analysis focuses on *because* since it "is the only subordinator to function unambiguously as a causative adverbial" (p.236). *Discourse particles* (Biber, 1988) are called *discourse markers* in *LGSWE* discourse particles are defined as "inserts which tend to occur at the beginning of a turn or utterance, and to combine two roles: (a) to signal an transition in the evolving progress of the conversation and (b) to signal an interactive relationship between speaker, hearer, and message" (Biber et al. p. 1086). Words and phrases that serve this function include *okay; so; anyway; well. Indefinite pronouns* in *LGSWE* include four basic groups derived from the quantifiers *every*, *some*, *any*, and *no*, used either to intentionally keep name the referent ambiguous or because the constraints of conversation do not allow more precise choice of vocabulary as, for example, in this use: *every single one of our 16 girls was able to go to camp this year.* A class of adverbials called *general hedges* allows speakers or writers to qualify discourse with words like *kind of* or *sort of* communicating a purposefully imprecise characterization. Conversely, *amplifiers* are stance words that express confidence in or puff the scope of a proposition or observation with words like *really*, *absolutely, completely*, and *totally*. *Sentence relatives*, according to Biber (1988, p. 235), have no nominal antecedent, but function instead as a comment clause on a proposition as a whole. The feature set designated *WH-questions* refers to the common set of journalistic questions (*who*, *what*, *when*, *where*, *why*, and *how*) and are consistent with interactive discourse. *Possibility modals* are among three types of modal expressions. Citing Quirk et al. (1985) Biber (1988) classifies possibility modals among the range of modals that include "(1) those marking permission, possibility, or ability; (2) those marking obligation or necessity; and (3) those marking volition or prediction" (p. 241). The *possibility modals* include *can*, *may*, *might*, and *could*. In conversation, *LGSWE* identifies *can* and *could* as the most frequently used, with *can* being equally used to express extrinsic possibility and ability and *might* being used less than *can* and *could*. In fund-raising discourse, where asking others to give is one of the primary purposes of the register, these modal words are important tools (e.g. ***Could*** *you help us once more?* ***Can*** *you give $20 to help our girls?*) *Non-phrasal coordination* refers to the use of *and* to connect clauses, for example, in stretches of conversation when an individual begins a new sentence with *And*. Biber (1988), citing Chafe (1982), relates the use of and with a "fragmented style resulting from this simple chaining of ideas to the production constraints of speech" (p. 245). *WH-clauses* in Biber's protocols are restricted to those clauses that act to complete objects for three verb classes: *public verbs*, *private verbs*, and *suasive verbs* (e.g. *I [**knew**] **what it meant**. Carley's little dream had slipped away*). *Final prepositions*, sometimes referred to as *stranded* prepositions are common in speech (e.g. *They simply don't know where it would come **from***). van Gelderen (2002) cites the disdain of Sir Winston Churchill for prohibitions against sentence-ending prepositions with his oft-quoted comment: "This is something up with which I will not put" (p. 180). In conversational texts structures like this are common: *They simply don't know where it would come **from***. Although *adverbials* were not used to calculate dimension 1 (since with a factor score of.42 they were out-scored on dimension 3 at -.46), they are still relevant. (As noted earlier, on this and subsequent dimensions, several features that were not salient in *defining* dimensions are nonetheless useful in *understanding* the nature of what a dimension measures. In this case, *adverbs* are consistent with the essential nature of interpersonal involvement in that they give voice to personal views and feelings. In total, an even two dozen features were extracted from factor analysis with loadings greater that +.35. These features work together to produce the quintessential feel of animated human communication, adding personal inflection to discourse, intensifying the personal feelings that are communicated (e.g. *I'm extremely unhappy, and I really think [that] I have to go now. So—what are you gonna do about it?*).

A third as many linguistic features mark texts that focus on informational content on dimension 1. These include *nouns*, *word length*, *prepositions*, *type-token ratio*, *attributive adjectives*, *place adverbials*, *agentless passives*, and *past participial postnominal clauses*. The *LGSWE* confirms that highly informational texts such as academic prose are rich in *nouns*. Conversely, conversational texts in the *LSWE* contained half as many (see Biber et al. p. 579). Nouns bear the weight of communicating knowledge in highly nominal texts such as academic prose. And when noun counts are high, the rare fewer characteristics of discourse designed to create interpersonal involvement. Related to the high density of nouns is the second characteristic Biber (1988) identifies with highly informational texts: *word length*. *Word length* gets higher where the rhetorical aim of communicating precise information often requires longer specialist vocabulary. Precision is also achieved by *prepositions*, which occur more frequently, according to Biber (1988), in highly nominal texts. Hinkel (2002, 2003) notes that *prepositions* are more frequent in academic writing than any other kind of prose and function as adverbs and adjectives to more carefully load information into clauses to serve the end of maximizing informational content. He cites six that comprise 90 percent of the prepositions found in academic writing: *of*, *in*, *for*, *on*, *to*, and *with*. *Type-token ratio (TTR)* refers to "the relationship between the number of different word forms or **types** and the number of running words, or **tokens**" Biber et al., 1999, p. 52). Compared to conversation, informational texts have a high *TTR*. In discussing the four lexical classes of words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) data from *LSWE* reported Biber et al. (1999) note that the distribution of adjectives and adverbs reflects the distribution of nouns and adverbs—nouns and adjectives are more common in written registers, especially in informationally loaded genres like academic prose, while verbs and adverbs are more common in texts reflecting a focus on interpersonal involvement. *Attributive adjectives* "modify nominal expressions, preceding the head noun or pronoun. In most cases they modify common nouns . . . the most striking pattern . . . is the extreme reliance on classifiers—especially relational adjectives (such as *different*, *general*, *major*), but also topical adjectives (such as *social, economic*)" (p. 511). The *LGSWE* divides adverbials into three classes—those of *circumstance,* of *stance*, and those that link elements of text, serving as connectors and integration. Adverbs are divided into three classes that describe their function in *LGSWE*: circumstance, stance and linking . *Place adverbials* are subsumed under the circumstance class, which can describe a specific *distance*, *direction*, or *position*; for example, the following specifies the *place* where a problem exists: *economic asymmetry* ***in inner city Chicago*** *now threatens*. *Agentless passives* are identified as falling into two groups in *LGSWE*: long (by-passives) and short (agentless) and occur in finite and non-finite form constructions (e.g. ***Elucidating*** *the bridging model*) and are common when process and not people are the focus of discourse. *Past participial postnominal clauses* substitute for full relative clauses relative post modifiers. Three types are cited in *LGSWE*: non-finite postmodifying clauses: *ing*-clauses, *ed*-clauses, and *to*-clauses (e.g. *A confluence of economic, social, and psychic impediments* ***exacerbated by this crisis***). Postmodification intensifies information load of a text, defining the subject matter in greater detail. Several of the preceding samples are from the two texts that follow. I wrote these texts and the other *exemplars* that follow provided for pedagogical purposes. Later I demonstrate variation with samples from the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus. However, by illustrating features first with constructed texts, hyperbole can be used to stretch certain features, and thus minimize ambiguity about the point being made. Therefore, the exemplars below represent a combination of practices that may be profitably emulated while others represent practices to avoid. In Figure 3.2, *Help Send Carley to Camp* is an exemplar showing interpersonal involvement and narrative, which fund-raising practitioners advocate, yet data confirm to be lacking in most fund-raising discourse. *Help Ameliorate Socio-Economic Asymmetry* is an example to avoid.

Exemplar Help Send Carley to Camp ***High Interpersonal Involvement-Style Fund-Raising Text***	Help Ameliorate Socio-Economic Asymmetry ***High Informational Content-Style Fund-Raising Text***
Carley excitedly joined in when the club talked about going to camp, "I've never slept in a tent before, or gone in a canoe. Are there bears? And what's ah *Sa-More*?" You could tell her 10-year-old mind was really racing and spinning dreams of what it'd be like. Being with best friends. Adventure. Animals. Cooking out on a campfire, all of which was exotic stuff to a child of inner city Chicago. Then last week when she came to the club meeting, I could tell something was wrong. "Hey now. . .You OK, honey? What's wrong?" I asked as kids were heading out. Looking up, she waves bye to best friend Lori. Other girls had been laughing, planning and screaming as they left for home. Then when we were alone, and it was "safe," I heard again what I hear every year from a child whose mom is their family's sole source of support. Carley had been turning her face so no one would see. Then tears almost come. She whispers: "Mama said I can't go to camp 'cuz we can't 'ford it." That did it. I felt my heart break. I knew what it meant. Carley's little dream had slipped away. It takes money to send kids to camp, and her mom just doesn't have it. And I don't either. Carley would not be able to go to camp. But I don't want to leave her. . .or *any* of her friends behind! Twenty dollars is all we ask kids to pay. For you or me it's the cost of a few Lattes. But for Carley's mom, $20 is very precious because it might cost her kids a meal! They simply don't know where it would come from. They're truly unable to afford the cost. So that's why I'm writing, John. I know you've helped before. Could you help us once more? Can you give $20 to help our girls?	Hard economic times are robbing moms who are their families' primary caregivers. A confluence of economic, social, and psychic impediments exacerbated by this crisis now constrains their ability to provide childcare, adequate housing, and basic nutrition for their families, especially in light of unrelenting and unprecedented economic down cycling. Consequently, little discretionary income, given their fiduciary responsibilities, remains for what social workers call *bridging* experiences, so salient to the development of youth. Elucidating the *bridging* model is the development of the ever-emerging and relevant corpora of findings confirming that such psychosocial opportunities are, indeed, quasi-constitutive of eight prominent variable factors in the neurobiological development of prepubescent working-class children. This was revealed by a seminal study, emanating from the Urban Action Group Lab of NorthSouthern University, validating the archetypal dynamics of *bridging* as a useful nascent sociological construct that finally accounts for two statistically significant 4-way correlations (valid at α = < .01), between facilitation of educational pursuit persistence and salient *bridging* experiences, like camping. Although the factors relating to the development of environmental support structures relevant to the maximization of complimentary *bridging* opportunities both inform our heuristic and remain our prime directive, concern over economic asymmetry in inner city Chicago now threatens near-term paradigm realization. Notwithstanding noteworthy economic drift, philanthropy yet continues to represent a multi-faceted linkage of networks which can be engineered toward eleemosynary initiatives that may well coalesce into a complementary array of educational, social, and pertinent psychological resources—*bridges if you will*—satisfying the socio-economically challenged. Help us facilitate amelioration of the economic asymmetry that so challenges Greater Chicago!

Figure 3.2. Interpersonal Involvement versus Informational Content Exemplars.

I have written this (and the others exemplars that follow) to represent poles on one of Biber's dimensional scales. The two above are used to illustrate both Dimension 1 and 2 of his protocol. *Help Send Carley to Camp* exemplar illustrates what Tannen (1985) describes as a focus on *Interpersonal Involvement*, and *Help Ameliorate Socio-Economic Asymmetry* illustrates the other end of that continuum, a focus on *Informational Content*. Admittedly, the hyperbole of the *Informational Content* exemplar intentionally stretches toward the extreme end of the continuum with its content-thick, non-narrative style. However, that stretch is warranted in light of the empirical evidence in Connor and Upton (2003), which places fund-raising letters closer to academic prose than conversation or personal letters on dimension 1, and scores it *below* academic prose and official documents on dimension 2. The following tables describe linguistic features of these very different texts on Dimension 1:

Table 3.11	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 1 Showing How They Create High Levels of Interpersonal Involvement		
Linguistic Features in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Interpersonal Involvement**	**Example from the Letter: *Help Send Carley to Camp***
Private verbs	0.96	Expresses mental thoughts and feelings	*I **felt** my heart break…I **know** you've helped*
THAT-deletion	0.91	Reduces surface form, sounds conversational	*You could tell **[that]** her 10-year-old*
Contractions	0.90	Shortens words, adds fluency to discourse	***I've** never slept in a tent before…**They're***
Present tense vbs	0.86	Depicts immediate topics and actions	*Looking up, she **waves**. . .Tears almost **come***
2nd person prn	0.86	Specific addressee, shows interactivity	*Would **you** be willing to help. . .**You** OK, honey?*
DO as pro-verb	0.82	Substitutes for a clause, reduces density	*That **did** it…And I **don't** either*
Analytic negation	0.78	Conceptually simpler form of negation	*She would not be able [versus **unable**] to go*
Demonstrative prn	0.76	Noun substitute, understood by context	***That** did it…**that's** why I'm writing, John*
General emphatics	0.74	Marks stance: affect, evidence, quantity	*10-year-old mind was **really** racing*
1st person prn	0.74	Marks ego involvement, interpersonal focus	***I** could tell. . .**I** know you've helped before*
Pronoun *IT*	0.71	Marks relatively inexplicit lexical reference	***it [paying $20]** might cost her kids a meal*
BE as main verb	0.71	Communicates sate of being versus action	*all of which **was** exotic stuff to a child*
Causal avb subord	0.66	Adverbial *because* or *as* mark causation	***because** it might cost her kids a meal*
Discourse particles	0.66	Attitudinal and structural discourse markers	***But** I don't want…**Hey** now…**So** that's why*
Indefinite pronouns	0.62	General referent device often used like *IT*	*I could tell **something** was wrong*
General hedges	0.58	Informal markers of probability or uncertainty	*tears **almost** come, and Carley says*
Amplifiers	0.56	Lexical *degree* words to magnify verbal force	*for Carley's mom $20 is **very** precious*
Sentence relatives	0.55	Speech-like relative, comments on context	*all of which **was** exotic stuff to a child*
Direct *WH*-?s	0.52	Direct questions, marks personal interaction	***What's** wrong? I asked as kids were*
Possibility modals	0.50	Subjective, tentative, states possible reality	***Could** you help us once more? **Can** you*
Non-phrasal coord	0.48	And acts as loose general purpose connector	*Are there bears? **And** what's ah Sa-More*
WH-clauses	0.47	Verb complement, to give personal viewpoint	*I knew **what it meant**. Carley's little dream had*
Final prepositions	0.43	Reflects surface reduction, marks speech	*simply don't know where it would come **from***
(Adverbs	0.42)*	Often reveals stance, qualities and feelings	*Carley **excitedly** joined in…**truly** unable*

* Because ***Adverbs*** had a higher loading on another dimension when factors were extracted, even though at +.42 they load above the |.35| minimum, they were not used in the calculation of Dimension 1: *Interpersonal Involvement / Informational Content*. However, they remain of interest. Although this is a fictitious letter I created, it is useful for illustrating traits of an *Interpersonal Involvement* style of discourse.

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).

Table 3.12	Examples of Negative Features on Dimension 1 Showing How They Create High Levels of Informational Content		
Linguistic Features in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Informational Content**	**Example from the Letter: Help Ameliorate Socio-Economic Asymmetry**
Nouns	-0.80	Nominalization of verbs adds density	***amelioration** of the economic asymmetry*
Word length	-0.58	Long words lead make text hard to read	***Consequently**, little **discretionary** income*
Prepositions	-0.54	Tightly packs highly nominal discourse	***facilitation of** educational pursuit persistence*
Type/token ratio	-0.54	*Different* words (types) to *all* words (tokens)	**psy***chic* **social psy**cho**social**: 2 types, 3 tokens
Attributive adjs	-0.47	Used to expand and elaborate meaning	***adequate** housing, and **basic** nutrition for*
(Place adverbials	-0.42)*	Elaborate the *where* frame of an action	***in** inner city Chicago…**by** a seminal study*
(Agentless passives	-0.39)*	Impersonal, detached, focus on patient	*so salient to the **development of** youth*
(Past part postnominal	-0.38)*	Integrates, elaborates (***[which]*** = deletion)	*confluence… **[which was]*** exacerbated by this

* Because items in (parentheses) had higher loadings on other dimensions when factors were extracted, even though each loads above the |.35| minimum, none were used in the calculation of dimension 1: *Interpersonal Involvement / Informational Content*. However, they remain of interest. Although this is a fictitious letter I created, it is useful for illustrating traits of an *Informational Content* style of discourse. Unlike the *Interpersonal Involvement* letter, this text intentionally pushes features to a point of hyperbole to illustrate its point. Yet hyperbole seems warranted in light of research showing that fund-raising letters actually tend more this direction, than toward the style illustrated in my *Interpersonal Involvement* sample.

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).

Table 3.13		Dimension 2: Narrative versus Non-Narrative				
Positive Features	**Score**	**Positive Features**	**Score**	**Positive Features**	**Score**	**Negative Features**
Past tense verbs	0.90	Perfect aspect verbs	0.48	Synthetic negation	0.40	*Four were present, but since they had higher factor loadings on other dimensions they were **not** used.*
3rd person pronouns	0.73	Public verbs	0.43	Present participial clauses	0.39	
Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988).						

Biber's second dimension (*Narrative* versus *Non-narrative*) describes linguistic features that mark the presence or absence of narrative in discourse. The preceding example of *Help Send Carley to Camp* illustrates a text that not only represents a high level of *Interpersonal Involvement*, but is also marked with features consistent with narrative discourse. Therefore, I use that text again here to illustrate this dimension. Dimensional scores indicating narrative presence do nothing to grade the actual *quality* of a narrative discourse—its artfulness, appropriateness, or accuracy. But Biber's metrics at least serve to indicate whether or not there is something *story-like* about the text. And it can be argued that the ability to know whether narrative is present or not is, a very significant diagnostic advancement. This time I first summarize narrative linguistic elements in such texts, then I discuss narrative issues presented in Biber (1988), in *LGSWE* and additional sources.

Table 3.14		Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 2 Showing How They Create Narrative Discourse	
Linguistic Features Listed in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Narrative Discourse**	**Example from the Letter: Help Send Carley to Camp**
Past tense verbs	0.90	Surface marker of past events of a story	*Carley excitedly **joined**…I **heard** again*
3rd person pronouns	0.73	Identifies actors in a narrative account	***her** 10-year-old…**she** came*
Perfect aspect verbs	0.48	Marks past action with a continuing effect	*Carley **had been turning her face***
Public verbs	0.43	Observable, they introduce statements	*She **whispers**: "Mama **said** I can't go"*
Synthetic negation	0.40	Result of negation, stated as a description	*They're truly **unable** to afford the cost*
Pres participial clause	0.39	Used to elaborate the frame of action	***Looking up,** she waves to best friend*
Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).			

Table 3.15		Examples of Negative Features on Dimension 2 Showing How They Create Non-Narrative Discourse	
Linguistic Features Listed in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Non-Narrative Discourse**	**Example from the Letter: Help Ameliorate Socio-Economic Asymmetry**
(Present tense verbs	-0.47)*	Puts focus on information not persons	***accounts** for…both **inform** …and **remain***
(Attributive adjectives	-0.41)*	Information dense modifiers of nouns	***psychic** impediments … **discretionary** income*
(Past participial WHIZ deletions	-0.34)*	Relative pronoun (e.g. ***[which]***) deletion)	impediments ***[which have been]*** exacerbated
(Word length	-0.31)*	Precise language requires longer words	*economic **asymmetry**… **quasi-constitutive***
* Because items in (parentheses) had higher loadings on other dimensions when factors were extracted, even though each loads above the |.35| minimum, none were used in the calculation of dimension 1: *Interpersonal Involvement / Informational Content*. However, they remain of interest. ***Note.*** Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).			

The report of *what Carley said* in the above exemplar letter holds what Clift (2005) describes as power derived "interactionally . . . by which various linguistic features. . .act as stance markers in a particular context. In specifying the nature of that context, it takes as its analytical focus a phenomenon which is not ostensibly a stance marker at all: direct reported speech" (p. 569). Such reported events are the hallmark of *narrative*, marked by *past tense*: (e.g. *Carley excitedly* ***joined*** *in*). In this case, the executive director of the nonprofit reports on a *past* situation involving the protagonist Carey (e.g. *Then* ***last week*** *when she* ***came*** *to the club meeting*). The writer makes reference to Carley not only by name, but also by *third person pronoun* reference (e.g. *You could tell* ***her*** *10-year-old mind was really racing . . .* ***she*** *came to the club meeting*). Carley's story thus captures the storyteller's *personal stance*, marked by the story itself and expressed with specific linguistic features that helped to achieve the *rhetorical aim* of creating what I describe as a *connecting narrative moment*. For instance, using the *perfect past aspect verb* structure the writer portrays a scene that presents the tension at the heart of the story (e.g. ***Carley had been turning her face*** *so no one would see. Then tears almost come.*) Biber et al. note that the function of the *perfect aspect* is "to refer to a time that is earlier than some specified past time" (1999, p. 460). In this narrative, the scene portrays a young girl in obvious distress, trying to hide her face from her friends. Using the *perfect aspect*, the writer paints a word picture of a young girl who, over a brief course of time, had plainly exhibited signs that something was wrong, which scene illustrated the writer's earlier narration (e.g. *I could tell something was wrong*). Then having stated and illustrated the problem, the writer moves from commentary and scene description to dialogue, using the *present tense private verb* ***whispers***. While technically a *public* verb, the word choice is also dramatic, suggesting a degree of intimacy, embarrassment, conflict and dramatic tension (e.g. *She* ***whispers****: "Mama said I can't go to camp 'cuz we can't 'ford it.*) Then using *synthetic negation* to describe the import of the story, the writer says: *They're truly* ***unable to afford*** *the cost*. Suddenly a brief narrative moves the reader into the middle a scene in which the writer confronts the reality of what poverty means in the context of a child unable to attend camp for lack of funds. Narrative used in this fashion is described by Clift as an example of *evidential modality*. Palmer (2003) reports this kind of use is more common "in some of the Native languages of North America, and the languages of Papua New Guinea, [where] the dominant type of modality is different." Palmer frames modality in language studies with the terms used in *LGSWE* to categorize stance adverbials: *epistemic*, *attitudinal*, *stylistic* (Biber et al., 1999, p. 764). Palmer adds that the difference in some cultures is the phenomenon that "there is a fourth kind, 'Evidential' modality, in which, instead of making a judgment about the truth-value of the proposition, the speaker offers evidence for it" (p. 7). He cites two types of evidential modalities—report and sensory. The conversation with Carley reported in the *Help Send Carley to Camp* letter represents the former type of *evidential modality*—report. Numerous neurological studies reviewed above certainly tend to support this view (see Oatley and Johnson-Laird 1987,1996; Oatley 1994, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004, Mar, Oatley & Eng 2003; Mar 2004; Oatley, Keltner, and Jenkins 2006). Evidential modality as a method of elaboration in speech moves beyond the linguistic features noted in dimension 3, which will be discussed next in connection to paralinguistic equivalences to narrative description by which a speaker may refer to items in physical proximity—referring, for example, to actual displays of projects children may have produced at camp (e.g. exposing people to evidentials by browsing, looking, feeling—as if viewing exhibits in a court of law or, more appropriately, in an art gallery) and textually (e.g. a parallel verbal description of what is on display is spoken, in which projects and what they mean [stance] is communicated)—sensory references that Palmer and Clift cite as common in other cultures, which Palmer describes as "what is seen, heard, or even smelt" (2003, p. 7).

In the *Help Send Carley to Camp* narrative, the writer essentially uses linguistic tools to create for the reader the sense of being in the room with Carley. The writer uses the devices of Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad—act, scene, agent, agency and purpose (1945, xv). And the length of the narrative is not that long, yet exhibits what Longacre (1996) describes as narrative underlining. He writes that in even a brief story "a narrator does not want you to miss he important point of the story so he employs extra words at that point. He may employ parallelism, paraphrase. . . .Let us call this device *rhetorical underlining*. It's as if you took a pencil and underlined what you are writing" (1996, p. 39). Labov describes narrative as "recounting past events, in which the order of narrative clauses matches the order of events as they occurred," which, he notes, extends "over a broad range of human activities: novels, short stories, poetic and prose epic, film, folk tale, interviews, oral memoirs, chronicles, histories, comic strips, graphic novels and other visual media" (forthcoming). Biber's dimension 2 measures the frequency of salient linguistic features that work together to accomplish what Labov defines as the "fundamental human capacity to transfer experience from one person to another through oral narratives of personal experience" (forthcoming). Elsewhere (1967, 1972) Labov notes that narratives that are memorable and effective because they are not trivial strings of past happenings, but are focus on what he terms a reportable event. Bal (1997) describes narrative as a three-layered creation of fabula, story, and text—with fabula being the raw materials from which a story can be constructed, the *story* being the concrete product that evolves from those raw materials, and the *narrative text* being the written, spoken or otherwise mediated [e.g.

such as film, cartoon] expression of the story. Chatman (1978) describes narrative in terms of what it is not, contrasting it to exposition, description, and argument, and focusing on the *chronologic* character of narrative as portrayal of events through time. He would argue, for instance, that a static piece of art with no inherent indication of movement through time, fails the test of narrative.

While Labov, Bal and Chatman *define* narrative, Tannen emphasizes its *effect* by framing it as a key method by which interpersonal involvement in discourse is created. Tannen cites Labov's (1972) view that key components in personal narratives are personal evaluation (expressions of attitude, e.g. indicated by private verbs) and a coda (expressions of a story's moral) to support her case that narrative is a discourse resource for building *interpersonal involvement* (cf. Biber's dimension 1). In her *Talking Voices* (1989), Tannen describes the use of repetition, dialogue, and imagery to create interpersonal involvement and observes that narrative becomes a stage on which these three involvement devices are see action in the Burkean (1945) sense of human drama. That is, the speaker/writer, in describing reportable (nontrivial) past events creates involvement with the hearer/reader in the narration of: "what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose)" (Burke, 1945 p. xv). In many ways the dramatistic approach to texts taken by Burke in his *Grammar of Motives,* takes the same path of Tannen's analysis of discourse. While Burke seeks to understand motivation by synoptically viewing text through the five-part prism of his dramatistic structure, Tannen seeks to differentiate text according to their valence as contributors to interpersonal involvement in spoken and written discourse. To this end, Tannen describes numerous linguistic involvement devices that coalesce and in narrative: *musicality*, *repetition*, *dialogue*, *imagery and detail*. In this research, I identify numerous *connecting narrative moments* in the discourse of fund raising that use such devices on a rather limited stage. The space allotted for a fund-raising text is often a page and on the high end, and four at the high end. Online the space is usually little more than a single screen shot or two (though another discourse study is suggested by more recent innovations using streaming video). I use the term *moments* to emphasize that a *connecting narrative moment* need not occupy a great length of text to create human connection. The notion of *connecting narrative moments* is an important distinction since the very words *narrative* and *story* inherently suggest long stretches of discourse. Tannen illustrates the use of a *connecting narrative moment* as an involvement device that quickly connects like a needle quickly reaches a nerve below the skin. She illustrates this point with an excerpt Jesse Jackson at the 1988 Democratic National Convention that received wide acclaim in the press (Shales, 1988). In his delivery, reminiscent of Kings *I Have a Dream* rhetorical style (1993) Jackson delivers a short but evocative section of dialogue and narrative discourse that frames him not so much as a political "rock star" figure who runs with "big people", but as one who *understands* the plight of the ordinary struggling family. The word *understand* had been used repeatedly in portions of speech running up to this section of Jackson's address.

First, Tannen's reports Jackson entering into an imagined dialogue with the audience, bringing to the foreground their preconceptions that he is an inaccessible politician who can't identify with ordinary people. In this imagined dialogue he gives voice to their views (*italics represents Jackson's enactment of the audience's side of an imagined dialogue in response to his initial question*):

> Why can I challenge you this way?
> *Jesse Jackson, you don't understand my situation.*
> *You be on television.* [laughter]
> *You don't understand*
> *I see you with the big people.*
> *You don't understand my situation.*
> I understand.
> At three o'clock on
> Thanksgiving day,
> we couldn't eat turkey.
> Because Mama was preparing somebody else's turkey
> at three o'clock.
> We had to play football to entertain ourselves.
> And then around six o'clock,
> she would get off the /Aha Vista/ bus,
> and we would bring up the leftovers
> and eat our turkey,
> leftovers:
> the carcass,
> the cranberries,
> around eight o'clock at night.
> I really do understand. (Tannen, 1989, p. 183)

Tannen observed in the excerpt above the ability of the speaker to connect, to create interpersonal involvement, to use Biber's term. I call these brief stretches of prose *connecting narrative moments*. In his speech, Jackson fist addresses the objections in an imagined dialogue (with his interactants' voices indicated in italic above). Then he answers the imagined questions, recalling what Thanksgiving was like for him, growing up poor. In fund-raising discourse, the canvas on which the word pictures are painted is quite small. As this brief except illustrates, the attention can be captured and a powerful image can be created in a brief space.

Biber describes six linguistic features that provide evidence of narrative presence in texts, though as noted above a narrative being present is different that an *effective* narrative is present. The most obvious linguistic feature correlates with Labov's and Chatman's description of past actions—*past tense* and *perfect aspect verbs* that fix Burke's elements of *act* (what was done), *scene* (when or where it was done) and *agency* (how the actor did it) to specific points in past time. The use of *third person pronouns* mark the presence of Burke's *agent* (the one who acted) and the use of and *public verbs* involve these *agents* in reported speech using words like "*admit*, *assert*, *declare*, *hint*, *report*, and *say*" (1988, p 109). Using *present participial clauses* indicates "that the narration of past events is often framed by . . . vivid imagery" (1988, p. 109) and the use of synthetic negation seems to give provide more emphatic force than the analytic alternative. In the excerpt of Jesse Jackson's speech, he sandwiches his narrative of Thanksgiving between two utterances of the private verb (*I understand*), which had been used to involve his audience by communicating that because of his personal history of growing up poor, he *understands*.

Jackson's speech was influenced by proximity to his audience. They were in the same room, and his rhetoric reflected the interactive possibilities that production environment afforded. Biber's next dimension describes linguistic features that vary contingent on the context of communication.

The negative pole on dimension 2 in Table 3.16 is comprised of four complimentary linguistic features that Biber describes simply as non-narrative. Because these features had higher scores on other dimensions, they were not salient in defining dimension 2. However, lack of salience does not equate to lack of relevance, so these (and subsequent non-salient features on remaining dimensions) will be considered briefly.

The first negative feature on dimension 2 is *present tense verbs*. When the present tense is dominant in discourse, the past these of narrative usually is not. The text written to contrast with the *Help Send Carly to Camp* letter illustrates this. The letter, *Help Ameliorate Socio-Economic Asymmetry* opens in the present tense (e.g. *Hard economic times* ***are robbing*** *moms…now* ***constrains****…little discretionary income, given their fiduciary responsibilities,* ***remains****).* The second factor with a negative factor loading on dimension 2 is attributive adjectives. In *LGSWE* the authors note that in the most striking observation about the use of adjectives is how reliant academic prose is on these words in evaluating and measuring (e.g. ***fiduciary*** *responsibilities…* ***relevant*** *corpora* … prepubescent working-class *children*…seminal *study*…archetypal *dynamics*… *statistically* ***significant 4-way*** *correlations…****salient*** *bridging experiences*). In discourse heavily loaded with adjectives, these words place a heavy weigh on the reader who must interpret the nuance of meaning each adjective carries. In contrast, narrative discourse does much of the meaning-making work by illustrating the issues portrayed through the elements of Burke's pentad (act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. Narratives *show* meaning. Non-narrative explain meaning. *Past participial WHIZ deletions* eliminate the which relativizer (e.g. *psychic impediments [which have been] exacerbated by this crisis now constrains*) and long words do not show up when narrative is present (e.g. *engineered toward* ***eleemosynary*** *initiatives).*

Table 3:16		Dimension 3: Elaborated/Context Independent versus Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent					
Positive Features	**Score**	**Positive Features**	**Score**	**Positive Features**	**Score**	**Negative Features**	**Score**
WH-relative clauses on object positions	0.63	*WH*-relative clauses on subject positions	0.45	Nominalizations	0.36	Time adverbials	-0.60
Pied piping constructions	0.61	Phrasal coordination	0.36			Place adverbials	-0.49
						Adverbs	-0.46

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988).

Figure 3.3 illustrates dimension 3 (*Elaborated/Context Independent* versus *Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent*). Two examples contrast independent texts (e.g. articles) and those needing context (e.g. speeches):

Exemplar Thank You for Helping Send Carley to Camp LETTER *Elaborated/Context Independent Text*	Exemplar Thank You for Helping Send Carley to Camp SPEECH *Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent Speech*
Dear John, Thank you so much for your generous $80 scholarship gift. It will provide the help which several of our girls were hoping for. When the girls who received help found out they were going to camp, they literally jumped up and down like typical 5th grade girls do when excited. One of those was Carley, who I wrote you about. The way in which Carley found out she was going was very special. The one who fetches the mail on club meeting day is our student treasurer, who just so happens to be Carley's best friend Lori. Lori went to the box as usual. But this time as she opened the mail, she saw a check in the first envelope. Lori screamed, "Look Ms. Lynn!" I smiled and said, "Go show that to Carley." Lori was just as excited as Carley to learn of your gift and those of other friends who'd written that day. Eight kids had been on hold, not knowing if they'd be able to attend camp or have to stay home. Our girls had washed cars and baked cookies to earn money. But as a club we'd just fallen short of what we needed to meet our goal. So what a thrill to get your donation! Your kindness, along with the generosity of other friends, was cause for celebration that afternoon. It made possible for all eight children who had been on the wait list to make what was the trip of their young lives. Few had ever been out of Chicago. Most had never been to the country. Without help, their adventures would simply not have been possible. They would have been left behind. But that didn't happen. In all, 16 kids made it to camp—100% of our club's fifth grade girls. Thanks again for caring and sharing. You are appreciated, Kathleen Lynn Executive Director P.S. John, one of our girls has tucked a note inside to say thanks. As you'll read, your gesture was an inspiration. I believe that one day when our girls have a chance themselves to reciprocate and help others, your help will be remembered. You've been an example to them!	Thank you for coming to our Pizza Night Thank You Party. I'm sure you'll agree that what we lack in posh ballroom accoutrements, we've more than made up for with the stunning projects decorating these walls. Aren't they are just great! The projects on the walls and tables around this room, show the awesome talent of our girls. When we arrived at camp last week, first thing, girls had to choose what she wanted to do for the exploratory module—either fashion design, art or language. For instance, this is a beautiful cup one of our girls made, and is going to be our door prize tonight. Before we start our program, let first take a minute to point out some of our girls' work. As you look over there, you see the dress designs three girls who chose our fashion design module made. There on the back wall are some paintings, pots and clay designs made by girls who chose the arts focus. And on this wall are poems and speeches written by those in the creative writing group. What we lack in fine French cuisine, I'm sure you'll agree we will be equaled or exceeded by tonight's' awesomely good deep-dish pizza. Our eight scholarship recipients are cooking it right now. See them sheepishly poking their heads from up behind the kitchen pass through window? Wave girls. And up here are several other club members who are going to be your servers tonight. We've been back from camps two weeks now, and it is such an honor that you'd take time to join us. Our purpose is simple. To say thanks. What you see on these and on these tables. What you see in these girls—their talent, energy, enthusiasm—all their potential. All this was made possible by your kindness. Without you it wouldn't have happened. And because you cared enough to share, every single one of our 16 girls was able to go to camp this year.

Figure 3.3. Elaborated/Context Independent versus Not Elaborated/Situation Dependent Content Exemplars.

Table 3.17	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 3 Showing How They Create Elaborated / Context Independent Discourse		
Linguistic Features Listed in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Not Elaborated / Context Independent Discourse**	**Example from the LETTER: Thank You for Helping Send Carley to Camp**
***WH*-relative clauses on object positions**	0.90	Clarifies object, more often in writing	*the help **which several of our girls***
Pied piping constructions	0.73	WH clause movement for explicit reference	*The **way** in **which** Carley **found out***
***WH*-relative clauses on subject positions**	0.48	Gives information about the subject	*When the girls **who received help***
Phrasal coordination	0.43	Links explicit details of discourse	*washed cars **and** mowed yards*
Nominalizations	0.40	Nominalized verbs/adjectives: *"tion"*	***donation**…**celebration**…**inspiration***

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).

Table 3.18	Examples of Negative Features on Dimension 3 Showing How They Create Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent Discourse		
Linguistic Features Listed in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent Discourse**	**Example from the SPEECH: Thank You for Helping Send Carley to Camp**
Time adverbials	-0.60	Deictic time signalers of temporal context	***When** we arrived at camp…purpose **tonight***
Place adverbials	-0.49	Locate the place of the temporal context	*over **there**…**here** on this…**behind** the kitchen*
Adverbs	-0.46	Describe time, place, manner, and intensity	***awesomely**…delicious…**sheepishly** poking*

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).

Because readers and writers are physically separated from one another, written discourse must fill in (*explicitly elaborate*) what prosody and gestures ordinarily supply in speech. This *explicit elaboration* is accomplished using the linguistic features listed in the first table above. Conversely, features in the second table above are found in spoken discourse where intonation, body language, dialogue between speaker and audience, atmospherics and other contextual factors *add to the overall communication event*. These features render those commonly used in written texts either superfluous or unmanageable in real-time production. Elaboration can also fill gaps due to lack of prior knowledge, cultural distance, prejudice, physical or other limitation (e.g. for the blind, deaf, or young).

However, at some point adjustments to text may push a writer or speaker across the conceptual border that separates minor elaboration on one hand (achieved by layering on specific linguistic features) from new creation on the other (e.g. writing a text *geared* to fit a grade school rather than graduate school reading level). The latter suggests a wholly different magnitude of effort that moves the writer beyond mere elaboration to the realm of authorial strategic planning that segments separate target audiences and yields different written products for each. This moves far beyond the focus of Biber's analytic paradigm.

Dimension 3 measures the presence of compensatory linguistic features in written and oral discourse. It shows how written texts create context independence using relative clauses, pied-piping constructions, phrasal connections and nominalizations. Conversely it reflects how oral discourse uses time adverbials, place adverbials, adverbs, modal evidentials, and even intentional redactions of superfluous linguistic features from what had begun as written speech. (Thus the clichéd scene in which a speaker puts down his or her written text and says something like *I had prepared remarks, but let me speak from my heart instead.*) Of course, a skeptic might wonder if the text had been memorized and the gesture of sudden candor had only been a calculated ploy enlisted to create the illusion of authenticity. Regardless if the product of shrewd calculation or caused by the press real-time speech constraints, Biber confirms that *time adverbials*, *place adverbials*, and *adverbs* are common to *situated* communication. In addition to this repertoire of adverbials, there is Palmer's (2003) fourth *evidential modality* noted above. Reference to these is made by use of spatial deictics. I noted this above in connection with the dimension 2, on narrative, and I refer to it again below in connection with the discussion on overt expressions of argumentation. Evidential modality is relevant here because it is a valuable elaboration device in speech as illustrated in the *Pizza Night* exemplar: *Thank You for Helping Send Carley to Camp*. Several kinds of deictic reference are presented there: *nominal* deixis (e.g. *As* ***you*** *look over there,* ***you*** *see*), *spatial* deixis (e.g. the speaker identifies physical items by ***pointing*** *with her finger* and saying: *There on the back wall*) and *temporal* deixis (e.g. ***Before*** *we start our program* ***tonight****, let me* ***first***).

In contrast, instead of *physical pointing* and the use of *place adverbials*, the letter describes past action with *wh-relative clauses* on subject positions to paint word pictures of the setting (e.g. *Our* treasurer ***who fetches the mail***). In one case these details are recreated with word pictures recounting past events (e.g. *But this time as she opened the mail, she saw a check in the first envelope*). The verisimilitude of the speech situation is heightened in the letter with *narrative* and *reported speech* (e.g. *She screamed, "look Ms. Lynn!" I smiled and said, "Go show that to Carley*).

Although beyond the scope of Biber's analysis, other elaboration techniques are suggested by those who work in the fields of illustration and typography. Kostelnick and Hassett (2003) discuss the power that paratextual elements bring to discourse. Their work on visual rhetoric and Bringhurst (2005) describes the ability of typography to "craft by which the meanings of a text (or its absence of meaning) can be clarified, honored and shared, or knowingly be disguised" (p.16). Though neither linguistic nor paralinguistic, these para*textual* variables are fundamentally important. I refer to these in connection with several test mailings below. But I mention them because the management of paratextual variables is virtually ignored by linguists.

Yet if a text looks intimidating (if its type is unreadable; lack of white space is threatening; number of pages is daunting; spatial characteristics like narrow leading and margins hinder reading) then no matter how elegant, interesting, or informative a writer's work: *it can all be rendered a waste if not read.*

While Biber documents the *linguistic* features that correlate with various production settings (e.g. speech versus writing), Tannen (1985) illumines the *implications* and the *intentions* (what I call the rhetorical aim) of communicative events. Theirs is primarily a difference in vantage points, however. Tannen starts with the *why* of communicative events and then moves to describing the linguistic features that were consistent with the circumstances. Biber, on the other hand, starts with the*what* of communicative events (e.g. his list of sixty-seven linguistic features across seven dimensions of variation) and then works backward, ending up where Tannen's analysis begins. Similarly Tannen discusses elaboration more in terms of their intent—in terms of how they help or hinder the production of *interpersonal involvement* described in dimension 1 that contrasted typical conversation with the *autonomy* of expository prose. She notes that "in face-to-face spontaneous conversation such as that which occurs at a dinner table, the fact of speaking to each other is often more important than the information of messages conveyed" (1985, p. 128). Supporting this view, Tannen cites what "Kay (1977) . . . calls 'autonomous language' [that] has come with technological advancement. A complex technological society has need for much communication, typically among strangers, in which interpersonal involvement is ostensibly beside the point and communication is more efficiently carried out if much involvement is conventionally ignored" (1985, p. 129). So while Biber's dimension 3 scale serves well to identify co-located linguistic features that indicate how a writer may have tried to make writing context independent, Tannen suggests that there are larger issues, such as those described in dimension 1—how linguistic features are marshalled to create interpersonal involvement. In discussing dimension 2 I illustrated how this was done in the *Help Send Carley to Camp* letter, which essentially created interpersonal involvement through a narrative that produced a *connecting narrative moment*. Naisbitt similarly speaks of the impact of technology: "the introduction of the high technology of word processors into our offices has led to a revival of handwritten notes and letters. We couldn't handle the intrusion of this high technology into . . . our lives without creating some human ballast" (1982, p. 38).

While Tannen and Naisbitt suggest different purposes (elaboration to create a human connection versus elaboration to clarify and give text context independence), to be fair, Biber's dimension 3 (1988, p. 110) merely reflects reality. It can only measure the presence of linguistic forms that co-occur. And his analysis confirms that these features indeed work together to create context independence for a text. Returning to analogy between an architect's plans and a contractor's use of building materials, I would argue here that the decision about what kind of writing to produce is far more consequential to the rhetorical outcomes a text has than whether to make up for lack of proximity between speaker and hearer with *time adverbials*, *place adverbials*, *adverbs*. The more important question in building is whether wire, wood and pipe should be used to build a mansion or condominium. This is consistent with Campbell's view of that "the 'bias' of a rhetorical perspective is its emphasis on, and its concern with the resources available in language . . . to make ideas clear and cogent, to bring concepts to life. A rhetorical perspective is interested in what influences, in what persuades people" (1982). The same kind of question applies to discourse building.

Nonetheless, as a thermometer can detect but not regulate temperature, a blood pressure cuff can measure but not control hypertension, or a glucose meter can measure but not mitigate high blood sugar, so Biber's dimension 3 can measure but not affect the degree of elaboration in a text. I concur and argue that while layers of precise, semantically rich prose indeed makes meaning less dependent on context, narrative structure and involvement strategies can also elaborate discourse and create text independence. Moreover, whether online or in print, fund-raising discourse which seeks to inform, motivate, and cause readers to give must seek independence from context since few donors to nonprofits have the chance to visit a charity site, attend a charity event, or visit with a nonprofit's representative. So whether on screen or on paper, texts must play an important role in raising money, which task makes elaboration is important—the question is what sort of elaboration?

A different sort of elaboration may be suggested by the three metafunctions of Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics: ideational, interpersonal, and the textual. The ideational level frames language "in terms of the speaker's experience and that of the speech community" (1973, p. 57). As such it seems to subsume a much broader analytic frame—the world in which discourse partners live. In contrast in *LGSWE* Biber's et al. define the ideational task of language more narrowly in terms declarative clauses, relative clauses, prepositional phrases used to specify and elaborate referents in discourse, noting that such tasks are "prominent in the expository written registers, which have informational purposes" (1999, p. 42). Halliday's interpersonal function has to do with the relationships (speaker/hearer, writer/reader), and as such is closer to two task labels in *LGSWE*: *personal* and *interpersonal*. In *LSWE*, the *personal* tasks performed by linguistic features include those of taking a personal stance, and the *interpersonal* tasks are defined as different than the personal "in that they depend on and determine some aspect of the relationship among participants. For example, in conversation, the choice of various types of interrogative and imperative clauses . . . and choice of different address terms . . . between first name and surname" (1999, p. 42). Halliday's textual function is more akin to Biber's use of causative, concessive, conditional, and other adverbials that, like Halliday and Hasan's usage of conjunctives, perform the function of "relating to each other linguistic elements that occur in succession but are not related by other, structural means" (1975, p. 227).

Tannen enfolds into her exposition on the role of interpersonal involvement in discourse, the ideational, interpersonal, and textual aspects of Halliday's systemic functional grammar, holding that meaning transcends propositional language (the *ideational* function) and manner of expression (the *textual* function), and that it includes the meaning derived from a focus on people (Halliday's *interpersonal* function). Tannen lists six linguistic strategies that work both in conversation and written discourse to create involvement: 1.) *indirectness, which* implies meaning beyond the obvious through indirectness as Austin described as *implicature* (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, Burkhardt 1990); 2.) *ellipsis*, which omits details to allow the reader's imagination to work, as McLuhan (1964, 1967) argues in describing *hot* media like radio that engage imagination versus *cold* media like television which do all the thinking for the viewer; 3.) *tropes*, or figures of speech such as metaphors, which Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest are a life-shaping a influence by their title: *Metaphors We Live By*; 4.) constructed dialogue variously termed *direct speech* and *direct quotation* (which imbues text with a dramatic quality); 5.) *imagery* and *detail*, which with word pictures paints a dramatic setting whereby, "in response to specific details, hearers and readers imagine a scene in which the described characters, objects, and actions figure, and their ideas and feelings associated with such scenes are thereby triggered" (1989, p. 27)—a paradigm similar to Burke's dramatistic pentad (1945); and 6.) *narrative*, regarding which Rosen (1987) suggests: "the emotional and meaning-making power in all discourse derives from personal narrative" (p. 27). Among her six features that create involvement Tannen singles out narrative as a key means of elaboration in discourse, noting:

> There has been increasing recognition that literary storytelling is simply an elaboration of conversational storytelling. . . .Stories are a different order of discourse genre than the other strategies listed, because they make use of all the other strategies. And yet telling a story in conversation can itself be an involvement strategy. (1989, p. 27-28).

Therefore, in addition to the co-occurring linguistic features Biber identifies as facilitating elaboration and contest independence in text, *narrative* to Tannen seems to serve similar purposes. For example, in *Help Send Carley to Camp*, not all details are given about her mother, e.g. her age is not mentioned; where they live is not specified. Similarly in Jesse Jackson's 1988 Democratic National Convention speech, the hearer was left to imagine many details, yet *enough* details were given in both cases to produce hearer or reader *involvement* as a participant in imagining enough context to create a *connecting narrative moment*. The linguistic features deployed to create that effect, in Rader's words, were "explicit images, vivid details, well-chosen words whose connotations deepen and enrich their denotation, setting in motion . . .imaginative processes" (1989, p. 195).

The linguistic repertoire associated with elaborated and context independent texts does not necessarily result in less involved discourse. Or to put it in Kay's qualitative description, it need not result in the writing or the *"speech of the analytic philosopher, the scientist, and the bureaucrat"* (1977, p. 30). It can be appropriated to *cut a narrative window in text* through which the reader can experience a *connecting narrative moment*. Nonetheless, Biber uses the notion of elaboration primarily in the sense that the features identified by his factor analysis are used to make texts capable of standing alone when the reader and writer are separated by time and space. Nothing is left unsaid, and the more *elaborated code*, as it were, fills in any gaps that close proximity would have supplied without being made explicit—a valid and useful distinction. Though as suggested here, gap filling is not the only purpose elaboration serves—it can also spark imagination, involvement, and connect reader and writer, and even *persuade*, which is the next subject.

In Biber's 1988 factor analysis, his fourth dimension of linguistic variation was originally labeled *Overt Expression of Persuasion*. The dimension is uni-polar and unlike the first three dimensions, has only positive marking factors. The label given in his original study was revisited and later (1995) changed to *Overt Expression of Argumentation*, since the purpose of the measure is to document the presence of linguistic features, not the accomplishment of persuasive ends.

Table 3:19 **Dimension 4: Overt Expression of Argumentation (Unipolar—No Opposing Pole)**

Positive Features	Score	Positive Features	Score	Positive Features	Score	No Negative Features
Infinitives	0.76	Suasive verbs	0.49	Necessity modals	0.46	
Prediction Modals	0.54	Conditional subordination	0.47	Split auxiliaries	0.44	

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988).

Figure 3.4 illustrates dimension 4 (*Overt Expression of Argumentation*). Many foundation grant proposals use features demonstrated here to demonstrate credibility by marshalling facts to support their case for funding. While a positive trait, this particular example shows a marked lack of interpersonal involvement. Only children and families in general are referred to—there is no human face behind the facts. However, this is for illustration purposes only to focus on features that support the rhetorical aim or argumentation, and in a full proposal interpersonal involvement text might well be included elsewhere.

Exemplar of Cover Letter from a Grant Proposal Reflecting
Overt Expression of Argumentation-Style Text

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Youth in our city come from a collection of sub-communities, which include a variety of old neighborhoods and public housing projects. Most children live in a single-female-head of household in which there is no male role model. Seventy-five of children within the geographic reach of our club live in such homes representing a demographic blend of over 90 percent Black and Hispanic poor, with median income these families under $20,000. In the face such need, we should really be growing, not retrenching and cutting back our programs.

Our plans to support them with youth services are actually more critical now than the above census data reveals, with a 12 percent under count verified by Cook County's Department of Housing and the Census Bureau. This under representation might be explained by the fact that our service population is comprised of so many public housing residents, an unknown number of undocumented workers and their families, and the language barrier. Census taking is clearly shown to be in error. We have always boldly gone wherever the need of our city's youth calls us. We demand much of ourselves.

Greater Chicago Kids Clubs (GCKC) is a recognized not-for-profit leader in outreach to youth in the area, with strengths in after-school programs, tutoring, and mentoring. We have a 10-year history that stands as a model for area nonprofits, a $500,000 annual operating budget, and a caseload of 800 children. But we will expand our work only if we can expand our financial support base. In fact, we may have a short future unless we can identify new soursce of funding soon. That's because the City will cut back its funding for our outreach by half this year in a major restructuring of its financial house.

So If we cannot replace this funding, it will mean less wherewithal for helping area children. Moreover, the city is committed to a course that requires total privatization of funding in three years. Therefore, we must secure our future now, because the well being of children from low-income demographics is at stake. We would like to grow, not retrench.

At present we must rely on the city for half our budget, which we use to produce and manage programs serving children among the community's low-income residents. We propose, in the enclosed prospectus, a plan to shore up our support. Since the city has set a firm support draw down timetable. We have to act now. Therefore, we ask Urban Youth Foundation to consider the plan outlined in this request, so we can continue to serve.

We urge you to help our youth, and thank you in advance for your consideration of this proposal. It can be a key element in the new funding paradigm we must implement. We need UYF's help. If chosen, using support a grant will provide, we will be able to efficiently serve the 800 low-income children we now assist and even more, preserving, improving, and dignifying the fabric of our community. We request your consideration for funding this fall.

Figure 3.4. Overt Expression of Argumentation Exemplar.

Table 3.20	Examples of Positive Features on Dimension 4 Showing How They Create Overt Expression of Argumentation		
Linguistic Features Listed in Rank Order	**Factor Loading**	**Characteristic or Function of Feature in Creating Overt Expression of Argumentation Discourse**	**Example from Cover Letter For a Grant Proposal**
Infinitives	0.76	Subordination device to expand ideas	***to reach*** *these communities…plans* ***to support***
Prediction Modals	0.54	States personal hope, logically implies future	***will*** *cut back…We* ***would****…grant* ***will*** *provide*
Suasive verbs	0.49	Imply intention to bring about change	***demands…ask…urge…propose…request***
Conditional subordination	0.47	Structural elaboration by proposition framing	***unless*** *we can expand…**If** we cannot replace*
Necessity modals	0.46	Deontic (*δει*) obligation and epistemic necessity	***should*** *be…We* ***need*** *to…We* ***must****…we* ***have*** *to*
Split auxiliaries	0.44	Occurs frequently with passives	*is clearly* ***shown*** *…**have** always boldly* ***gone***
(Possibility modals	0.37)*	Subjective, tentative, states possible reality	*only if we* ***can****…we* ***may*** *have…**might** be*

* Because ***Possibility modals*** had a higher loading on another dimension when factors were extracted, even though at +.37 they load above the |.35| minimum, they were not used in the calculation of Dimension 4: *Overt Expression of Argumentation*. However, they remain of interest.

Note. Adapted from Biber, (1988, pp. 102-103 & 221-245).

In evaluating the notion of persuasion on this dimension in their review of fund-raising letters, Connor and Upton (2003) credit an influential scholar in the field of rhetoric, James Kinneavy (1971), with broadening the frame of rhetoric from persuasion alone to other elements suggested by Aristotle. Of Kinneavy's influence in the field of rhetoric, Connor and Upton write: "the definition of persuasion has evolved and is no longer seen as synonymous with argumentation. Kinneavy (1971) most notably, has argued that persuasion involves not only traditional rational appeals (which is the realm of argumentation), but also ethical and emotional appeals" (203, p. 84). Describing his view, Kinneavy notes: "I am a neo-Aristotelian. I'm sure people would call me that; and some people would say that you don't even need the 'neo' in front of that (Gale & Kleine, 1997, p. 45)." Thus, for Kinneavy, modes of discourse that might be not be marked high on Biber dimension 4 scale might nonetheless have a persuasive rhetorical aim: "I am concerned with complete discourse, not individual sentences or even paragraphs. . . .By aim of discourse is meant the effect that the discourse is oriented to achieve in the average listener or reader for whom it is intended . . . .Yet a classification of diverse aims of discourse must not be interpreted as the establishing of a set of iron-clad categories which do not overlap" (1969, p. 297).

The literature of linguists on modals provides a fruitful source of understanding grammatical and semantic resources employed to create persuasive discourse. Lyons (1977) discusses modality in terms of propositions that, when transmitted using the modal class of words, portray actions or potential actions in alternate positions in alternate possible worlds. Modals use language to create alternate stages for action by communicating a sense of *necessity*, described by the word *deontic* taken from the Greek root *δει*, which Arndt and Gingrich define as "*it is necessary, one must or has to,* denoting compulsion of any kind" (1957, p. 171). Quirk, et al (1985) describes such modal verbs as *mandative*, signaling a desire to create a change, or insist upon action. In fund-raising documents, the former sense is more the norm, with lexical resources serving, as it were, like exclamation points in the discourse, which call attention to the rationale for acting that are presented elsewhere in the text. The latter sense is more common in legal documents (Adams, 2004) where the rhetorical aim is to create obligatory pacts precisely defined by language. In contrast, Bailey (2006) notes that "modal verbs such as *might* and *may* can soften directives" (p. 173). Similarly, Baumgarten and Probst observe that often what is expressed with strong certainty in English becomes "toned down in the German translation. This is done through the use of modal particles or other hedging adverbials" (2005, p. 77). This softening nuance is consistent with the notion of fund-raising discourse seeking *voluntary*, versus *mandated* contributions. This goes to the heart of philanthropy's roots as reflected in *voluntary action* that grew out of the ethos of a people freed from English tyranny (see Tocqueville, 1956; Curti & Nash, 1965; McCullough, 2001, 2005).

A second modal described by Lyons is that of *possibility*, which is perhaps the more subtle sense of discourse most fund-raising texts seek to achieve. Lyons (1977) distinguishes between an utterance made in light of absolute certainty of the reality of a proposition—which he labels, like the numeric value assigned a perfect correlation in factor analysis with the number *1*. In contrast, he labels with *0* those statements about which there it is certainty of impossibility. The continuum represented by these poles suggests degrees of possibility defined as epistemic modality, which "is in principle quantifiable on a scale whose extremes are necessity and impossibility; and different language-systems may well grammaticalize or lexicalize distinctions along this scale in terms of more or fewer degrees" (1977, p. 800). Modal words such as *may*, *may not*, *might, can't*, *cannot, must*, *mustn't* create the distinctions of which Lyons speaks. These language resources help to create a fine-grained level of modality defined by the word epistemic, which Chase and Phillips equate with the Greek word *ἐπίσταμαι*, which translates to English as "know how to" (1972, p. 200).

In addition to modals of *necessity* and *possibility* another a class is categorized *predictive*, represented by the words *will*, *would*, *shall*, and *should*. Lyons describes these words in terms of the future tense and calls this modal a *deictic* category. Futurity is not defined in the usual sense of past, present, and future tense, but as potential future worlds (it *may* rain tomorrow [which allows for the potential that it *may not* rain]). In Greek, the word *this* was achieved by the optative mood. But in English, the future tense achieves the function of projecting potential future states (e.g. in the exemplar text above the potential reality described whereby funding would not be received). This *optative of wish* mood is conveyed lexically and grammatically by the conditional proposition (e.g. *We **will** expand our work only if*) and with a greater level of certainty it is conveyed in the statement (e.g. *The City **will** cut back*). Then the exemplar presents a potentially negative future alternative (e.g. *this **will** mean less wherewithal*). Finally, a positive alternative future appears in another phrase (e.g. *With your help we **will** be able*). Dancygier (1998) suggests that this kind of discourse exhibits temporal reference in a conditional sentence using the word *if*: "it is a linguistic exponent of the mental process of space construction," (p. 23)—in this case, creating in the reader's mind, an alternative scenario as discourse's focal point.

The revision of Biber's label for this dimension tacitly acknowledges that the purpose of texts can overlap between types, and even though not marked by argumentative features (e.g. the dimension four list: infinitives, prediction modals, suasive verbs, conditional subordination, necessity modals, or split auxiliaries) a non-argumentative structure can still be persuasive. Take for instance, the involved speech above of Jesse Jackson or the *Help Send Carley to Camp* letter. These two texts were marked high for *Narrative* and *Interpersonal Involvement* not for *Overt Expressions of Persuasion*. Yet they were persuasive. Riessman similarly found *illness narratives* evoke sympathy, a strategy that persuades many donors to support medical research for disease cures.

Biber observes that the markers of argumentation "often simply mark the speaker's own . . . assessment of the likelihood or advisibality" (1988, p. 148) of arguments presented, and prediction and possiblity modals, when used with first person pronouns suggest commitements (e.g. I will, I might) and likelihood (he will, it might). More consistent with traditional notions of persuastion, suasive verbs mark appeals to arguments presented using language like, *I, therefore, urge*, *therefore we must*. Westin notes that "suasive verbs, such as *demand, insist,* and *suggest* normally introduce indrect objectives" (2002, p.107). A suasive verb might be followed by a *to*-infinitive might and read: *we hope to direct the support* of our friends to those who, without help may well be in jeopardy of starvation due to this famine.

While Biber's markers of argumentative discourse are useful for identifying the presence of argumentative discourse, persuasive effects are possible through other discourse modes. Again, as Petty & Cacioppo's (1981) two-route model suggests, messages cues also served to persuade. Thus, a financial appeal made to help send an inner-city child to camp, as depicted in the *Help Send Carley to Camp* letter, can affect attitude absent overt argumentation. This would be consistent with Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) expectancy-value model, in which helping children would reflect and reinforce a highly valued personal belief about the value of children. In such a case, there would be no linguistic markers of overt attempts to argue a point, since no logically connected and inherently convincing proofs would have been presented.

In dimension 4, linguistic markers are verbal signposts, as it were, that urge the hearer/reader to stop and consider the merits of the case presented. They signal a *therefore* moment, that calls the reader/hearer to stop and consider. To summarize with a simile, arguments in discourse are like a group of Coast Guard gunboats chasing a renegade pirate vessel across the water. The gunboats (the arguments) are powerful and convincing in their own right. After all, they *are gun*boats. And like the linguistic markers, gunboat captains use devices to mark presence and power—sirens and megaphones. These markers call the fleeing pirates to stop and consider the forces mounted against them.

However, as the discussion above regarding narrative illustrates, reasoned propositions are not the *only* way (and some would argue that in philanthropic discourse are not the *best* way) to persuade an individual to give. Were the unarmed RMS Queen Mary II (the world's largest ocean liner at 1,132 feet long and 148,528 tons) to head toward a small pirate vessel at its 30-knot open-ocean speed, the wake alone would swamp the pirate boat. Similarly, a *connecting narrative moment* in discourse can produce its own emotional that needs no linguistic marker. Its wake is marker enough. Inherently the emotional power of the *connecting narrative moment* causes the reader/hearer to stop, take a *therefore* moment, and consider the implications of the narrative message in *its* own right. Biber's fifth dimension measures the degree a text is how abstract or concrete.

Table 3.21 **Dimension 5:**
Abstract/Impersonal versus Non-Abstract/Non-Impersonal

Positive Features	Score	Positive Features	Score	Positive Features	Score	No Negative Features
Conjuncts	0.48	Past participial adverbial clauses	0.42	Present participial postnominal clauses	0.40	*One was present, but since it had a higher factor loading on another dimension it was **not** used.*
Agentless passives	0.43	*BY*-passives	0.41	Other adverbial subordinators	0.39	

Note. Adapted from Biber (1988).

As the summary in table 3.21 shows, texts which high positive weights include conjuncts, agentless passives, past participial adverbial clauses, and other adverbial subordinators differentiate texts that score high on this dimension. No feature scored above |.35| on the negative end of the scale, so like dimension 2 (*Narrative* versus *Non-Narrative* and dimension 4 (*Overt Expression of Argumentation*) negative features are not used to score texts. Abstract, impersonal texts are used to present technical information, such as plans, renderings and scientific procedures, where the way things are to be done, not the human agent(s) who do them, is focus. The agent is usually inanimate (non-human) and is not the primary focus. The patient of the verb (the entity acted upon, such as an object in an experiment) is the important discourse element. Such texts type fit situations where Kay (1977) notes "autonomous speech is required . . . what counts in determining the autonomous style of speech is the emotional neutrality of the content of the information, not the fact of its transmission; e.g. *Disconnect the automatic trip-hammer before removing the fuse*" (pp. 28-29). Biber et al. note that "academic writing is exceptional in its tendency to use abstract rather than concrete and animate subjects. . . . over 60 % of all causative, occurrence, and existence verbs occur with inanimate subjects; over 30% of all activity verbs occur with inanimate subjects; even communication verbs (about 20%) and mental verbs (about 10%) are used with inanimate objects" (pp. 377, 37). Biber offers the following example of an Abstract/Informational text in Figure 3.5. I then adapt his sample to develop an exemplar illustrating traits of abstract, impersonal prose.

Text 7.17: Academic prose (LOB J, 75 – engineering report)

It follows that the performance of down-draught systems can be improved by the influence of cross draughts only if the thermal currents are blown into the exhaust air streams at higher velocities than the cross draughts, so that the resultant direction of all dust-bearing air streams is towards the grid . . .

The exhaust air volume required by the 6-ft. x 4-ft. grid with the 8-in. deep hot and cold moulds and the 16-in. deep cold moulds tested in the absence of appreciable cross draughts exceeded the volumes required by the 4-ft. 6-in. x 3-ft. 6 in. grid by between 25 and 40 per cent.

Figure 3.5. Academic Prose Exemplar.
Note. From Biber (1988, p.p. 152-153).

Exemplar of Results Section from a Grant Proposal * Reflecting
Abstract / Impersonal-Style Text

RESULTS

It follows that the persistence of tier-2 cohorts can be improved by the influence of bridging opportunities only if the new students are moved onto horizon-broadening tracks at higher rates than prior tier-2 cohorts, so that the resultant direction of new under-performing tier-2 cohort scores is towards the mean.

The cohort score index required of the 10-member 2-hour tier-2 cohorts with the 5-1 student teacher ratio and the 3-week tier-2 cohorts tested in the absence of appreciable attrition exceeded the scores achieved by the 15-member 1-hour tier-1 cohorts by between 10 and 20 percent.

Consequently, further tier-2 and tier-1 cohorts will be added next term to further test correlates of persistence. Intake processing is expected to interrupt current testing regimens one day. Processed in a day, the new tier-2 cohorts will remain for six months, thus expanding overall data yielded by tier-2 client cohorts, thereby mitigating schedule interruption. Having doubled tier-2 cohort size last year, our program grew 3 times as fast and persistence measures were commensurately higher as measured by the movement of all under-performing tier-2 cohort scores towards the mean. Nonetheless, variables accounting for tier-2 cohort scores movement towards the mean remain unclear.

Data will have been reviewed by June 1 to confirm viability of using the same protocols to proceed with round two of persistence research as soon as funding is available. The readiness of incoming tier-1 cohorts is nominal. The readiness of tier-2 cohorts is deficient, requiring more orientation time. Persistence observed among past tier-2 student cohorts has been correlated with increased bridging opportunities, and it is thus believed similar results will obtain with current tier-2 cohorts. Therefore, we consider the additional required orientation justified. Given that we must recruit subjects for 3 new tier-2 cohorts in September, a reply by August 1 is requested.

Figure 3.6. Abstract/Impersonal Exemplar.
Note. This is a fictitious text I created by adapting the sample from Biber's Corpus to illustrate traits found in *Abstract / Impersonal*-style discourse. Connor and Upton's study (2003) and mine indicate that fund-raising discourse gravitates toward this style of prose. As noted above, some exemplars use hyperbole to illustrate, not advocate the use of specific configurations of lexicogrammar. This is obviously not an example to follow, and is only intended to illustrate abstract prose.

Biber, et al (1999, p. 83-84) note that in abstract discourse—most often academic prose—conjuncts are used to juxtapose concepts, consistent with the task of presenting one idea in the context of competing ideas. To accomplish this task the coordinating conjunction *and* is often used as a phrase-level coordinator, connecting in sequence, strings of technical information in a straightforward manner with little of no stance-taking. Unlike subordinators and prepositions, which mark an inequality in the relationship between syntactical units, *and* creates a level playing field among the string of ideas presented. However, *and* is seldom used in academic prose as an initial coordinator. The exemplar illustrates this (e.g. *the 5-1 student teacher ratio* ***and*** *the 3-week tier-2 cohorts*).

Biber et al. differentiate two types of the passive. "It takes two forms: 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). The former is expressed above by the clause (e.g. *persistence of tier-2 cohorts can be improved by the influence of bridging opportunities*) and the latter by another clause (e.g. *tier-1 cohorts will be added*). *LGSWE* documents the occurrence of passives to be about 18,500 times per million words, and in academic prose they make up about 25 percent of the occurrences of finite verbs in the register. The authors explain this high use of passives in academic discourse:

> The main purpose of the short dynamic passive is to leave the initiator of an action (the agent) unexpressed. This may be because the agent is unknown, redundant, or irrelevant (i.e. of particularly low information value). The need to leave the agent unexpressed varies with register….Academic discourse is concerned with generalizations, rather than the specific individuals who carry out an action. If expressed, the agent would be a generic pronoun or noun phrase. (Biber et al., 1999, p. 938-939)

The short use of the passive (without specifying the agent as in *by-passives*) reflects the Western scholarly tradition of placing the focus on the scientific method, noting the process by which results are obtained, and minimizing the human element, which is assumed. Five lexical verbs (made, given, used, found and seen) have occurrences of more than 300 times per million with the passive voice in academic prose, suggesting the doing and discovery consistent with scientific investigation (Biber et al., 1999).

Of three semantic characteristics of adverbials (circumstance, stance, and linking) the past participial adverbial clause presents in abstract discourse seems to be used in describing the context of action (the circumstance) to clarify actions (e.g. ***Having doubled*** *tier-2 cohort size last year, our program grew 3 times*). A past circumstance caused future action. Of the other two adverbials (stance and linking) abstract prose is marked by the those indicating personal point of view (stance), however, as the following text from the exemplar shows, they connect ideational elements in abstract discourse occasionally marking the effect of past events on current actions (e.g. ***Consequently****, further tier-2 and tier-1 cohorts)* and sometimes introducing the result of past events on future ones (e.g. ***Therefore****, the additional orientation*).

Biber et al. identify eight predicate adjectives particularly frequent in academic prose: *able*, *true*, *difficult*, *possible*, *likely*, *important*, *necessary*, and *available*. It complements (completes) a noun to which it is linked through a copular (linking) verb as a subject predicatives (e.g. *The readiness of tier-2 cohorts is* ***deficient***) or as object predicatives (e.g. *we consider the additional required orientation* ***justified***).

While dimension 5 is comprised of a homogenous type of texts, marked by their focus on technical discourse, Biber's sixth dimension, labeled *On-Line Informational Marking Stance* versus *Edited* or *Not Informational*, represents a wider range of texts. Since dimensions 6 and 7 of Biber's MD-analysis are not being used in this study, they are not reviewed here.

Development of Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus

The corpus (body) of texts created for this study is the largest of its kind assembled to date—more than 1.5 million words of copy contained in 2,412 electronic and paper documents in nine philanthropic sectors. Over a 24-month period texts were sought from organizations identified in IRS form 990 data, purchased from Guidestar.org. This data set ranked organizations in descending order by amount of direct support raised annually and identified their NTEE (National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities) codes. *Paper* fund-raising documents were obtained from three sources. Some were received from correspondence received regularly as a donor to organizations. Others were obtained from friends and relatives who were similarly on various organizations' mailing lists. Still others were received directly from organizations in response to a request for text samples to be used in this study. *Electronic* texts were gathered directly from organizations' public web sites. All paper texts were scanned through Datasure Imaging Services in Santa Monica, California. These were then exported to a *.txt* format, edited for accuracy, and named with a label designating 1.) the organization's numeric rank among U.S. nonprofits (by direct support raised in the most recent tax year), 2.) the organization type (using nine categories designated by the IRS), and text medium (*P* for *Paper* or *E* for *Electronic*).

Once gathered, *electronic* texts were managed according to the same protocols used with *paper* texts, with the exception of designating them with the letter *E* in their name, representing their online source. After the data was gathered, Dr. Douglas Biber of Northern Arizona State University was contracted to run the data through his Biber Tagger program, which automatically identified and tagged linguistic features. Then using SAS statistical software programs, he produced descriptive statistics for the data set, part of which output is presented above. Finally, he ran programs to assign dimensional scores for data and identify through analysis of variance, statistically significant relationships among segments which had been tagged to allow cross tabulation on three identifying parameters: nine types of organizations, three ranges of funds raised, and two media sources.

About half the corpus is sourced in *Paper* fund-raising letters and about half is sourced in *Electronic* fund-raising texts. The range of funds raised through these texts includes the top 735 nonprofit organizations that raise at least $20 million or more in direct public support annually in the United States. In addition, the bottom 145 organizations in the corpus includes texts from organizations that raise less than $20 Million annually in direct public support: 39 that raise $10 million to $19.9 million, 46 that raise $5 million to $9.9 million, 26 that raise $1 million to $4.9 million, and 34 organizations that raise less than $1 million annually. Virtually all U.S. nonprofit organizations that raise $20 million or more are represented, while smaller samples of the other ranges are also included. Nine types of nonprofits were studied: 1. Arts, Culture, and Humanities; 2. Education & Research; 3. Environment & Animals; 4. Health; 5. Human Services; 6. International; 7. Public, Societal Benefit; 8. Religion; and 9 Other. The following table compares the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus with the ICIC Corpus on Biber's first four dimensions, which was the limit of their study and their results were not broken down by type of organization, thus the ICIC data is limited to one cell on each dimension summarized below, while the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus is further subdivided by dollars raised and source of texts:

Table 3.22 **Inter-Corpora Comparison between ICIC and Dickerson IRS 880 Data on Their Mean Scores Across Four Dimensions of Linguistic Variation**

Four Dimensions of Linguistic Variation:	**Total Scores**	**Dickerson IRS 880 Total Score and Segment Scores**			**Dickerson IRS 735 Total Score and Segment Scores**			**Dickerson IRS 145 Total Score and Segment Scores**		
	ICIC Corpus	**Dickerson IRS 880 Entire**	**Dickerson IRS 880 Paper**	**Dickerson IRS 880 Electronic**	**Dickerson IRS 735 Entire**	**Dickerson IRS 735 Paper**	**Dickerson IRS 735 Electronic**	**Dickerson IRS 145 Entire**	**Dickerson IRS 145 Paper**	**Dickerson IRS 145 Electronic**
1. Interpersonal Involvement *versus* Informational Content	-11.9	-12.8	-9.5	-15.6	-13.0	-9.5	-15.6	-11.8	-9.9	-14.9
2. Narrative *versus* Non-narrative	-3.1	-3.0	-3.1	-2.9	-2.9	-3.1	-2.9	-3.2	-3.2	-3.2
3. Elaborated/Context Independent *versus* Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent	4.7	4.6	3.2	5.7	4.5	3.2	5.7	-4.9	-3.8	-6.6
4. Overtly Argumentative	-1.2	-2.2	-1.3	-2.9	-2.2	-1.3	-2.9	-1.2	-1.3	-0.3
	Total of ***All*** ICIC letters	**Scores from three sources:** **1. *All*** of IRS **880** Corpus (**880**) **2. *Just Paper*** **880** texts **3. *Just Electronic*** **880** texts			**Scores from three sources:** **1. *All*** of IRS **735** corpus (**735**) **2. *Just Paper*** **735** texts **3. *Just Electronic*** **735** texts			**Scores from three sources:** **1. *All*** of IRS **145** corpus (**145**) **2. *Just Paper*** **145** texts **3. *Just Electronic*** **145** texts		

Note. Dickerson IRS **735** organizations include ***just*** those that raise $20 Million or more annually in direct support and Dickerson IRS **145** organizations include ***only*** those that raise less than $20 Million. **Paper** refers to fund-raising letters received by US Mail and **Electronic** refers online fund-raising texts.

Profiles of Those who Write Fund-Raising Discourse Drawn from the Voice of Philanthropy Survey

In addition to examining the discourse of America's top nonprofit organizations as sampled in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, a questionnaire, called *the voice of philanthropy survey*, was used to profile the leaders who produce or cause that discourse to be produced. The questionnaire gathered information about these leaders tenure in fund raising, job functions, educational background, job-specific educational and training experiences, preferred learning styles, self-reported levels of expertise in various areas, characteristics of their organizations, evaluation of performance on several dimensions, likes and dislikes about regarding their jobs, advice to new-comers to the field, and their personal aspirations. Surveys were received from 304 (35%) of the nonprofit organizations represented in the corpus. Not all respondents answered all questions, as is to be expected since surveys are inherently intrusive and not all people wish to answer all questions. So the final tally suggests more than a third of the organizations in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus participated and about a quarter of the leaders contacted responded to many questions asked.

The Voice of Philanthropy Survey seeks to build on the work of Duronio and Tempel (1997) whose book, *Fund Raisers*, was the first major study profiling those who work in the field. Duronio and Tempel's database of 2,501 fund raisers was comprised of a stratified sample drawn from the membership lists of three national associations: Association for Healthcare Philanthropy (AHP), the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), and National Society of Fund Raising Executives (NSFRE, which is now known as the Association of Fundraising Professionals or AFP). The philanthropic sectors represented in their study included the following:

Table 3.23 **Profile of those who Responded to *The Fund Raisers* Survey**

Sector	Respondents	Percent
Education	869	49.7%
Health	418	23.9%
Human Services	204	11.7%
Arts and culture	93	5.4%
Other	73	4.2%
Religion	43	2.5%
Public Benefit	32	1.8%
Environment	16	0.9%
Total	**1,748**	**100%**

Note. From Duronio and Tempel (1997 p. 30).

Of the 1,748 respondents to their survey represented, however, just 2.5 percent came from the religious segment, even though this population accounts for the largest portion of charitable giving. While the current research is not as broad as theirs, it does fill a gap with better representation from the religious segment. But more significantly, the present survey focuses on the key leaders who write the voice of philanthropy. As with the corpus analyses, this questionnaire sought input from leaders in direct response fund raising working among America's elite nonprofit organizations that by definition raise in excess of $20 million annually in direct public support. As with the corpus analysis itself, a small number of respondents work with organizations that raise less than $20 million annually. Among the data elements presented below is self-reported information about the respondents' estimate of funds raised annually by their organizations.

The importance of effective writing is reflected in Duronio and Tempel's study. Of 2,600 fund raisers surveyed, 2,080 responded. When asked to describe the skill they believed was most critical to fund-raising success, 1,837 ranked communication skills at the top of their list. Ironically, while the literature of professional fund raising contains very sophisticated multivariate studies on results of fund-raising campaigns that compare variation in response attributable to adjustments in elements like copy length, envelope style, and gift amounts (Warwick 2003a); little research examines underlying linguistic dimensions fund-raising discourse. This was borne out in the review of fund-raising literature by Connor and Upton (2003) who observe that while "a whole industry has developed around mail letters in nonprofits as 'experts' offer advice for fundraisers in books and newsletters" (p. 72), most advice seemed to "come from the knowledge bases of mass marketing rather than linguistics. . . .Language use, with the exception of reference to the 'you' emphasis popular in American business letter writing, does not appear an important consideration. Even though donor segmentation is recommended, no specific advice is given about how to appeal to specific audiences. (p. 73). My own extensive survey of the literature also confirmed preoccupation with rhetorical moves (Connor 2000) and rhetorical appeals (Connor, Gladkov & Kostya 2004; Connor, Anthony, Gladkov & Kostya 2007) yet little focus other than Connor and Upton's corpus analysis of ICIC Corpus texts (2003).

To gain a critical mass of responses required three separate mailings of a paper survey to a population of 880 organizations. These three efforts yielded a total of 139 responses. This was followed up with an electronic version of the survey posted on www.surveymonkey.com. The electronic version of the questionnaire seemed to make responding much easier for many busy executives, garnering an additional 165 responses for a total of 304 responses. As noted above, not all respondents responded to all questions, organized in the paper version around 20 topics. The 20 topics were type set on both sides of a single 8-1/2" x 11" sheet in the paper version. Then when translated to web format, the page layout changed radically to fit the surveymonkey format.

The survey combined open-ended questions to gather nominal, ordinal, interval and ratio variables. In analyzing subjective comments to open-ended questions, content was analyzed to identify common themes to summarize responses into smaller factors, since most open-ended queries prompted 200 or more responses. These summaries do not approach the level of rigor that characterized Biber's factor analysis text corpora. The identification of factors followed the process outline below:

1. Handwritten survey documents were transferred to EXCEL, coded with a header row reflecting the questions printed on the survey.
2. Hard copies of each question's responses were printed.
3. During readings of printed answer sets, key words that dominated across responses were circled.
4. These key words were hand written onto a single sheet of paper to give a quick view of the verbal terrain they presented.
5. Major groups of words that shared affinity were grouped together under factor labels, with most aggregating from lists of 30 to 40 words into clusters of from four to seven words. For example, question 17 asks *How can those new to the field of direct mail fund raising be better equipped for their jobs?* Table 3.24 illustrates the 33 key words that seemed to dominate the respondents' discourse. These suggested five factors under which I subsumed their responses.

Table 3.24 **Exemplar of a Five-Factor Analysis Table Developed to Analyze Responses to the Voice of Philanthropy Survey**

Learning (LRN)		Message (MSG)		Knowledge (KNW)		Experience (EXP)		Networking (NET)	
mentor	**28**	write	**29**	marketing	**13**	experience	**24**	others	**7**
training	**20**	Know donors	**18**	data	**12**	test	**5**	examples	**5**
seminars	**11**	samples	**5**	research	**10**	on-the-job	**3**	colleagues	**3**
conferences	**7**	copy	**4**	analytics	**11**	failures	**3**	peers	**3**
vendors	**4**	trends	**3**	advertising	**2**	hands on	**2**	list serves	**3**
consultants	**2**	persuasion	**2**	demographics	**2**				
classes	**2**	stories	**2**						
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	**74 30%**		**63 26%**		**50 20%**		**37 15%**		**21 9%**

Note. Five patterns of response emerged in answer to question 17: *How can those new to the field of direct mail fund raising be better equipped for their jobs?* These are listed in the header row as LRN, MSG, KNW, EXP and NET. They seem to reflect subject areas or means of learning important to the respondent, and he or she felt would be important for newcomers to the field. Similar factor tables were developed for all questions to which subjective answers were the form of reply given and dominant patterns of recurring responses were observable.

Others looking at the same responses might organize key words differently and thus identify different factor labels. The method is by its nature an imprecise heuristic for observing the broader trends in what is being said. While an important and useful methodology, it lacks the same quantitative precision of the multivariate processes associated with the factor analyses and subsequent AMOVAs used to tag, tally, and total, linguistic features in Biber's factor analysis of variation of 67 linguistic features across 23 registers and sub-genres.

Words in this content analysis were tallied in searches of the data using the find function in EXCEL, delimiting the search to the question field in the worksheet. To include words with varying endings (e.g. both train and train*ing*), when searching, only the stem was used to not limit the query). Thus the search parameter *conf* would yield conference*,* confer*ences,* conferenc*ing,* and the abbreviation *conf.* Each search was hand-edited to maximize appropriate and eliminate false matches. For example, the search for *major donors* conducted with the parameter *major* would yield a number of hits that use the word *major*, some of which like phrases using the word major*ity or major* interest would be rejected. . However, the adjective *major* was found in a range of contexts from that sought. *major donor* to instances not sought like major*ity or major* interest, etc. While this analysis process is not exact, editing 9,015 words of text (the total volume of text the aggregated responses) was relatively easy.

Note: there is often a difference between the total count of words comprising the corpus of words that aggregate to comprise a factor and the total number of individuals responding to a question. This discrepancy is due to some questions having no meaningful information that contributes to any of the factors developed to describe a factor in some cases, and in others cases a single respondent may have contributed numerous words useful for constructing a factor. Thus, the total of words comprising a factor may vary widely from total respondents to any one question. A variety of questions request information to relevant to their work in fund-raising, ranging from their tenure in their jobs, attitudes toward their jobs, preparation for them, and challenges of their work. (e.g. how much money their an organization raises annually, how many full-time equivalent staff work in fund raising, how many mailing campaigns their organization conducts annually). Five-point ordinal scales similarly ask respondents to rank various items (e.g. in particular, a range of optional ways they have received education and training relevant to the execution of their task responsibilities. The questions of the survey are printed below in text boxes, followed by summaries of response and discussion of data presented. Each box indicates with the designation (**n=#**) with **n** representing the *number* of cases and **#** representing the number of individuals who responded. Finally, to illustrate factors, I report select responses to questions. No attempt has been made to correct grammar and syntax, though a few spelling errors have been repaired.

Measures of Change Attributable to Paratextual Variation in Package among Six Direct Mail Campaigns

The final area of this study accounts for the effect on response that changes in paratextual variables can create in a direct mail campaigns. Often described in the direct mail industry as A/B-split tests, these procedures often involve dividing a randomly sorted mailing list into two panels or segments. One panel (called the control segment) is sent the organization's typical mailing piece. Though content and appearance does change slightly from time to time, the format and general subject matter of many organizations' mailings are surprisingly similar from year to year. This is especially the case when a campaign targets prospective new donors (those who have never given before). Called *acquisition* campaigns, these mailings often remain virtually unchanged over time, having been proven to be effective though extensive testing. The other major target audience that consistently receives similar mailings are donors from whom a second contribution is being sought. Such campaigns are usually called *reactivation* or *renewal* campaigns.

The typical mailing (collectively called a package) includes a letter or note card, an outgoing envelope, a reply form, and a reply envelope. Occasionally an additional piece such as a brochure or smaller piece the size of a dollar bill (called a buck slip) is enclosed. Typical response rates are almost always less than 10 percent for mailings to a nonprofit organization's regular donors, and response to acquisition campaigns is usually well under two percent, and commonly lower than one percent. Therefore, in addition to changes in text, it is not uncommon for nonprofit organizations to also test physical components of a direct mail package to attempt to increase response.

Two such changes are reviewed in this study—the use of hand-personalization and the cancellation of nonprofit stamps. In the same way that Biber's MD-analysis measures linguistic features that build interpersonal involvement, some tests have show that paratextual variables seem to similarly increase the interpersonal involvement quality of direct mail package. Such letters are often made to appear more personal than mass-produced through hand-personalization, design that gives the package the look of a greeting card, and postage and bar code treatments that emulate first class mail As speech is enhanced by the prosody, which creates greater interpersonal connection with hearers through paralinguistic features such as tone, rhythm and gestures), so the ability of the physical elements of a direct mail package can be enhanced to better connect with recipients through paratextual features such as hand-addressing, invitation-style envelopes, and cancelled stamps. Paratextual as I use it is similar to paralinguistic, which literally means *alongside the tongue*. Paratext literally means *alongside the text*. One panel tested among the six reviewed suggests a strategy that might easily save an organization $250,000.00 or more in a future mailing.

The survey of fund-raising professionals in this study included comments like the following that suggest paratextual variation, like linguistic variation, are equally important variables in the communication mix. One respondent complained about the difficulty of “getting donors to open the mail piece—our donors have low affinity with the university and rarely open anything we send.” The respondent believes the reason for the problem is “not necessarily because it is a fundraising appeal, but because they see it is from the university in general.”

This reflects the commonly held belief that people handle their daily mail by sorting it into two piles—toss and keep. The final cut leaves on the table bills, what looks like personal mail, and the occasional commercial piece that seems to offer something needed—perhaps a discount coupon. It would seem that the respondent above believes his school’s mail lands in the toss pile. This respondent’s comments seem to lay blame for his university’s failure to get more mail opened on the fact that it communicates a high level of informational content (affiliation with the university) but a low level of interpersonal connection (affiliation with his college as part of the larger university): “our donors have low affinity with the university and rarely open anything we send . . . they see it is from the university in general.”

The literature review documents several tests that indicate such strategies have significantly increased response rates. Huntsinger notes the benefits of such strategies:

> Don't let your donors anticipate what you are going to do next. Keep them off balance. Keep them guessing. Every fund raising package they receive from you should contain a strong element of surprise.
>
> When your letter arrives in the home, and the donor knows by glancing at your carrier envelope that it's another appeal from charity XYZ, you are defeated before they even get inside the envelope. What is all this superstition and fetish about always identifying your organization on the carrier envelope? Sometimes. But not always. Under many conditions it cuts your response drastically.
>
> Examine your mailing package formats. I'm sure you feel comfortable with standardized formats, but perhaps you should feel uncomfortable! Perhaps your donors are anticipating your every move. Perhaps they feel comfortable! Think about it. (1992, pp. 2, 3)

To test the hypotheses put forward by practitioners like Huntsinger, the present study reports the results of six tests to determine the impact of Computer HandScript-addressing (addressing in computer simulated handwriting) HandScript-personalizing (a simulated handwritten P.S. notes) on test packages, and PostCoding stamps (printing a cancellation mark across stamps that do not require cancellation in order to create a *first class* look, even though the mail is actually being sent at less than the normal full first class rate). Measures include comparisons of items like response rate, average gift, and income per letter mailed.

The fist five A/B split panel and one mixed A/B split panel tests compare the following three types of paratextual variables that constitute elements of visual rhetoric: 1.) package type—comparison among three types of packages (a short-form letter, a box of greeting cards offered as a premium in advance of a contribution, and a notecard-style package); 2.) addressing and personal note writing techniques—in the panels using a notecard-style package, differences in response are measured between addressing and adding notes with genuine handwriting and computer simulated handwriting; 3.) postage treatments—among various panels, the use of various postage treatments such as indicia versus live stamps, canceling stamps versus sending them naked (not canceling stamps), full rate first class versus first class presort. A sixth test compares the difference between response rates between two packages with the variable in package B consisting of a stamped nonprofit stamp which in the A panel of the test is not cancelled. Mailing lists for panels were created from an odd/even numbered record splits of zip code ordered files. It was hypothesized that manipulation of paratextual (physical) variables, designed to create a more personally involving look in test packages, would achieve what Chafe and Daneilwicz (1987) describe as the increased involvement that personal conversation has compared to written discourse, which Tannen (1982) attributes to linguistic features of conversation that "create a sense of involvement between reader and writer" (p. 2). Figures 3.7 to 3.11 below describe American Heart Association tests and Figure 3.12 describes a test mailing by the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement.

Test 1 (AHA 2004) Two panels of 25,000 each:

Computer HandScript Note Card versus Gift Box of Cards

Panel A: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript* *simulated handwriting* with a first class stamp on the outer envelope and no stamp on the reply envelope

Panel B: A *greeting card control package* offered as an up-front gift premium to prompt a contribution mailed in a 5-1/4" x 6-1/2" x 3/4" box with a preprinted postage indicia and no stamp on the reply envelope

* ***Computer HandScript simulated handwriting*** is a brand of digital handwriting that American Heart Association (AHA) used in their 2004 renewal campaign. This particular version was created from samples of my own handwriting, however American Heart was unaware that I was the source of the handwriting. In their data, AHA referred to ***both*** the Computer HandScript (used in 2004) and the less robust computer-simulated handwriting font used in 2005 as ***fake handwriting.*** For clarity, I refer to the Computer HandScript used in 2004 as ***Computer HandScript*** and I refer to the computer-simulated handwriting used in 2005 as ***Fake HandFont***. I discuss the differences between them below.

Figure 3.7. Test 1: American Heart Association 2004: Computer HandScript Note Card versus Gift Box of Cards.

Note. This and *all* American Heart Association (AHA) tests described in Figures 3.7 to 3.11 were coordinated by AHA and its outside agencies. Although tests 1-3 used a Computer HandScript created from samples of my handwriting, I was not involved in decision-making and implementation in any way. I was only given results data after campaigns.

Test 2 (AHA 2004) Two panels of 25,000 each:

Computer HandScript Note Card versus Genuine HandWriting** Note Card

Panel A: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript *simulated handwriting* with a first class stamp on the outer envelope and no stamp on the reply envelope

Panel B: Note-card package addressed and personalized in G*enuine HandWriting* with a first class stamp on the outer envelope and no stamp on the reply envelope

** ***Genuine HandWriting***—as the word suggests, this involved addressing envelopes and writing P.S. notes on cards in pen by human hand—a control package AHA had already successfully used.

Figure 3.8. Test 2: American Heart Association 2004: Computer HandScript Note Card versus Genuine HandWriting Note Card.

Test 3 (AHA-2004) Two panels of 25,000 in panel A and 24,977 in panel B:

Computer HandScript Note Card versus Double Remit Letter

Panel A: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript *simulated handwriting* with a first class stamp on the outer envelope and no stamp on the reply envelope

Panel B: *Double remit control package* mailed in a 3-7/8" x 5-5/8" window envelope with a preprinted postage indicia on the outer envelope and no stamp on the reply envelope

Figure 3.9. Test 3: American Heart Association 2004: Computer HandScript Note Card versus Double Remit Letter.

Test 4 (AHA-2005) Two panels of 562,232 in panel A and 464,835 in panel B:

Fake HandFont Package Stamped on Outer* and *Reply versus on Outer Only***

Panel A: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Fake HandFont with a full-rate first class stamp on *both* the outer envelope *and* the reply envelope (panels differed in configuration of donors mailed to as the master response table will make clear, making A/B comparisons difficult)

Panel B: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Fake HandFont with a full-rate first class stamp *only* on the outer envelope

*** ***Fake HandFont*** is a computer-simulated handwriting font that differs from Computer HandScript two ways. First it has only 26 letters in its upper- and lower-case character sets, thus each time a letter is used, it always looks the same. However, ***Computer HandScript*** has more than 200 letters in its character set, so occasionally when the same letter is repeated, it will look different in the second instance. This adds realism to the presentation. Similarly, with ***Fake HandFont*** the letters o, b, v and w (which normally connect with adjacent letters *above* the baseline) do not connect naturally with one another. However, ***Computer HandScript*** actually has pairs of letters that are already connected and uses these alternate pre-connected letter pairs to replace individual letters. This, again, adds realism.

Figure 3.10. Test 4: American Heart Association 2005: Fake HandFont Package Stamped on Outer and Reply versus on Outer Only.

Test 5 (AHA-2005) Two panels of 25,000 each:

Fake HandFont Note Card with Canceled Presort Stamp versus Full-rate First Class Stamp

Panel A: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Fake HandFont with a first class presort stamp on the outer envelope only and no stamp on the reply envelope. The first class presort stamp is cancelled with a PostCode*** to make it look like a full-rate stamp

Panel B: Note-card package addressed in Fake HandFont with a first class stamp *only* on the outer envelope

**** ***PostCode*** See note on PostCode in the footnote for Test 6 in Figure 3.12 on the next page

Figure 3.11. Test 5: American Heart Association 2005: Fake HandFont Package with Canceled Presort Stamp versus Full-rate First Class Stamp.

Test 6 Franciscan Friars of the Atonement (FFA-2006)
Two panels of 10,000 each:

Computer HandScript Note Card Package with
Canceled Presort Nonprofit stamp versus Naked Nonprofit Stamp

Panel A: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript *simulated handwriting*, with a canceled nonprofit stamp using a PostCode**** cancellation printed by the mail house on the outer envelope only (no stamp on the reply envelope) In addition, a ***lower right positioned bar code*** and *Auto* rate designation are printed in the lower right corner to emulate first class mail.

Panel B: Note-card package addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript *simulated handwriting*, with a naked (not canceled) nonprofit class stamp on the outer envelope only (no stamp on the reply envelope). In addition, a ***lower right positioned bar code*** and *Auto* rate designation are printed in the lower right corner to emulate first class mail.

**** ***PostCode*** USPS regulations classify first class presort, standard (formerly called bulk) and nonprofit stamps as *pre-cancelled*. This simply means they do not need to be cancelled, not that they have already been defaced. These classes of postage stamps are not open to the abuse of customers who might try to reuse a previously mailed stamp since they may be affixed only to mail that must be entered at a postal facility's BMEU (Business Mail Entry Unit). So the post office does not cancel them since there is little risk of their being illegally re-used. However, DMM (Domestic Mail Manual) regulations go beyond stating that they *need* not be cancelled and state that they *may* not be cancelled. However, by obtaining a written exemption from the USPS, a mailer may be granted an exemption from this rule and be allowed to cancel these denominations of postage stamps with a mailer's postmark (a cancellation postmark normally reserved to cancel full-rate first class stamps at mail houses rather than at the post office). Using a mailer's postmark to cancel precanceled stamps makes them look first class—a paratextual signal that distinguishes mail pieces so cancelled from ***Naked Stamps*** (those not cancelled). ***Naked stamps*** look like mass produced *junk mail,* so the benefit of canceling first class presort, nonprofit, and standard stamps is obvious—the cancellation mark is a paratextual signal that makes the envelope look as if it had been sent at the full first class rate. Yet the cost for nonprofit mail is about a third that of full-rate first class stamps. When such letters arrive in donors' homes, such mail will tend to land in the "keep" versus "toss" pile and may thus survive long enough to get opened. This method is called ***PostCode*** in this study and its affect is measured in texts 5 and 6.

***** ***bar code*** and *Auto* rate designation. The bar code is a set of numeric values the Post Office prints routinely on first class mail to expedite machine reading, speed delivery, and lower costs. With normal first class mail, this mark is printed in the lower right corner, and recipients of mail have come to expect to see it positioned there. However, if a mail shop, preparing a large mailing, attempts to print barcodes in the lower right corner, the tolerances allowed for skew and vertical positioning make the work time-consuming and risky (if the positioning is off, the mail house will be penalized because the mail will need to be coded). Therefore, rather than run the risk of incurring a penalty, most mail shops prefer to print bar codes immediately above or below the address block, where error tolerances are greater. Printing bar codes in these two spots takes less time and holds much less financial risk. However, a bar code so positioned sends a paratextual shorthand signal that quickly identifies the piece as not being a normal first class letter. So to enhance the first class mail appearance of nonprofit mail, test 6 prints the bar code in the lower right corner just as the Post Office does with first class letters. Plus, the word *Auto*, required to qualify for lowest rates, is printed in a digital font to replicate the style of type the Post Office uses to print information at the bottom of the envelope on a piece of first class mail. So the *Auto* designation, the ***lower-right positioned bar code*** and ***PostCode*** are three paratextual signals that enhance the first class mail look of panel 6A. The *Auto* designation and ***lower-right positioned bar code*** were added to both test and control panels of text 6. So the only paratextual variable that differs between panels 6A and 6B is the use of ***PostCode***.

Figure 3.12. Test 6: Franciscan Friars of the Atonement 2006: Computer HandScript Note Card with Canceled Presort nonprofit stamp versus Naked Nonprofit Stamp

Note. In contrast to the American Heart Association tests described in Figures 3.7-3.11, in which was not involved in with their campaigns in any way, I produced the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement campaign. However, like the American Heart Association tests, I was only given data that summarized results once the campaign was over.

Figure 3.13 defines elements of the tables summarizing the 2004 and 2005 American Heart Association (AHA) donor renewal campaigns. Two tables constructed according to this format appear in the discussion of results.

Denotes the size of each panel's mailing list. In tests 1-3 and 5, sizes are similar. Test 4 sizes vary.

Response as percent of the total sent (B÷A)

Total Income (E) less the Total Cost (F)

Designates the variables in A/B panels which are being tested and compared on 8 measures

Describes 2 list selection criteria used to form various panels tested: range of time and amount

Raw count of gifts received. (When panel sizes vary, this is not as useful as %

Mean dollar amount of all the gifts sent (E÷B)

Gross Income received

Total cost includes: copy + art + printing + mail shop + postage

Net Income by individual panels(G÷A)

Exemplar Table
American Heart Association 2004 Renewal Campaign *6/24/04*

Two Mailing List Selection Criteria:
a. Range of Months Since Last Gift
b. Range of the Amount of Last Gift

Panel ID & Designation	Criteria	A. Qty Mailed	B. Gifts Recd	C. % Reply	D. Average Gift	E. Total Income	F. Total Cost	G. Total Net Income	H. Income/ Ltr (G÷A)
1A TEST: Computer HandScript‡ Note Card 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $15-$49.99	25,000	2,772	11.09%	$22.67	$62,854.80	$28,500.00	$34,354.80	$1.37
1B CONTROL: Gift Box of Greeting Cards‡‡	0-12 months $15-$49.99	25,000	2,005	8.02%	$21.04	$42,187.50	$28,571.50	$13,616.00	$0.54
DIFFERENCES (TEST *vs.* CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %			+ 767 + 38%	+ 3.07% + 38%	+ $1.63 + 8%	+ $20,667.30 + 49%	- $71.50 - 0.25%	+ $20,737.80 + 152%	+ $0.83 + 154%

Yellow rows contain data comparing test and control panels

Cells are gray if a lack of parity allows valid comparisons

Figure 3.13. Indices measured on the American Heart Association renewal campaigns.

Note. Depending on the primary objective (e.g. whether to maximize number of responses or net income) different key indicators of actual results would be used to measure success or failure. If the primary objective were to maximize replies in order to regain as many donors as possible, then Column C (*% Response*) would be the key measure. With this objective a low net income or even a net loss might be acceptable, given the notion that any low performance or losses would likely be made up for in subsequent appeals. This assumption places greater value on gaining the asset of donors over the short-term goal of maximizing immediate net income. On the other hand, were the objective to maximize net income, the key indicators of success would be Columns G and H (*Total Net Income* and *Income per Letter by Individual Panels*). As a practical matter, most donor renewal campaigns are concerned with both measures. But like a new donor acquisition campaign, in which it is common to gain names with no profit and a even a net cost, similar metrics apply to donor renewal campaigns where maximizing response is the primary goal. This objective is so important in developing an organization's donor base that many practitioners do not even classify an individual as a donor until a second gift is received.

The table exemplar displayed in Figure 3.13 draws on information from the 2004 AHA donor renewal campaign. A similar table is used to summarize the data for AHA's 2005 campaign, using the same header columns and graphic elements. The 2005 table not only compares panels within that year's campaign, but also draws comparisons between the 2004 and 2005 campaigns. A third table is used to summarize results of a direct mail campaign conducted by Franciscan Friars of the Atonement (FFA). Since the FFA campaign involved only two variables (comparing a panel mailed with envelopes using a canceled nonprofit stamp versus a panel using the same stamp, but not canceled), its table-internal labeling is sufficient and requires no further elaboration.

> *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 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 $|\geq .35|$ 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.

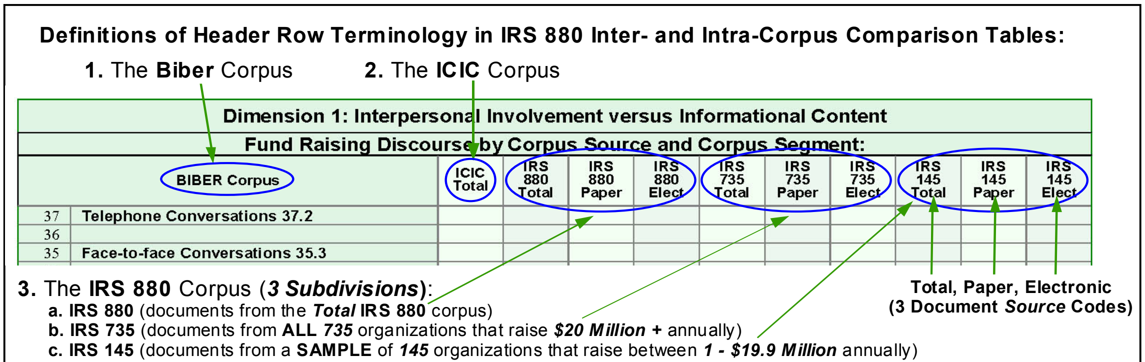


Figure 4.2. Exemplar of inter- and intra-corpus comparison tables.

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:

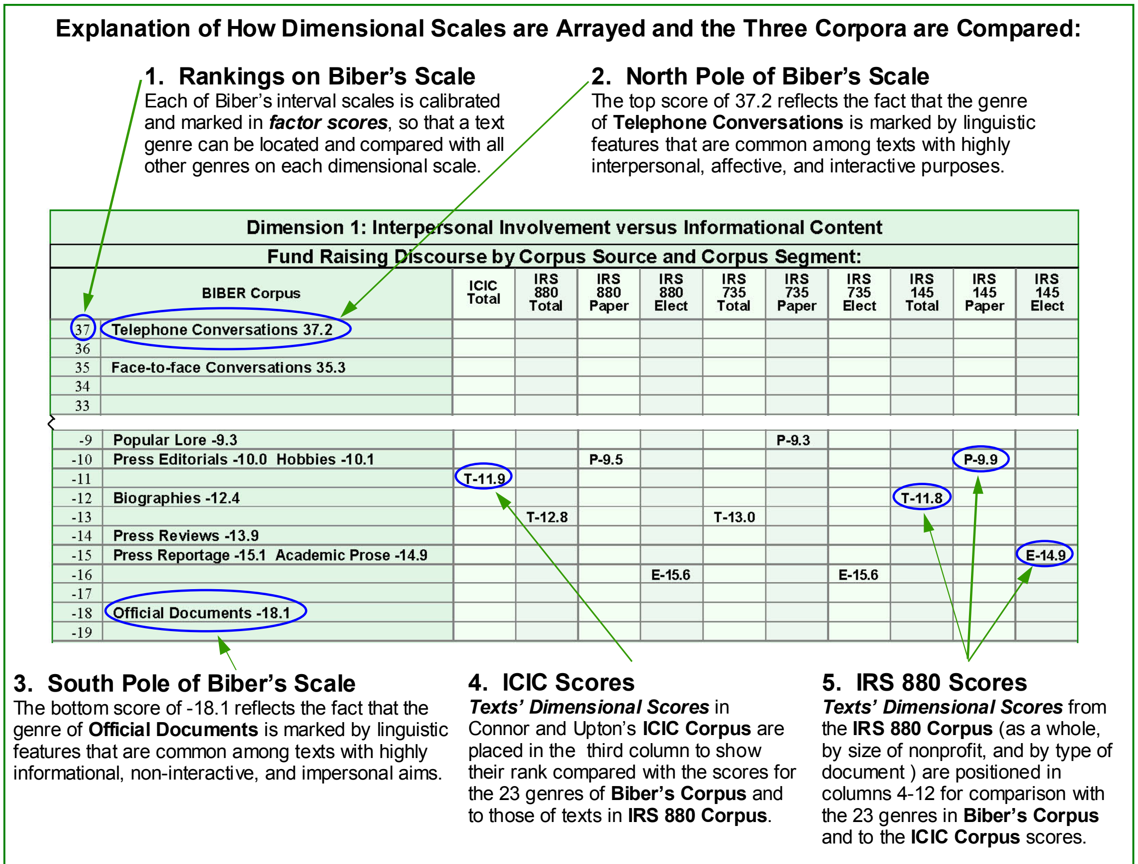


Figure 4.3. Elements of dimensional score table with definitions of key terms.

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:

Structure of The Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus Factor Scores in an Excel Spreadsheet

IRS880#: rank of org among all U.S. nonprofits

DOCNUM: the record number for this text among all for this org

FACTORS 1-5: Scores on five dimensions of linguistic variation:
1. Interpersonal Involvement vs. Informational Content
2. Narrative vs. Non-Narrative
3. Elaborated / Context Independent vs. Not Elaborated / Situation Dependent
4. Overt Expression of Argumentation
5. Abstract / Impersonal vs. Not Abstract / Non-Impersonal

SEQ: sequence number of text in the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus

DOCTYPE: source of text: p (paper) or e (electronic)

ORGTYPE: Type of nonprofit among 9 varieties studied

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:

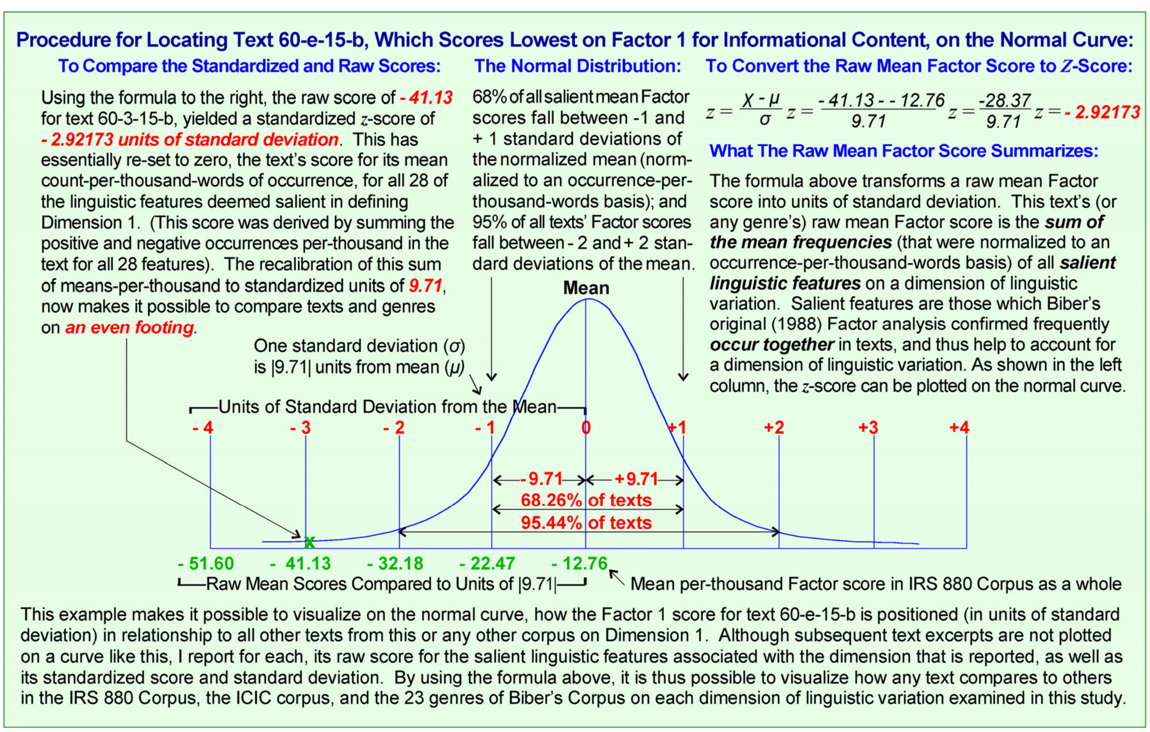


Figure 4.7. Locating factor scores for texts on the normal curve by calculating its z-score.

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).

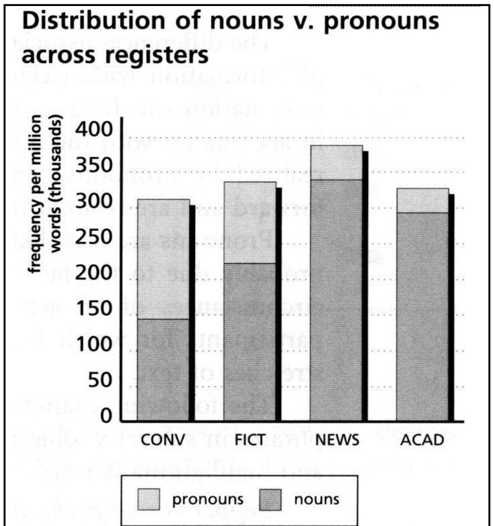


Figure 4.8 Noun density is related to highly informational content.
Note. From Biber et al., (1999, p. 235.)

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 mowed*), 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).

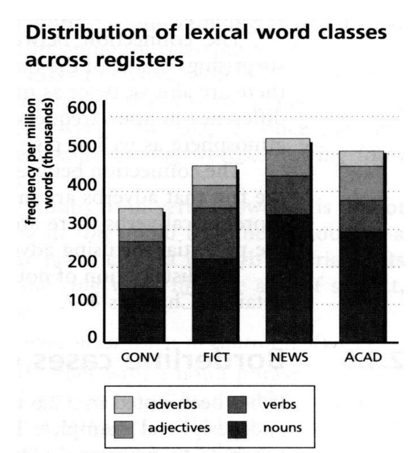


Figure 4.9 Adjective density is related to highly informational content.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 65).

"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

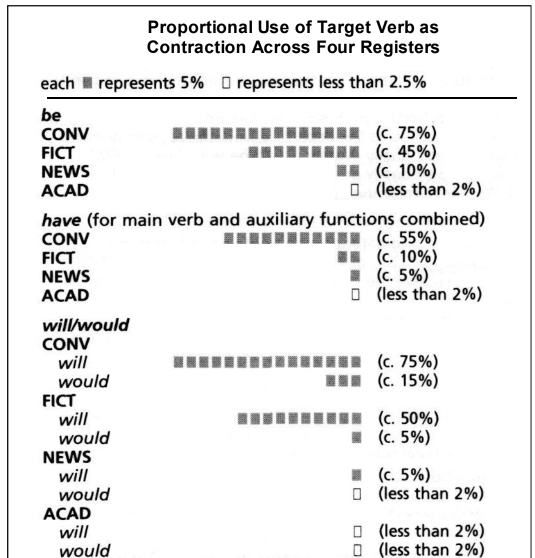


Figure 4.12 Highly involved discourse uses contractions.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 1129).

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 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,

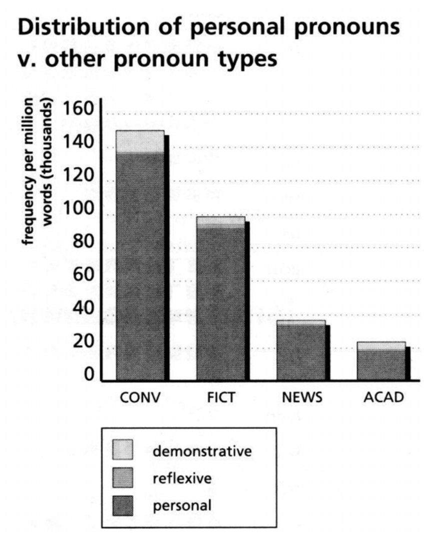


Figure 4.13. Pronouns are common in narrative.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 333).

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.

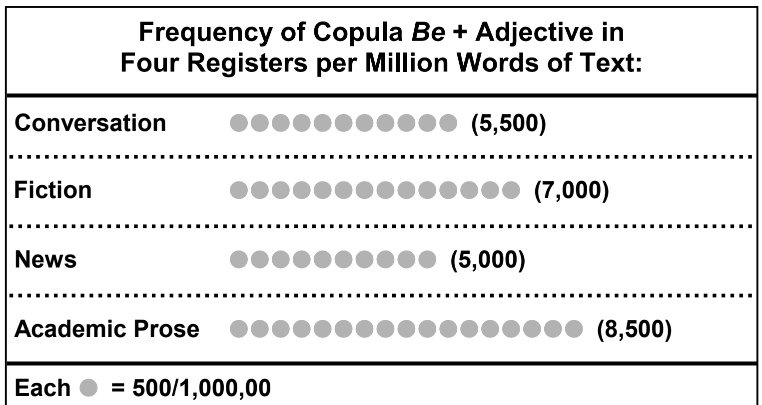


Figure 4.14. Copula *be* + adjective is common in all registers.
Note. Adapted from Biber et al., (1999, p. 437).

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.

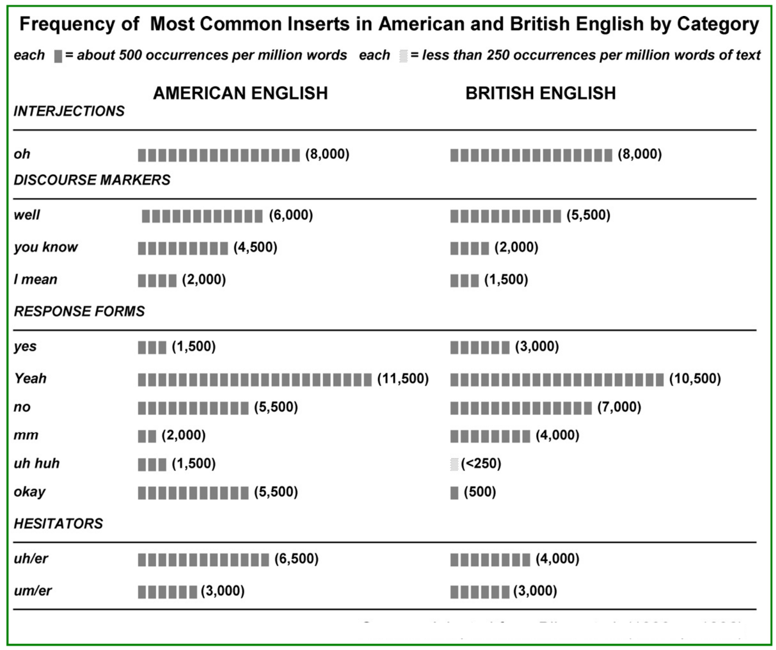


Figure 4.16 Four types of inserts in Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus.
Note. From Biber et al. (199, p. 1096).

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, R*eally* 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

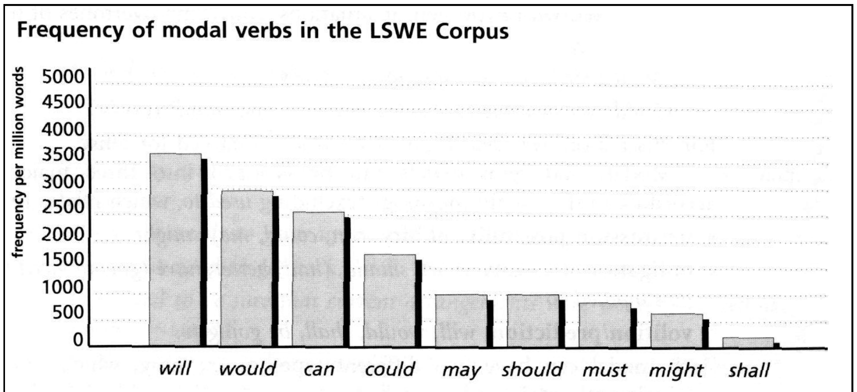


Figure 4.19 The most common modal verbs.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 486)

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*).

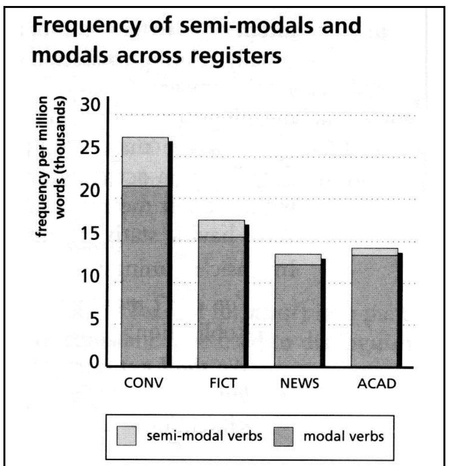


Figure 4.20. Modal and semi-modal verbs.
Note. From Biber et al. (1999, p. 486)

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*).

Perfective Construction with Past Action Having Current and Future Impact

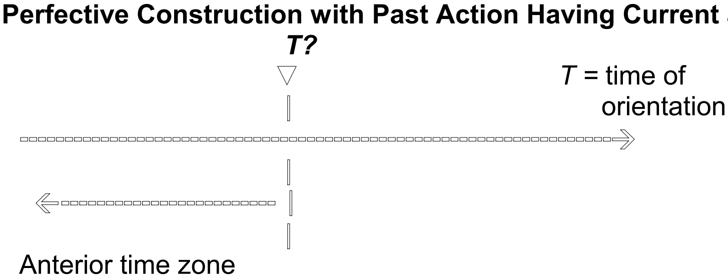


Figure 4.22. Perfect word pictures that move the mind though time and space.
Note. Adapted from Quirk (1985, p. 190).

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*).

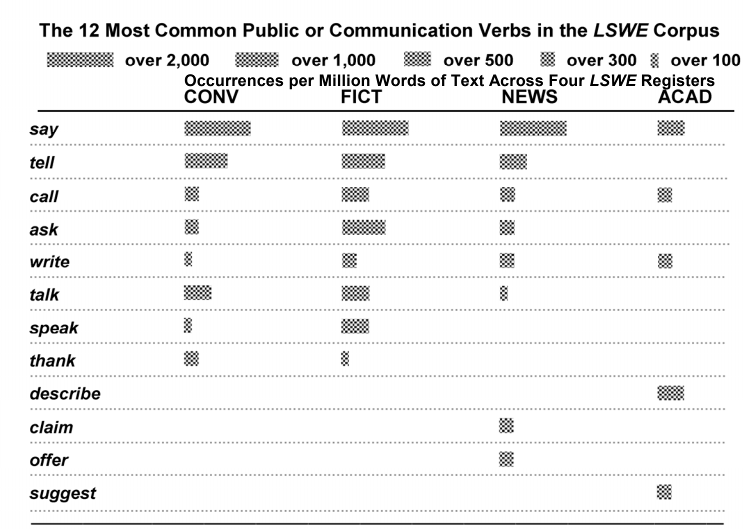


Figure 4.23 The top 12 public verbs that mark narrative in discourse.
Note. From Biber et al., (1999 p. 368).

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.

A. Tension rises as complicating action reaches a turning point and Janice is invited to step inside the crisis van	
Narrator	**Janice**
1. *Why don't you hop in, Janice? We've got some hot chocolate and sandwiches. We can talk. You hungry?*	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?"*
Narrator Evaluation	
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.*	

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).

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).

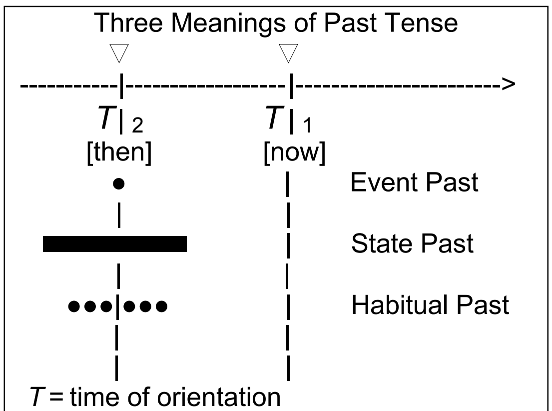


Figure 4.35. Quirk's three nuances of past tense in narrative.
Note. From Quirk (1985, p. 473).

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 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	
		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

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.

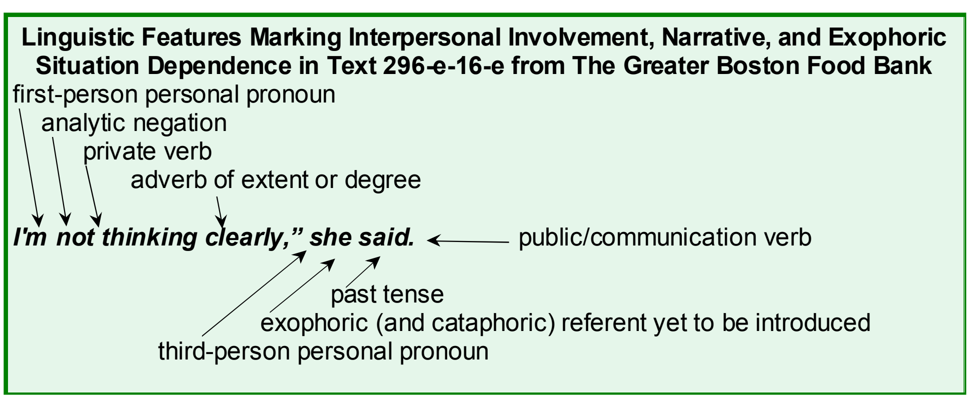


Figure 4.40 Multiple linguistic dimensions visible simultaneously in Greater Boston Food Bank text.

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-l: 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:

Kotler's Economic/Psychological Exchange Model

Donor → Nonprofit
Funds
Donor ← Nonprofit
Psychological Satisfactions

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.

THE VOICE *of* PHILANTHROPY SURVEY

Profiling Leaders Who Give Voice to the Causes of America's Elite Nonprofits

Your answers to this questionnaire will help to describe the cohort of fund-raising professionals who are leaders in the field of direct mail at America's elite nonprofits. Your input is very important because direct mail fund raising essentially *gives voice* to the people, causes and institutions served by these organizations. Your participation is voluntary, you will not be paid, and *your personal identity will be kept confidential*. Completing this survey indicates your informed consent to participate according to these standards of The Claremont Graduate University's institutional review board.

Figure 4.71 Introduction to The Voice of Philanthropy Survey.

Q 1a. What percent of your time is spent working in the area of direct mail fund raising? n=304

Q 1b. Please briefly describe your responsibilities related to direct mail fund raising. n=292

The following table summarizes respondent's answers with five key word codes. Subsumed under these key word codes are groups of words reflecting the range of respondents' answers to question 1b. The five key word codes used to summarize question 1b are: POSITION, PROCESS, MEANS, GOAL, FOCUS.

Time Spent	#	%
1% to 9%	77	25%
10% to of 24%	63	21%
25% to 49%	58	19%
50% to 74%	46	15%
75% to 99%	40	13%
100%	20	7%
Totals:	**304**	**100%**

Descriptions of Five Key Word Categories	#	%
1. POSITION: President/C.E.O. + Vice President + Director + Coordinator	118	41%
2. PROCESS: Annual + Membership	51	17%
3. MEANS: Direct + Mail	17	6%
4. GOAL: Fund + Resource + Response + Giving	54	18%
5. FOCUS: Development + Stewardship + Marketing	52	18%
Totals:	**292**	**100%**

Respondents' answers to Q1b. reflect five ways they viewed their work. Some chose to answer in terms of their *position*, citing a range arrayed in descending order of authority (e.g. from President/C.E.O. on one end to Coordinator at the bottom of the hierarchy). Respondents taking a *process* view used words not so much revealing rank as function (e.g. with titles like *annual fund* and *membership* that reflect *process*). Answers subsumed under the key word *means* emphasize the way money is raised (e.g. *direct* and *mail*) to highlight the medium. Those with a *goal* orientation used words that reflect the results they expect to achieve through their work (e.g. *fund*, *resource*, *response* and *giving*). Finally, *focus* words (e.g. *development*, *stewardship*, and *marketing*) reflect a view of the context in which the job operates; those viewing the work as *stewardship* may be thinking of the biblical notions on giving, while those using the term *development* may be thinking of the process of cultivating relationships with donors. Only one individual used the word philanthropy, and it thus was not chosen as a key word reflecting respondents views. In contrast, 30 individuals used the word marketing, suggesting an inclination of those in fund raising defaulting to a discipline that seems to have attempted to define functions and parameters of communication to achieve transactional results. In the end, these are loose interpretations, though they do have currency in the field of fund raising as a way to roughly quantify how individuals conceptualize their work.

Figure 4.72 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 1a and 1b.

Q2. What is the approximate full-time equivalent number of individuals in your organization who work in the area of direct mail? (For example, two individuals spending half time on direct mail would be the equivalent of one full time person) n=312

Staff Level	#	%
1 or Less	144	49%
More than1 to 5	125	43%
6 to 9	10	3%
10 to 24	8	3%
35 to 70	5	2%
100%	20	7%
Totals:	**312**	**100%**

At first glance it seems surprising that a large number of organizations operate with one or less individuals. Question 13, examined later in Figure 4.83, reconciles this seemingly unlikely circumstance by uncovering the fact that 62 percent of the organizations represented outsource part or all of their direct mail fund raising work to fund-raising or advertising agencies or to freelance specialists.

Figure 4.73 The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 2.

Q 3a. Have you ever written a direct mail fund appeal letter?
☐ YES ☐ NO n=304

Resp:	#	%
YES	249	82%
NO	56	18%
Total:	**304**	**100%**

Q 3b. If you said yes, how many (approximately) have you written in your career? n=247

Number of Letters Written in Career

First row = range written, second row = the number and % of respondents:

1-10	11-25	26-50	51-100	100-600
62 25%	66 27%	49 20%	34 14%	36 15%

Q 3c. If you said yes, how many (approximately) have you written within the past 12 months? n=308

Number of Letters Written this Year

First row = range written, second row = the number and % of respondents:

0	1-3	4-8	10-12	13-24	25+
130 42%	68 22%	54 18%	16 5%	27 9%	13 4%

What is surprising is that almost a fifth of those in leadership in the field of direct mail fund raising have never written a fund appeal letter themselves. It astounds me in the same way it baffles my wife, who is a teacher and has worked in establishing curriculum standards in her field for the state of California, that it is not uncommon for school administrators who have never taught in the classroom to exert control and supposedly give guidance on the subject of teaching. Similarly, something about one charged with running the direct mail fund raising of an organization who has never written a fundraising letter themselves seems problematic at the least. Of those who had written a fund-raising letter at some point in their careers, 42 percent had not written one in the past twelve months.

Figure 4.74. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 3a, 3b, and 3c.

Q4. What percentage of your organization's income is raised by direct mail fund raising? ____% n= 304

% Funds raised by direct mail:	# Orgs	% Orgs
None	11	4%
.1% to 1.9%	61	24%
2% to 9.9%	57	22%
10% to 25%	72	28%
26% to 50%	36	14%
51% to 100%	22	8%
Totals:	**304**	**100%**

Half of responding organizations raise less than half their income through direct mail. Yet the principles relevant to describing and judging direct mail and online discourse remain even to these organizations', since their ability to communicate their causes in the constrained discourse format of a web page or a 8-1/2" x 11" sheet of paper is a valid way to evaluate ability to use other media and venues of communication. It an be argued that organizations' ability to speak as *the voice of philanthropy* for constituents may be best measured by the constraints imposed by the media examined here. That is, if an organization can present a compelling reason to give on a single sheet of paper, then it can do so. On the other hand, if it cannot communicate well in such a small space, it may be unable to do so on a larger canvas either.

Figure 4.75. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 4.

Q 5. Please rate your organization's *effectiveness* this year in raising funds through direct mail n=208

First row = range of effectiveness: 1=Low; 2=Low-Medium; 3=Medium; 4=Medium-High; 5=High

Second row = number of respondents and the percentage of all respondents represented

1. Low	2. Low-Medium	3. Medium	4. Medium-High	5. High
23 11%	15 7%	90 43%	41 20%	39 19%

The statistics on direct mail effectiveness among the 208 respondents appears to be very normally distributed. Unfortunately, that normal distribution reflects that 18 percent perceive their organizations as doing a low or low-medium job raising money through direct mail and only 39 percent perceive their performance to be above normal.

Figure 4.76. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 5.

Q6. Approximately how many donor records are on your mailing list? n=294								
M = Thousands of names on lists **MM = Millions of names on lists** **Numbers below ranges = number of respondents** **Percentages below numbers responding = percent of respondents**								
<1M	**1M - 9.9M**	**10M - 49.9M**	**50M - 74.9M**	**75M - 199.9M**	**200M - 1MM**	**1MM - 4.9MM**	**5MM - 9.9MM**	**10MM - 18 MM**
13 4%	33 11%	81 28%	33 11%	60 20%	49 16%	18 6%	3 1%	4 1%

The 294 organizations reporting donor information indicates that the aggregate number of names on their combined mailing lists numbers 134,224,344 donors. This represents 44.4 percent of the U.S. Census Bureau's July 2007 estimate of the nation's population of 301,621,157, which was released by the U.S. Census Bureau on August 21, 2008. Although donors among the reporting nonprofits no doubt appear are on the lists of more than one organization among the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus, this represents a sizable segment of the U.S. population despite a certain degree of inevitable duplication among their lists U.S. Census Bureau, 2008).

Figure 4.77. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 6.

Q7. Roughly how many appeal letters do you mail in the following categories each year?
a. Current donor mail (to those who have given within the past 12 months)
b. Lapsed donor mail (to those who have not given within the past 12 months)
c. New donor acquisition mail (to prospective new donors) n= 241

Current Donor Mail	Lapsed Donor Mail	New Donor Acquisition Mail
6.6 per year	4.5 per year	4.2 per year

The aggregate mailings sent in 2006 by 241 organizations represents an average of 15.3 mailings per year per organization. However, this is not as it might appear at first glance as more than one per month. Rather, the 15. 3 per year is divided among three target groups—current donors, lapsed donors and prospective non-donors (acquisition lists). So the 15.3 mailings per year is divided among these three segments as follows—6.6 per year targeted to donors, 4.5 per year targeted to lapsed donors, and 4.2 per year targeted to prospective donor populations. While critics of direct mail (some among those commenting in the current survey) decry the low response rate and high cost of direct mail, evidence suggests that despite these negatives, the sheer volume of direct mail letters sent yields an increased volume of names on organizations' lists and ultimately provides positive revenue.

While acquisition mailings are seldom sent at a net profit, upon second and subsequent mailings to responders, acquisition costs are regained and positive revenues are realized even from mailings sent initially at a loss. A cognate in commercial marketing is the willingness of a merchant to sell certain items at cost or perhaps even at a loss to get a new customer to come in the door, and in some cases to thank a customer for their loyalty. In both cases the reasoning is that subsequent transactions will more than compensate for what can be perceived out of the longer-term context as an initial loss.

Figure 4.78. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 7.

Q 8. Please rate how important the following are in writing a direct mail fund appeal
a. Presenting major activities and themes
b. Describing specific needs for funds
c. Using an argument-centric (expository) writing style
d. Using a human-interest (narrative) writing style n=236

Scale: 1=Low; 2=Low-Medium; 3=Medium; 4=Medium-High; 5=High	
a. Presenting major activities and themes	3.81
b. Describing specific needs for funds	4.03
c. Using an argument-centric (expository) writing style	2.71
d. Using a human-interest (narrative) writing style	4.10

Among the issues surfaced by Connor and Upton's 2003 research of the ICIC Corpus was the fact that the direct mail copy of the average letter in their body of texts sounded more like academic prose than stories with features associated with Biber's Dimension 2 of linguistic variation, which measures traits associated with narrative. Though the scale for question 8 is ordinal, as the above data indicates, those who responded rated the use of human interest narratives a third higher in relative importance than argumentative and expository prose. This value came through in subjective comments like the following:
* *Human interest stories and the expressed written word of the epidemic of the disease seems to appeal to most of our DRM file.*
* *Know a good story when you see it.*
* *University degree (BS, MSW, MA, PHD) helped some; but life experiences helped a great deal (perspectives on storytelling*
* *Data analysis, telling the story, asking for specific amounts*.
* *Compelling story telling. Best way to learn: practice with professional criticism.*

Professionals in the field concur that telling stories is important. There is a big disconnect, however, between this view and their actual practice. Belief in the power of narrative to motivate giving and the ability to write a compelling story are quite different matters. This begs the question of how exactly those who write the discourse of philanthropy are educated (in validated theory) and trained (in theory-based practice) to write effectively.

Figure 4.79. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 8.

Q 9. What have been the main sources of what you have learned about direct mail fund raising, which have been the most helpful, and why? n=294

The following table reports the frequency of key words represented by the following codes: EHO; MVC; CSC; TPR; BRS. Respondents views are grouped using these codes. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received. No attempt has been made to clean up the original copy.

Key Words Describing Respondents' Main Sources of Learning About Direct Mail Fund Raising	**#**	**%**
1. EHO: Experience + Hands On + On-the-Job	77	25%
2. MVC: Mentors + Vendors + Consultants	67	23%
3. CSC: Conferences + Seminars + Classes	64	22%
4. TPR: Testing + Performance + Results	43	15%
5. BRS: Books + Reading + Samples	43	15%
Totals:	**294**	**100%**

The preferred learning style of those in development seems to overwhelmingly lean toward methods which place them in contact with other people through on-the-job training and contact with mentors and consultants. Sources of learning are subsumed above under five topics represented by the initials described above (EHO, MVC, CSC, TPR, and BRS). Several subjective comments illustrate these topics:
* *Co-workers, other direct mail directors in other institutions, conferences, our direct mail consultants.*
* *Having an outside creative team of analysts and creatives who are doing the same work for other organizations is invaluable.*
* *Direct experience, advice from mail professionals, short courses.*
* *Experience over the last 5 years--seeing what our donors respond to and what they don't. We also worked with a consultant for a few years, and that was helpful as well.*
* *Experience, work w/ good vendors, make lots of mistakes.*
* *Hands on experience. There is not a lot of formalized training for direct mail fundraising so most of what I have learned has been through on the job learning. Have learned mostly on the job, from my immediate supervisor.*
* *Have learned a great deal at CASE conferences and from our direct mail vendor, who has served as a type of consultant. The vendor has actually been the most helpful, as our rep has been able to tell us what has worked for other schools.*
* *Individual mentors, case conferences, books on fundraising, individual mentors have been most helpful as I am able to share thoughts and get feedback.*

Figure 4.80. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 9.

Q 10. For each of the following types of written communication, please *rate* 1.) your amount of hands-on personal *Experience,* 2.) your perceived level of *Writing Skill* and 3.) the overall *Importance* of each communication type to *your organization's* fundraising success. n=262

Scale: 1=Low; 2=Low-Medium; 3=Medium; 4=Medium-High; 5=High	Experience	Writing Skill	Importance
a. Fund Raising Case Statements	3.3	3.5	3.9
b. Annual Reports	2.8	3.1	3.3
c. Foundation Proposals	2.5	2.8	3.6
d. Speeches	3.1	3.2	3.2
e. Direct Mail Fund Appeal Letters	3.9	3.8	4.0
f. Thank You Correspondence	4.3	4.1	4.5
g. Promotional Literature	3.3	3.3	3.7
h. Press Releases	2.5	2.7	3.3
i. Web Content	2.8	3.0	3.9

The rankings above on experience and skill reflect very similar trend lines. The third set of rankings on the importance of types of written communication ranks grant (foundation) proposals slightly higher than the raters' experience and skill level with this genre of fund-raising texts. In all cases the thank you correspondence category ranked highest, which suggests a recognition on the part of fund raisers of the need to be attentive to affective interpersonal issues in their communication with donors. Direct mail second, and electronic web or online discourse ranking next on the list of importance. Consistently press releases and speeches rated last, suggesting perhaps the less direct contact of these media with donors makes them less strategic to fund raisers. The view of fund raisers toward foundation proposals may reflect a trend reflected in question 20 in which one respondent answered the question about what they saw themselves doing five years later this way: *I would like to be doing a wider variety of things in advancement (possibly including grant writing, alumni relations, etc."* Regardless, direct response writing for the mail and web seem to remain strong. Next respondents were asked to rate how they came to gain their writing skills.

Figure 4.81. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 10.

Q 11. For each of the following types of written communication, please *rate* 1.) your amount of hands-on personal *Experience,* 2.) your perceived level of *Writing Skill* and 3.) the overall *Importance* of each communication type to *your organization's* fundraising success. n=282

Scale: 0=Not Applicable1=Low; 2=Low-Medium; 3=Medium; 4=Medium-High; 5=High	Helpfulness of Mode:
a. Formal Academic Classes	3.5
b. Professional Seminars	3.5
c. Books	3.1
d. Guidance of Mentor(s)	4.3
e. Journal or Magazine Articles	3.1
f. Mediated Training (video, DVDs, tapes, etc)	2.5
g. On-the-Job Training	4.5
h. Other:	3.7

Clearly, the most significant methods by which fund raisers learn are on-the-job training and contact with mentors. It is unclear whether this is the most preferred, best or only means available. In their book profiling fund raisers (1997), Tempel and Duronio found that of 2,606 responding to their question about how best to improve the profession, 1,186 or 46 percent pointed to education as its greatest need. Yet direct contact with mentors with little formally codified knowledge apparent remains the primary means of education. Education and training on language use seems not to exist though a narrative and human-interest writing are affirmed in question 8 as highly important.

Figure 4.82. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 11.

Q 12. What do you feel you still need to learn most about direct mail fund raising, and what do you believe would be the best way you could learn it? n=164

The following table reports the frequency of key words represented by the following key word codes: AUD = Audience; DAT = Data; LAN = Language; PKG = Package; WEB = Web (e.g. Internet). These codes are noted below. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received.

Key Words Describing What Respondents Feel they Still Need to Learning About Fund Raising	#	%
1. AUD: Segment + Trend + Audience + Generation + Young	46	25%
2. DAT: test + data + analyze + mining + research + quantitative + stats + model	73	23%
3. LAN: writing + relationship + connect + mood + verbiage	24	22%
4. PKG: envelope + package	7	15%
5. WEB: web + technology + online + email + Internet	14	15%
Totals:	**164**	**100%**

The two words that came up most frequently under the key word code AUD were segment or segmentation, suggesting a desire among fund raisers to produce discourse that is as relevant as possible to readers. A sample of responses in this category include the following:

* *Be aware of the impacts of generational factors as an organization matures and as it's donor base changes.*
* *1. Segmentation strategy and personalized messaging 2. Marketing research and new print/web technologies.*

The second key word symbolized by DAT refers to data issues. Fund raisers are keenly concerned that they learn what works from empirical data and apply it to their work. Some of the respondents' comments that led to creating DAT as a key word follow:

* *How better to use data mining as an indicator for future success. I am starting with Target Analysis. Our office then hopes to work collaboratively with a consultant from BWF.*
* *Segmentation and consumer behavior, data integration, data mining*
* *Data mining, more market segmentation. I learn best from top practitioners in 1:1 conversation and trial and error.*

It is ironic that the last comment above mixes the thirst for data-driven knowledge with the acknowledged preference for learning by *conversation and trial and error.* The third key word code, LAN is comprised of 24 general references by respondents expressing their desire to learn more about language. As the following illustrates, these comments suggest that the respondents know they need to know how to do a better job communicating, but don't know how to put what they need to know into words:

* *Ability to connect a "heart" (emotional) appeal with a "head" (logical mission-based) appeal. Same way you get to Carnegie Hall… practice, practice, practice--and testing*
* *how to work in narratives of students and others who have benefited from donors. Need to examine more good examples of this*
* *Better verbiage and dist strategy for acquisition mailings.*
* *Capturing the mood in the story*
* *communications styles and applicability to audiences*
* *Compelling story telling. Best way to learn: practice with professional criticism*
* *continued work on writing emotional copy*
* *how to make messages more compelling*
* *Effective writing and design for response*

The fourth key word code—PKG—subsumes several notions related to the physical components of a direct mail *package*, usually considered to include 1.) the outgoing envelope (OGE), 2. a letter (LTR), 3. a reply device (RD) and 4.) a reply envelope (RE). Several comments expressed a need to learn more about these fundamental components:

* *How to optimize personalization and minimize the 'direct mail' feel or impersonal nature.*
* *format of different pieces, sample wording/ phrases, graphic design, use of copywriters*
* *How to personalize our communications to a mass audience even more than we do*
* *Searching for a foolproof way to make people open the envelope when it arrives amidst a sea of other mail.*
* *How to get people to open the envelope and then read at least the main points of the letter*

The last key word code created from comments views the emergence of Internet-based communications. Key words include *web*, *technology*, *online*, and *internet*. This is a particularly important arena of discussion in that from the comments of some respondents, organizations are hoping that the Internet to alleviate the more time-consuming and costly task of communicating by traditional postal mail. The following are several responses comments illustrating this trend:

* *Direct mail is beginning to play less of a role here as we move to more targeted appeals, web giving, etc.*
* *Continuing evolution of the field, integration with online communications and web site fundraising*
* *While I don't feel that there is a lot more I care to know about direct mail, I would like to learn the dos and don'ts of web content.*
* *Direct Mail vs. E-Mail and other interactive forms of communication*
* *keeping up with new modes of communications and selecting the appropriate methods for various segments*
* *Direct mail seems to impact our senior population. Those who are younger do not donate in this manner. We are exploring new ways to engage a younger market.*
* *How will direct mail appeal to the online savvy people and will there need to be a direct mail program in our future? Time will likely show us what the trend will be.*

Figure 4.83. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 12.

Q 13a. Does your organization use outside help (whether an advertising or fund-raising agency or freelance talent) to help with direct mail fund-raising campaigns? ⎕ YES ⎕ NO n=225			**Q 13b.** If yes, what % is out-sourced?	**Q 13c.** If yes, describe what functions you outsource:
Resp:	**#**	**%**		More than a dozen of the 225 organizations responding to this question outsource everything, describing this as follows: * *100% prospecting with internal direction -17 million (outsourced)* * *Acquisition list purchasing, letter writing, fulfillment.* * *All aspects of direct mail are outsourced.* * *Almost everything. They do all of our campaign planning, list brokerage, writing, plan selects. We collaborate heavily with them but they do the day to day work---they are like an extension of our office. We consider them as part of our staff.* The last quote above reflects the central role outside vendors, many of whom have themselves worked in the past with nonprofits themselves, are not only an important source of labor, but a brain trust for elite nonprofit organizations.
YES	159	62%	58%	
NO	66	38%		
Total:	**225**	**100%**		

Figure 4.84. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 13a, 13b, and 13c.

Q 14. What, in the coming year, do you think will be the most daunting challenge you will face in your direct mail work and why do your think so? n=179

The following table reports the frequency of key words represented by the following codes: ACQ = Acquire new donors; ROI = Return on Investment; MSG = Message; RRR = Retain, Renew, Regain; WEB = Web (e.g. Internet). Key words comprising these topics are noted below. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received.

Key Words Describing Respondents' Most Daunting Challenges	**#**	**%**
1. ACQ: acquisition + new donor + grow	47	26%
2. ROI: cost + budget + beat + ROI + performance	31	17%
3. MSG: message + write + segment + stories + get opened	60	34%
4. RRR: retain + renew + regain + lapsed + upgrade + increase	28	16%
5. WEB: web + online + Internet + email	13	7%
Totals:	**179**	**100%**

Of the five categories of daunting challenges above, acquisition of new donors (ACQ) rises to the top of the list:
* Acquisition is always our biggest challenge because our acquisition rate is low, and therefore our cost per new donor is high.

Second on the list of concerns is the need to maximize performance—variously expressed in terms of beating prior performance measures, keeping costs down while improving ROI (return on investment) to stay within budget.
* colleagues with no direct mail experience with "all the right answers" and directives to spend less and mail more.
* Unrealistic increases in expected income by the board.
* managing increasing donor base with limited staff
* The challenge to increase the mail program by 200% in the next 3 years

Third is the challenge of improving the essential message of their nonprofit organization's work. Frustrations are expressed in comments like the following that focus on getting mail opened, writing, segmentation of the message, and telling the story of the organization:
* How to get people to open the envelope and then read at least the main points of the letter.
* How to get someone to open the envelope.
* Connecting with the 22-35 year old segment of our population.
* Compelling story in format that stands out.
* Getting people to open the envelopes! Prospects report being flooded with mail from many organizations so the first step is to make your appeal stand out.

The fourth topic under daunting challenges is that of strategic considerations represented by the key word code RRR—retaining, renewing and regaining lapsed donors:
* Developing loyalty amongst our current benefactors. Renewing last years benefactors.
* Reinvigorating lapsed donors. The more daunting challenge is developing direct mail donors into larger donors, which is what I am currently working on.

Fifth is the topic of the WEB, even though data suggests less and less emails are being opened, and thus paper mail may in fact be a stronger medium in the future because email spam is taking on the taint that tarnished telemarketing after years of growth in that industry. It remains a concern, but I fear that many hold a false hope.
* Multichannel integration–we're far behind when it comes to web...we became very dependant on direct mail in the past.
* We encouraged as many people as possible to access our website and use our online donation center.
* We're purchasing a new integrated web tool for online giving and to host our web site. This will be a huge project for us.
* successfully shifting direct mail resources to online solicitations...direct mail is dying a slow death. Moving forward I plan to use it primarily as a retention tool...it has proven almost useless for acquisition.

Reading of the challenges that executives face might make one believe they hate their jobs. However, when asked what they liked most about their work, definite patterns emerged in the responses to question 15.

Figure 4.85. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 14.

Q 15. What do you like the most about your work in direct mail fund raising? n=227

The following table reports the frequency of key words represented by the following codes: ANL = Analytics; SUC = Success, CTV = Creativity; REL = Relationships; COM = Communication. Key words comprising these topics are noted below. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received.

Key Words Describing What Respondents Like Most About Their Work	#	%
1. ANL: results + account + measure + analyze + predict + strategy	71	31%
2. SUC: test + succeed + challenge	31	14%
3. CTV: creativity + ideas + new + craft + design	68	30%
4. REL: connect + help + difference + relate	18	8%
5. COM: story + emotion + empathy + write + articulate + compelling + message	39	17%
Totals:	**227**	**100%**

Overwhelmingly, the most rewarding part of their job for those working in direct mail fund raising is the ANL topic—analysis. Their work allows them to quantify results, account for the topics related to to success, measuring variables that allow them not only to analyze but also predict future performance. Some of their comments express these highly motivating traits:

* *Ability to measure results*
* *Ability to track responses and segment audiences.*
* *I'm a numbers person.... so I like the fact that you can track and measure it in a million different ways.*
* *unlike general advertising, there are actual results to measure your successes.*

Related to the measurability topic noted above, comparing general advertising with direct response advertising, are the SUC topic—success—that that allows practitioners to engage competitively against benchmarks and win, testing strategies against as objective criteria as if engaged in a challenging sport:

* *Challenge of building loyal growing donor base*
* *Challenge of creating a piece that gets great results.*
* *Challenge to succeed*
* *testing appeals for effectiveness and working to implement best practices*
* *I enjoy testing new ideas, fine-tuning the process, and seeing donor's responses*
* *the "buzz" of relatively quick results!*

The field of direct mail not only allows for measurement of performance and the chance to succeed, but to work in a creative environment:

* *Challenge of creating a piece that gets great results.*
* *Being creative and trying new approaches*
* *Creating an innovative appeal package.*
* *Creative outlet, managing responses (from "how dare you" to "I love it, and want to learn more"). One of the few areas of my work that's tangible—get to kick the tires!*

Corollary to the notion of creativity is that of the REL topic—a topic concerned with elements of building connections and relationships with donors and regarding which Biber's Dimension 1 measures texts for evidence of linguistic features that connect with readers:

* Cultivating the relationship and growing with the donor once the relationship has been established.
* *Connecting with donors and hearing why your letter touched them and compelled them to increase their giving.*
* *It's a challenge to try to really connect with donors, and the cause/purpose for the fundraising is significant*

Fund raisers particularly find the opportunity to make their connection with donors through stories motivating, although linguistic evidence suggests that by and large, they do not have command of the linguistic resources associated with narrative:

* *connecting with alumni-- telling stories of students*
* *Crafting cause concepts and uncovering stories to document results*
* *Casting the vision of what the work is doing to change lives.*
* *Gathering personal stories*

Figure 4.86. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 15.

Q 16. What do you like the least about your work in direct mail fund raising? n=132

The following table reports the frequency of key topics represented by the following codes: PRD = Production; ROI = Return on Investment, MSG = Message; SHD = Schedule; REL = Relationships; ADM = Administration. Key words comprising these topics are noted below. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received.

Key Words Describing What Respondents Like Least About Their Work	#	%
1. PRD: data + vendors + bidding + approvals + logistics + production + USPS	41	31%
2. ROI: cost + budget + return + response + ROI + waste + expenses + performance	34	26%
3. MSG: writing + repetitive + impersonal + formula + generic + junk + not fresh	25	19%
4. SHD: deadlines + schedule + delays + pressure + details	21	16%
5. ADM: meetings + coordinate + battles + debate + consult + strategy	11	8%
Totals:	**132**	**100%**

Direct mail, filled with details and potential *landmines* that require vigilance to manage minutiae, garners negative response among those motivated by creativity and story telling but dislike production—the PRD topic:

* *Anything related to production.*
* *Production management*
* *dealing with postal regulations.*

While some enjoy the challenge and fulfillment of achieving the ROI—return on investment—is also a negative to many:

* *dealing with mistakes, delays and rising costs.*
* *I like dealing with the cost of putting out the mailing the least.*
* *The process of bidding out the job and reviewing and approving invoices from the vendors.*

For every one who is motivated by the writing process another, perhaps a numbers person, is stymied by the process of communicating the message—the MSG topic:

* *Editing/rewrites by many other people at the institution. Original intended message can be lost!*
* *writing sometimes becomes tiresome*

The SHD topic—schedule and deadlines—is related to production, but the comments defining the dimension underscore the pressure topic involved:

* *The production side—worry with mail house to get the piece out.*
* *when programs/schools cancel scheduled appeals*
* *pressure of deadlines; technical difficulties with our database although it is improving*

Tied to the production and schedule issues are the problems many have with meetings and coordination issues—the administration (ADM) topic:

* *administration of the actual mailing itself.*
* *process delays; meetings required to explicate work process to internal departments involved in implementation elements of the work*

Figure 4.87. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 16.

Q 17. How can those new to the field of direct mail fund raising be better equipped for their jobs? n=245

The following table reports the frequency of key words represented by the following key word codes: LRN = Learning; MSG = Message; MSG = Message; KNW = Knowledge; EXP = Experience; NET = Networking. Key words comprising these topics are noted below. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received.

Key Words Describing How Respondents Feel Fund Raisers Can be Better Equipped	#	%
1. LRN: mentor + seminars + conferences + vendor + consult + class + train	74	30%
2. MSG : write + donor knowledge + samples + copy + trends + persuasion	63	26%
3. KNW: market + data + research + analytics + advertising + demographics	50	20%
4. EXP: experience + test + failures + on-the-job + hands on	37	15%
5. NET: others + examples + colleagues + peers + listen + list-serves	21	9%
Totals:	**245**	**100%**

The answers to the query about how newcomers to the field can best be prepared for their roles reflects in large part the ways individuals responding have learned and would like to learn in the future. Five key word categories were gleaned from their responses.

The first is represented by the key word code—LRN—describes preferred learning styles:

* *close mentoring, OJT*
* *seek out a mentor, talking with direct mail vendors*

The second key word code—MSG—refers to the need to learn from listening to donors, learning from the work product of others, and from trends:

* *I think the key is to make sure they understand the donor base they are communicating so that they can be effective in how they execute their direct mail pieces.*
* *By reviewing both successful and unsuccessful samples of solicitation letters.*

The key word code—KNW—refers to the need to learn from more formal sources of knowledge:

* *Have knowledge of donor trends, donor centered fundraising, demographics*
* *start in research, know audiences and demographics*
* *study persuasion theory and advertising research*
* *take direct marketing courses*

Key word code ESP refers to hands-on experience—learning by the experience of testing and sometimes even failing:

* *On the job training is the best teacher*
* *Test whatever you can, whenever you can. Learn from success and failures.*
* *The biggest issues is teaching them to track their results scientifically and to learn from their successes and failures*
* *Spend more time with experienced direct marketers.*

The last key word code—NET—emphasizes learning from ones peers and networking in general:

* *be patient, listen and learn from those with knowledge*
* *listen to as many people as possible, learn from their experiences*
* *networking ASAP with other professionals*
* Talk to other annual fund colleagues and take many professional seminars.

Figure 4.88. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 17.

Q18a What category best describes your organization's focus? n=271		
Nonprofit Sub-sector	**#**	**%**
A. Arts, Culture, and Humanities	22	8%
B. Education & Research	104	40%
C. Environment & Animals	7	3%
D. Health	45	17%
E. Human Services	36	14%
F. International	13	5%
G. Public, Societal Benefit	6	2%
H. Religion	20	8%
I. Other	10	4%
Totals*:	**263**	**100%**
*Note: While more than 304 individuals responded to at least one question, 41 did not identify the nonprofit of their organization.		

Figure 4.89. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 18a.

Q 18b. What is your organization's approximate annual income from donor contributions? n=217					
< $1 Million	**$1 - 4.9 Million**	**$5 - 9.9 Million**	**$10 - 19.9 Million**	**$20 - $49.9 Million**	**$50 Million +**
13/6%	26/12%	13/6%	34/16%	56/26%	75/34%

Figure 4.90. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey question 18b.

Q 19a. Tell me about yourself: **Q 19a.** Gender, **Q19b.** Age now; **Q 19c** Age when began working in fund raising n=259			
19a. Gender		**19b. Your Age now**	**19c. Age When Began**
Male: 105 (41%)	Female: 154 (59%)	44	30

Figure 4.91. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 19a, 19b, and 19c.

Q 20a. Tell me about your career:	**Years working in fund raising?**		**Years working in direct mail?**
	13.7		**9.4**
Q 20b. Do you view your work in direct mail fund-raising as a long-term career?	**Yes**	**No**	**Unsure**
	71%	10%	19%

Q. 20c. Five years from now, what would you like to be doing in your career?

The following table reports the frequency of key word codes describing respondents' aspirations: UPW = Upward Move; SME = Same, No Change; EXT = Exit Fund Raising; LAT = Lateral Move; CSL = Consulting. Key words comprising these topics are noted below. Note: grammar and syntax of quotes marked with asterisks are un-edited and appear as originally received.

Key Words Describing Respondents' Occupational Aspirations	**#**	**%**
1. UPW: president + vice president + director	34	30%
2. SME : annual giving + membership + writing + communication	26	23%
3. EXT: retire + commercial sector + advertising + teaching	21	19%
4. LAT: major donor + web + foundations + data + finance	13	12%
5. CSL: consulting + freelance	19	17%
Totals:	**245**	**100%**

The following are several excerpts reflecting the five key word codes listed above:

UPW—Upward Move:
* *5 years from now I will either be the President of my own Boys & Girls Club or work for our National Office.*
* *Fundraising or President of a University*
* *Vice President for Development or Institutional Advancement*

SME—Same, No Change:
* *Raising more money to help more animals!*
* *I think I'd be doing much of the same.*

EXT—Exit fund raising:
* *Public sector attorney*
* *Be full time with my own company.*
* *leading a CSR program for a corporation*
* *I expect to be retired. I am already a retired Marine Corps officer.*

LAT—Lateral movement in organization:
* *Working in Major Gifts*
* *Involved in the expansion of our institutions' web-based efforts*
* *Hope to continue in the communications/publications end of fundraising*

CSL—Consulting or freelance work:
* *I may consult or free-lance*
* *doing fundraising consulting work*
* *doing some freelance writing, both for direct mail fundraising and other avenues.*

Figure 4.92. The Voice of Philanthropy Survey questions 20a, 20b, and 20c.

Implications of Survey Data. So what? What is the essential message formed by this survey's data, does it matter, and if so how?

Assuming that writing the voice of philanthropy for those in need is at the very core of a nonprofit organization's work, the survey conducted among the leaders who are responsible to produce that discourse has gathered information on how they view their jobs, their performance, their challenges, and the training needed by those saddled with the responsibility of raising money with words. In particular, I have sought to understand how they were equipped for their own jobs and how they think newcomers to the field should be trained. Many job-central tasks were surfaced in subjective comments in response to survey questions. Prominent were such items as the analytic nature of the job, the challenge of segmenting their work to connect with various audiences, the chore it is to produce direct mail, the joy of seeing success and helping people, the tension of schedules, deadlines, and raising more than is spent on a given mailing.

One respondent summarized it well:

> As in any field, the best way to be better equipped is to come in every day with the mindset of a sponge and absorb everything anyone can teach you. No one Ii know in this field went to school for it. We all have our reasons as to how we got into this field, but once there, very few leave.

In the nonprofit sector the cognate of the domains of sales and marketing in the commercial sector what is said to donors—the voice of philanthropy—usually mediated via written discourse. However, as the data show that the vast majority of nonprofit discourse approaches donors mainly by reasoning with them, does little with language to connect at an emotional level, and tells virtually no stories of how lives are changed by their work. This was a shock to Connor and Upton. They seemed at a loss to explain it. Frankly I didn't believe it, and thought surely larger nonprofits would write quite different discourse. I was wrong. It was not only the same, but worse on some scales. The data of the corpus analysis confirms they do not use linguistic resources to connect with readers nor does their discourse show evidence of linguistic characteristics associated with narrative. Again: there is much reasoning; there is little connecting, and there is virtually no story telling.

Biber's quantitative analysis (1988); the research of Connor and Upton (2003) into the linguistic dimensions of the ICIC Corpus; my own analysis of the Dickerson IRS 880 Corpus; conversation analyses by Tannen (1989); narrative research by Rosen (1987), Longacre (1992, 1996, 1999, 2003) and Bal (1997); sociological research by Labov and Waletzky (1967) into patterns of stories in naturally occurring conversations; and the rhetorical perspectives from Aristotle to Burke (1945) have all observed that words can be harnessed to work together to produce effects. But the survey shows clearly that fund raising as a profession does not teach these skills. Even more telling in the survey of leaders of elite nonprofits is what they did not say. I noted above that when Stephen King asked his friend, *The Joy Luck Club* author Amy Tan, if there was one question she was *never* asked during Q-and-A times at speaking engagements, she "paused, thinking it over carefully, and then said: 'No one ever asks about the language'" (King, 2000 p. 8). Many knew there was a problem with direct mail either not getting opened at all, and if it got opened, it was not getting read. There seemed to be a lack of language, among respondents, with which to describe what they needed in the area of language. This was best put in the succinct reply one respondent gave when asked what would be the most daunting challenges faced over the coming year. He wrote: *Better verbiage*

As imprecise as his diagnosis was, it was also powerful in its simplicity. This person wanted to know how to communicate better with words. He, and probably less than one percent of fund-raising professionals, have any notion that quantitative measures exist which can score their prose based on the frequency counts of co-occurring linguistic features on dimensions seven dimensions of register variation. Yet such powerful tools can empower them to better function as the voice of philanthropy. By revealing the sources of knowledge practitioners deem have been helpful in preparing them for their work, this survey has confirmed a need to bring the tools of corpus linguistics as well as principles and practices of effective writing to fund-raising professionals.

No one, when asked what sources of knowledge have been useful, described educational or training experiences in rhetoric, linguistics or English. This is understandable. Most who work in the field come from a wide variety of backgrounds that would not have prepared them with such knowledge. Now that the data is quite clear that writers need help in this vital area, I hope professional associations in the field such as the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), the Association of Fundraising Professionals (AFP) and Association for Healthcare Philanthropy (AHP), Christian Management Association (CMA) and Christian Stewardship Association (CSA) will seek to accommodate this need in its training and education of professionals. I use the words training and education to differentiate and emphasize the importance not only of how-to *training* (usually the sole focus of professional associations), but also *education* (exposing professionals to cross disciplinary principles informed by research). Biber's MD-analysis has usefully shed the light of empirical linguistics research on fund raising discourse. This research confirms what Jerry Huntsinger (called the dean of direct mail fund raising) has advocated for three decades. In the preface to his book on writing direct mail letters, Jerry Huntsinger (1992) discusses two issues that parallel the linguistic features measured by Biber's first two dimensions of linguistic variation—Dimension 1 that measures features which create interpersonal involvement and Dimension 2 which measures the presence of narrative in texts:

> 1. Specific need raises money. Just about always. But there is an extremely logical reason for this. People give you money because they want to help you carry out your mission and goals. And if you are such a splendid administrator that no major challenges face you, then why should they give you money?
>
> In other words, they want to help you, but your job is to convince them that you need their help. Sure, you must be a good manager. But so what? Your job in a fund raising letter is to communicate need. Not focus attention on your brilliant administration.
>
> 2. Get more of your ego into the letter. Talk about yourself. Refer to yourself. Don't be reluctant to say "I."
>
> The false modesty of a lot of executive directors is a bunch of nonsense. A colossal cop out. Your donors don't want a letter from a stuffy, institutionalized nonentity. Instead, they want to hear from a warm, compassionate, real live person, that loves a lot, and laughs and breathes and cries about the suffering of human beings. To raise money by mail, you must share a part of yourself with your donors. . . .
>
> 3. Tell more stories this year about the real live people being helped by your organization. If you know me, you know that I fuss about this all the time. I'm opposed to the sterilized, institutionalized, case statement approach to fund raising. Not only is it boring to write, but it doesn't raise much money.
>
> Your donors want to help needy people, not your organization. And the best way to motivate them is to tell them about the people you are helping. They don't care very much about your budget, your theology, your philosophy, your administrative methods. They only care about one thing: "How is my money going to help a real live human being?" (1992, pp. 2, 3)

My survey of fund raisers among America's elite nonprofit organizations revealed an incredibly motivated and driven cohort of professionals. They are curious, highly intelligent, and have the ability to work on both creative and analytic tasks. They are motivated by measurable results that raise funds for causes and institutions that ultimately help people. They tolerate but do not like administrative detail and are eager to improve results. Reading the full range of survey responses one gets the sense were they given knowledge that would help them improve work, they would eagerly accept, study apply it. It is hoped this research can contribute to that end. One of the recurring comments made in the survey now leads to the last major area of research in this study. The third area of research in this study shifts from linguistic to paralinguistic variables—actually what I call more precisely *paratextual* variables that enhance physical context—packaging. Wile not textual, lack of attention to the contextual variables can render the textual irrelevant, if a message never gets read. I suggest that nonlinguistic symbols can have the same polar effects on the communicative character of a direct mail piece as the linguistic features Biber identifies and segregates between those that focus on informational content versus those that focus on interpersonal relationships. In fact, even though a letter may be written with the interpersonally involving and interesting with narrative, those traits would be irrelevant were the envelope never opened. The following 21 responses appear substantially in the same form as originally submitted, thus some syntactical and grammatical disfluencies. Nevertheless, they highlight a dominant concern among professionals in fund raising that the impersonal look of most direct mail prevents it from even getting opened. The rest of this research addresses this problem, given voice in the following 21 responses reproduced as they were written in Figure 4.93 (highlighting added).

Comments of Respondents Who Cited the Difficulty Faced in Getting Mail Opened:

- Reaching younger prospects who don't open their mail
- Identifying creative and interesting ways to communicate case. Getting people to open the envelope.
- getting the right list/prospect pool-- more research getting the envelope opened—more testing
- getting more people to open the envelope--phone solicitation reveals our DM not read
- Biggest challenge--producing attractive pieces that people will open
- Getting people to open the envelopes! Prospects report being flooded with mail from many organizations so the first step is to make your appeal stand out.
- getting non donors to open mail. 80% of gifts come from 20% of base
- good addresses and getting folks to open their mail—it is the challenge
- getting donors to open letters. Too much mail
- getting pieces opened
- I think our biggest challenge moving forward will be to continue to get out mail opened and to be able to make our institution stand out among the others. There are SO MANY organizations asking for money, that it seems much more like a competition than it used to.
- getting people to open the letters
- Still looking for a very simple way to "connect" to mail recipients. Also searching for a foolproof way to make people open the envelope when it arrives amidst a sea of other mail.
- They need to understand the methods of getting someone to actually open their piece, and not discard it.
- Strategies on how to get your mail opened and not thrown out right away. And describing your cause and explain where the money goes.
- Learn from others. Look into ways to get your mail opened.
- How to get people to open the envelope and then read at least the main points of the letter. Experience, and market research.
- We've also deduced that direct mail on regular letterhead often does not get opened—you need something that grabs at the attention.
- How to get someone to open the envelope. Trial and Error.
- Reaching younger prospects who don't open their mail
- getting donors to open the mail piece—our donors have low affinity with the university and rarely open anything we send. not necessarily because it is a fundraising appeal, but because they see it is from the university in general. also, building a better case of support in the letter that resonates with prospects (right now, I receive very few "needs" from academic areas; also, examples provided to show how previous contributions have been used are weak)

Figure 4.93. Nothing else matters if the envelope doesn't get opened.

Measures of Change Attributable to Paratextual Variation in Package among Six Direct Mail Campaigns

As Prosody Enhances Speech Paratext Enhances Text. Biber's Dimension 1 distinguishes between informational and interpersonal characteristics of written and spoken communication. On one end of that continuum is academic prose. On the other end are personal conversations. A central consideration of this research is whether direct mail fund-raising discourse reads more like a dissertation or a friendly personal letter. This question, when limited to printed and online texts, considers how certain linguistic features (e.g. private verbs and contractions) can enhance the interpersonal and conversational character of a text. These features can enhance the same words whether spoken or written. When spoken, even more can be done to increase interpersonal involvement with hearers through prosody (e.g. changes in pitch, tone, and pace) and physical gestures (e.g. a frown, a smile, a sigh, or a laugh).

As prosody and gesture add greater control and emotional range to the *spoken* word, so paratextual variables add greater control and emotional range to the *written* word. Similar to the way a rise in volume can add drama, a whisper can add intensity, or a pounded fist can communicate passion in *speech*, so can physical traits (*para*text) affect the way a *written* text is received. A paperback book, for example, gets a far different reception than a leather-bound volume with a title lettered in gold leaf. The leather and gold are elements of *para*text that communicate elegance, prestige, and value. Similarly, in the genre of fund-raising discourse, the way a mail piece is *presented* determines the way it is *received*. This research assumes that in addition to language, adjusting paratextual physical characteristics of a mailing package can also affect the communicative impact of text. That is, if a mail piece is marked by traits that make it look like the vast majority of mass-produced marketing mail (*junk mail*), it may not even get opened, much less read. Conversely, if a mail piece can be made to look important and better yet personal, it may not only get opened but read as well.

Therefore, fund raisers continue to test ways to manipulate paratextual variables to increase response. Some argue that by making nonprofit mail look more like personal correspondence sent by first class mail, response can be increased. This research adds six more tests to this genre of investigations. I test several paratextual features: 1.) using real and computer simulated handwriting to address envelopes and write personal notes on letters or note cards; 2.) varying stock and dimensions from the traditional text weight, letter size to a more personal 6" x 9" (folded to 4-1/2" x 6") greeting card format; 3.) consistent with these size and format shifts, using an understated invitation style envelope (e.g. an A-6 4-3/4" x 6-1/2" size) instead of the conventional rectangular business-style envelope; 4.) using first class presort rather than full-rate first class postage stamps, 5.) canceling these discounted stamps with the same round *town-circle* mark that the Post Office prints to the left of a first class stamps, along with the wavy lines that deface the stamps. (This mark, when added by an authorized mail shop is called a mailer's postmark. I call this paratextual variable a PostCode.)

A legitimate question may be raised regarding the relevance of measuring the influence of paratextual variation in a study comprised primarily of linguistic data. Concern with persuasive content of physical features in direct mail packages would indeed be superfluous were the impact of a text constrained only by words themselves, or were the overarching purpose of this research limited to the identification of register variation patterns. However, in the context of describing the communication tasks of nonprofit leaders when they speak as the voice of philanthropy for people and causes, a valid consideration is how physical characteristics of direct mail packages empower or diminish that. Therefore, this research also seeks to differentiate between paratextual variables in direct mail fund raising that are interpersonally involving and those that are primarily focused on informational content. In her *Talking Voices* (1989) Tannen posited that this informational-interpersonal continuum as a more robust model for explaining language variation than the simple bifurcation of texts as either oral or literate categories. The former is merely a nominal categorization, while the latter is more of an operational definition—classifying texts based on what they do. Tannen's insight presaged and informed Biber's later empirical quantitative analyses that empirically affirmed the co-location of specific linguistic features fitting this model. So the validation for examining more than words alone is the same justification that Tannen found when she expanded her paradigm of discourse analysis beyond bifurcation into oral or literate categories to a more fundamental differentiation among texts based on their contribution on a creating a focus on informational content or interpersonal involvement. The justification, then, for considering paratextual variation is the reality that physical characteristics work alongside texts to produce their character.

Because my research design does now allow for interviews among recipients of mailings to determine their attitudes toward different packages, measurements are limited to response differences attributed to variation in package design. Moreover, the behavior correlated with package variation is, in fact, more important than opinions of which packages individuals like or dislike. Therefore, I measure results vis-à-vis the effect of package variation on ten measurements that follow descriptions of the six packages tested. The first five packages tested were produced in 2004 and 2005 by the American Heart Association. The sixth package was produced in 2003 by Franciscan Friars of the Atonement.

Overview of Six Tests of the Impact of Paratextual Variables. The American Heart Association (AHA) is headquartered in Dallas Texas. AHA ranks 14th on the Dickerson IRS 880 list, raising $467,576,977 in direct support (990 line 1b), $14,042,370 in indirect support (990 line 1c), and $17, 500 from government grants (990 line 1d). Their form 990 grand total for funds raised during the tax year ending on June 30, 2007 was 481,636,847 (990 line 1e). AHA had already tested mailings produced with real handwriting and had seen response rates improve. It was assumed that the paratextual variable of handwriting made mail look more personal and thus had led to the increase in response. Confident that a valid link had been established between hand addressing and hand-written notes and increased response rates, AHA wanted to see if equal or better results could be achieved using a package design produced with less expensive computer-simulated handwriting. Thus, the AHA 2004 tests compare performance of a note card package produced with Computer HandScript simulated handwriting in three tests: 1.) against an identical package produced with *real* handwriting, 2.) against a gift box of greeting cards, and 3.) against a half-page letter called a double-remit form. Then wishing to save even more on production costs, their 2005 renewal campaign tested a less expensive version of simulated handwriting which, to distinguish it from Computer HandScript, will be referred to as Fake HandFont.

Below I first reproduce elements of the Computer HandScript test package and the three control packages mailed by AHA in their 2004 renewal campaign. Then later I also reproduce elements of AHA's 2005 renewal package, and the outer envelope of a final test conducted for Franciscan Friars of the Atonement (FFA). All illustrations have been reduced in size and some aspect ratios have adjusted slightly to accommodate page constraints. Following the presentation of packages tested, I report results on a master table, compare key performance indicators, and finally discuss the implications of findings presented.

By way of credit and disclosure, I wish to thank Sherry Minton and Renee Warner of the American Heart Association (AHA) who were the source of the data presented below, reflecting the results of their 2004 and 2005 donor renewal direct mail fund-raising campaigns. They kindly granted me permission to present their findings. The Computer HandScript version of simulated handwriting tested in their 2004 campaign was created from samples of my own penmanship. For the 2005 campaign, AHA chose to use not Computer HandScript, but a more economical Fake HandFont that required no special programming. The Fake HandFont lacked the connectivity between all letters of the alphabet and lacked alternate versions of characters, which traits gave Computer HandScript greater realism in contrast, but which also made it more costly to use. The AHA2004 and 2005 campaigns were managed directly by AHA and implemented through a network U.S. marketing and production agencies located on the U.S. East Coast, Midwest and South. After the campaigns were complete, Renee Warner emailed results in Excel spreadsheet format at the direction of Sherry Minton. That data forms the bases of comparisons made between text panels that follow.

Results of the final test reported here was conducted by Franciscan Friars of the Atonement, a Catholic religious community headquartered in Garrison, New York. Founded in 1898, the order has social, ecumenical and pastoral ministries in the United States, Canada, England, Italy, and Japan. Because religious organizations are not required to report income to the IRS 990, no financials are available on FFA. Their test sought to measure any difference attributable to the use of a paratextual variable described above—printing a mailers postmark (PostCode) across precanceled stamps. The AHA campaign measured (panel 5A) the affect of canceling first class presort stamps; this campaign measured (panel 6A) the affect of canceling nonprofit stamps. A 20,000-piece mailing was evenly divided and half the mailing was cancelled with PostCode and half was mailed naked—with no cancellation mark. In contrast to the lack of hands-on involvement in production that characterized my involvement with the 2004 and 2005 AHA campaigns (tests 1-5), I personally managed and produced this smaller campaign for FFA. However, like the AHA campaigns, because donors responded directly to FFA, I received all data on the results of the test from the order's director of development, Ray Morrissey. I wish to acknowledge and thank Ray for granting me permission to report findings from the test conducted in 2003. Following their campaign, he emailed to me a summary of results tallying the difference in response between panels 6A and 6B, reported below. These results follow presentation of the AHA campaign information and presentation of the FFA campaign package, which art is limited to the only item that varied in the panels—the outer envelope.

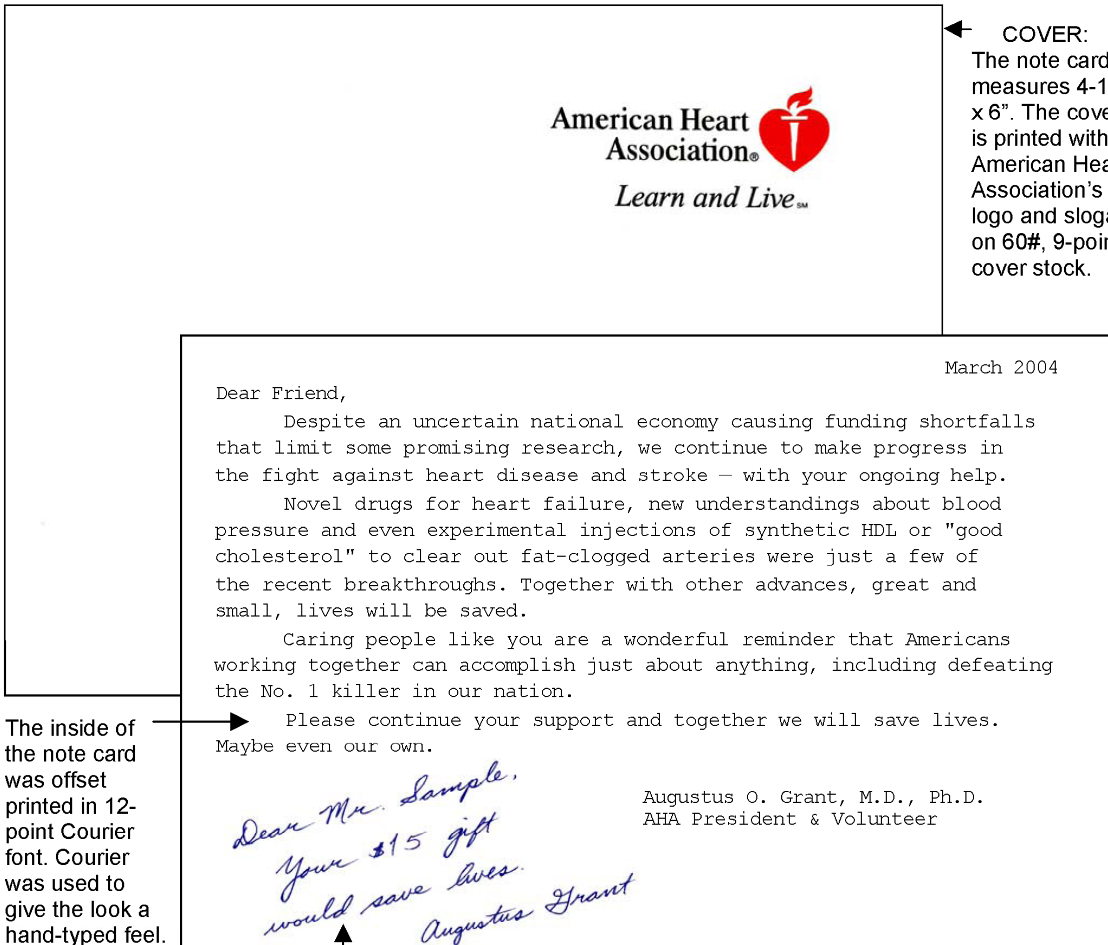
Like the commercial marketplace, much of the nonprofit sector allows competitive forces to hinder the free sharing of campaign data like that presented here. Agencies in particular are constrained by their relationships with their clients, thus results are generally considered proprietary, since knowledge that leads to improvements in response, net income, and long-term donor loyalty are considered a competitive advantage. Therefore it is particularly encouraging that these two organizations have been willing to share knowledge from their work, which can benefit other nonprofit organizations. Their generosity is consistent with the spirit of philanthropy, which seeks to put the interests of others ahead of self-interest. Moreover, as a graduate student in need of data, they were kind and helpful. I now present facsimiles of the results of these three campaigns.

American Heart Association 2004 Donor Renewal Campaign.

PACKAGE 1 -- Computer HandScripted Note Card (TEST):

The test package was personalized in Computer HandScript simulated handwriting. In the description above and the tables to follow, the same package is identified as 1A, 2A, and 3A. PACKAGE 1 was targeted to all three segments of the March 2004 renewal mailing in head-to-head tests against AHA's three control packages, described next. Its four components, shown below, include 1.) **Fold-Over Note Card** with preprinted body copy and Computer HandScript-personalized P.S. note, 2.) **A-6 Outgoing Envelope** addressed in the same simulated handwriting, 3.) **# 6-1/4 Reply Envelope**. 4.) **Personalized Reply Device**. Specifications accompany illustrations below.

1. Fold-Over Note Card



American Heart Association®

Learn and Live℠

March 2004

Dear Friend,

Despite an uncertain national economy causing funding shortfalls that limit some promising research, we continue to make progress in the fight against heart disease and stroke — with your ongoing help.

Novel drugs for heart failure, new understandings about blood pressure and even experimental injections of synthetic HDL or "good cholesterol" to clear out fat-clogged arteries were just a few of the recent breakthroughs. Together with other advances, great and small, lives will be saved.

Caring people like you are a wonderful reminder that Americans working together can accomplish just about anything, including defeating the No. 1 killer in our nation.

Please continue your support and together we will save lives. Maybe even our own.

Augustus O. Grant, M.D., Ph.D.
AHA President & Volunteer

Dear Mr. Sample,
Your $15 gift
would save lives.
Augustus Grant

COVER: The note card measures 4-1/2" x 6". The cover is printed with American Heart Association's logo and slogan on 60#, 9-point cover stock.

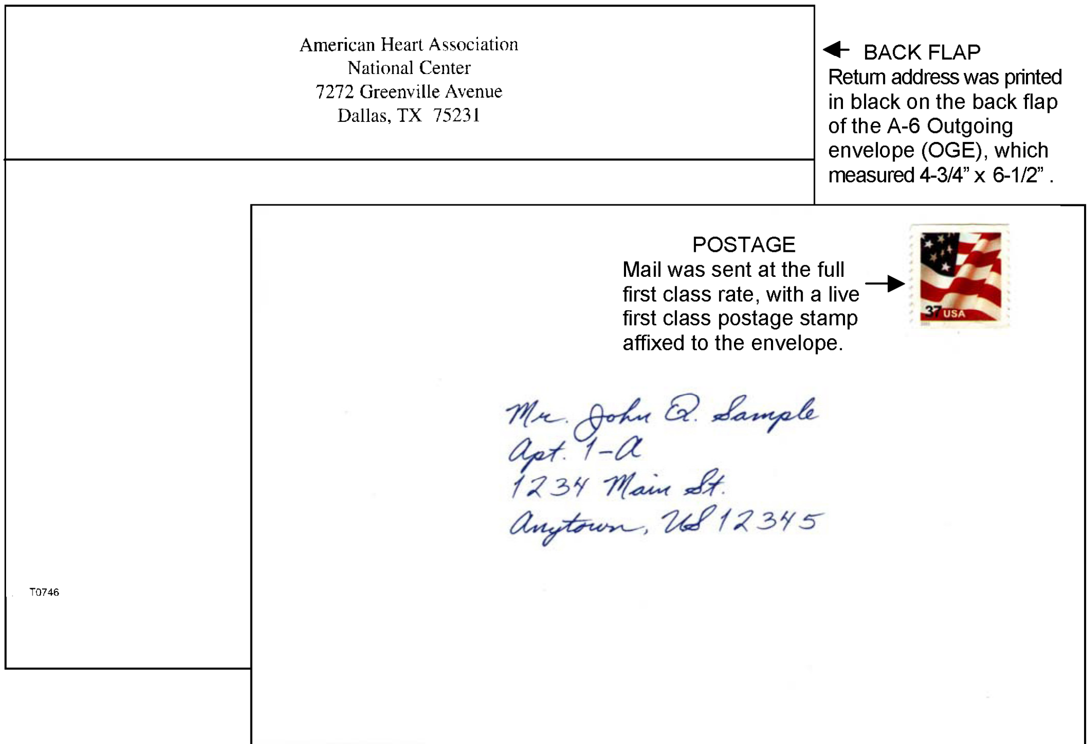
The inside of the note card was offset printed in 12-point Courier font. Courier was used to give the look a hand-typed feel.

COMPUTER HANDSCRIPT-PERSONALIZED P.S. NOTE:

While the body copy of the note card was preprinted, a Computer HandScripted note, personalized with the donor's name, was printed at the bottom. The Computer HandScript used differs from out-of-the-box simulated handwriting fonts in that it was created from samples of real handwriting. Graphic glyphs were scanned, stored and connected to one another like genuine handwriting with a computer program that swapped individual ***un-***connected characters for pairs of ***connected*** ones. The program also contained several alternate *versions* of many letters to add variety and thus realism to the HandScript (especially letters that join above the baseline).

Figure 4.94. American Heart Association Package 1: Fold-over A-6 Computer HandScript note card with inside body copy typed in Courier, and P.S. printed in authentic-looking computer-simulated handwriting.

2. A-6 Outgoing Envelope



OUTGOING ADDRESS:
The envelope was also addressed in Computer HandScript. Note the realistic look—how the letter ***o*** in J*o*hn is slightly different than the letter ***o*** in *Anytown*. Also, the letters ***b***, ***o***, ***v***, and ***w*** connect to adjacent letters ***above*** the baseline. Rather than leaving unnatural gaps as with simpler handwriting fonts, with Computer HandScript these letters connect, as illustrated by the ***o*** and ***w*** of *Anytown*.

Hypothesis AHA Wanted to Test

AHA wanted to see if they could get equal or better results with a less expensive simulated handwriting package as they had with mail personalized by human hand. They assumed that to work, the HandScript had to look real.

Which is Real Handwriting and Which is Computer HandScript?

The realism of the Computer HandScript that AHA chose to use is reflected in the following samples comparing real handwriting and Computer HandScript. One of the following lines was written in my own penmanship, scanned, then copied and pasted into the document. The other was created from a Computer HandScript created from my own handwriting (the AHA test was conducted using a Computer HandScript made from samples of my penmanship).

On the Next Page, the Question of Which Line Was Written by Hand and Which was Printed is Answered . . .

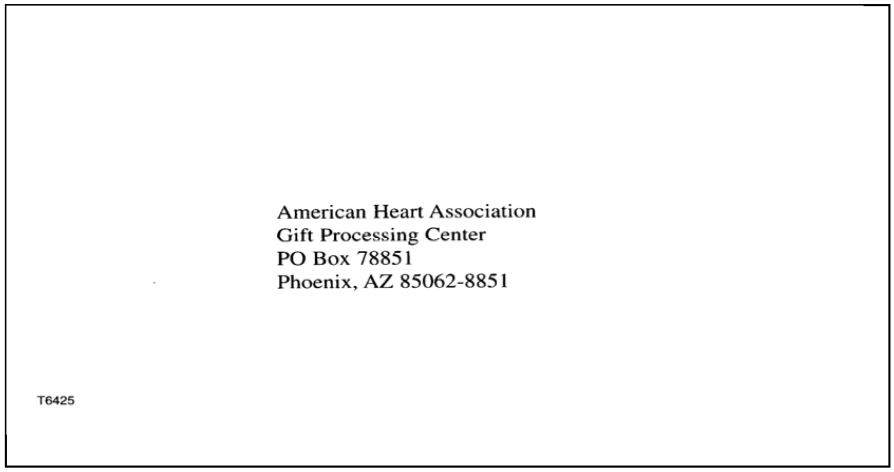
Line1: Is this real or Computer HandScript?

Line 2: Is this real or Computer HandScript?

Figure 4.95. American Heart Association Package 1: A-6 outgoing envelope addressed in Computer HandScript by variable data printing

3. # 6-1/4 Reply Envelope

CRE
The package included a # 6-1/4 Courtesy Reply Envelope (CRE) that measures 3-1/2 x 6”, printed on 24# white wove. Tests 1-3 do not use a stamp on the CRE.


American Heart Association
Gift Processing Center
PO Box 78851
Phoenix, AZ 85062-8851

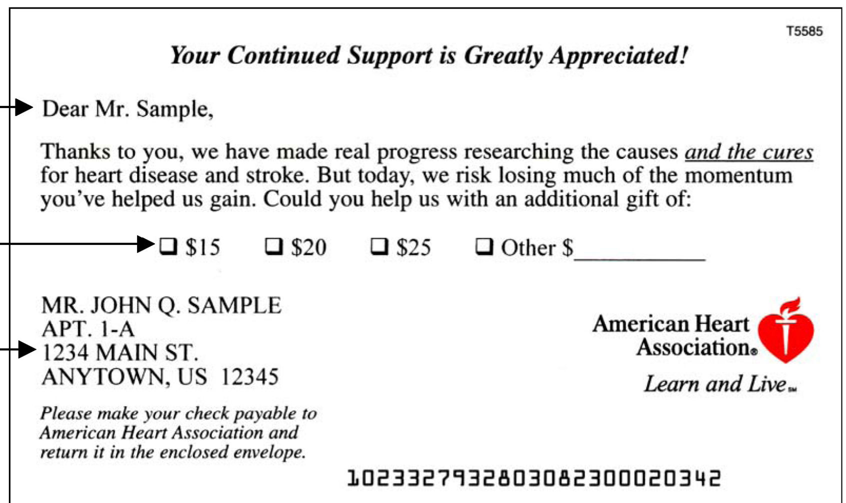
T6425

4. Reply Device

The donor’s name was used to personalize the salutation area of the reply device.

A *gift string*, a a suggested gift level series, was created.

Donor name and address data was printed.


T5585

Your Continued Support is Greatly Appreciated!

Dear Mr. Sample,

Thanks to you, we have made real progress researching the causes *and the cures* for heart disease and stroke. But today, we risk losing much of the momentum you’ve helped us gain. Could you help us with an additional gift of:

❑ $15 ❑ $20 ❑ $25 ❑ Other $___________

MR. JOHN Q. SAMPLE
APT. 1-A
1234 MAIN ST.
ANYTOWN, US 12345

American Heart Association®
Learn and Live℠

Please make your check payable to American Heart Association and return it in the enclosed envelope.

1023327932803082300020342

REPLY DEVICE
The reply device measured 3-1/2” x 6” and was printed on 60# bond text weight stock. The body copy was lasered in 12-point Times Roman font and the logo and American Heart Association slogan were preprinted in black and red ink.

The answer to the question: Which Line Was Written by Hand and Which was Printed in Computer HandScript?

Q: On the previous page I showed two samples and asked which looked real and which looked computer simulated.

A: The handwriting sample on line 1 was written ***in my own hand***. I wrote the question with a blue pen, scanned the line with an EPSON 4990 flatbed scanner, saved it as a 58 KB TIF file, then simply pasted into a text box.

The handwriting sample on line 2 was created from a ***Computer HandScript*** made from samples of my own handwriting. This is the same simulated handwriting used in the AHA tests. I first typed the words in Times Roman, then ran the text through a conversion program that joined the letters and even substituted a new single letter pair (***om***) for the individual letters ***o*** and ***m*** in the word C*omputer* to avoid an unnatural-looking gap.

Figure 4.96. American Heart Association Package 1: American Heart Association Package 1: # 6-1/4 courtesy reply envelope and reply device.

PACKAGE 2 -- Real Hand-Written Note Card (CONTROL):

The second package, identified as 2B, was personalized in real handwriting. It is one of three control packages that the Computer HandScript package was tested against. Like PACKAGE 1, it consisted of four items, but varied slightly as shown on the next three pages: 1.) **Fold-Over Note Card** with preprinted body copy and a Computer HandScript-personalized P.S. note (the same card as package 1, but personalized by hand), 2.) **A-6 Outgoing Envelope** (the same envelope as package 1, but addressed in real handwriting), 3.) **# 6-3/4 Reply Envelope** (a slightly wider envelope, and as a result it had to be folded to fit into the A-6 outgoing envelope). Plus, because this package did not include a reply device, the donor information was ink-jetted onto the back of the reply envelope. 4.) **Buck Slip** (a 3"x5" legal disclaimer). Specifications accompany the illustrations below.

1. Fold-Over Note Card

COVER:
The second card is identical to the first, with the featuring the American Heart Association logo and cut line on the cover, printed on 60# cover stock. The inside of the card is again is offset printed in 12 point Courier type.

American Heart Association®
Learn and Live℠

Dear Friend, March 2004

Despite an uncertain national economy causing funding shortfalls that limit some promising research, we continue to make progress in the fight against heart disease and stroke - with your ongoing help.

Novel drugs for heart failure, new understandings about blood pressure and even experimental injections of synthetic HDL or "good cholesterol" to clear out fat-clogged arteries were just a few of the recent breakthroughs. Together with other advances, great and small, lives will be saved.

Caring people like you are a wonderful reminder that Americans working together can accomplish just about anything, including defeating the No. 1 killer in our nation.

Please continue your support and together we will save lives. Maybe even our own.

Augustus O. Grant, M.D., Ph.D.
President and Volunteer

Mr. Sample your $50 gift would save lives. Augustus Grant

INSIDE NOTE CARD:

The body copy of the second version is identical to the first, except at the bottom, the message is penned in *real* handwriting this time, instead of printed in Computer HandScript *simulated* handwriting.

Figure 4.97. American Heart Association Package 2: Fold-over A-6 size Genuine HandWriting note card with inside body copy typed in Courier, and P.S. penned in real human handwriting.

2. A-6 Outgoing Envelope

American Heart Association
National Center
7272 Greenville Avenue
Dallas, TX 75231

BACK FLAP
Return address is printed in black on the back flap of the 4-3/4" x 6-1/2") A-6 OGE (Outgoing envelope).

Mr. John A. Sample
123 Main St.
Anytown, US 12345

OUTGOING ADDRESS

The envelope used with PACKAGE 2 was addressed in real rather than simulated handwriting.

3. # 6-1/4 Reply Envelope

CRE

Package 2's # 6-3/4 Courtesy Reply Envelope measures 3-5/8 x 6-1/2", printed on 24# white wove. This is a slightly larger than PACKAGE 1's CRE and had to be folded to fit inside the A-6 outgoing envelope as a result.

American Heart Ass
Gift Processing Cent
P.O. Box 71-1870
Columbus, OH 4327

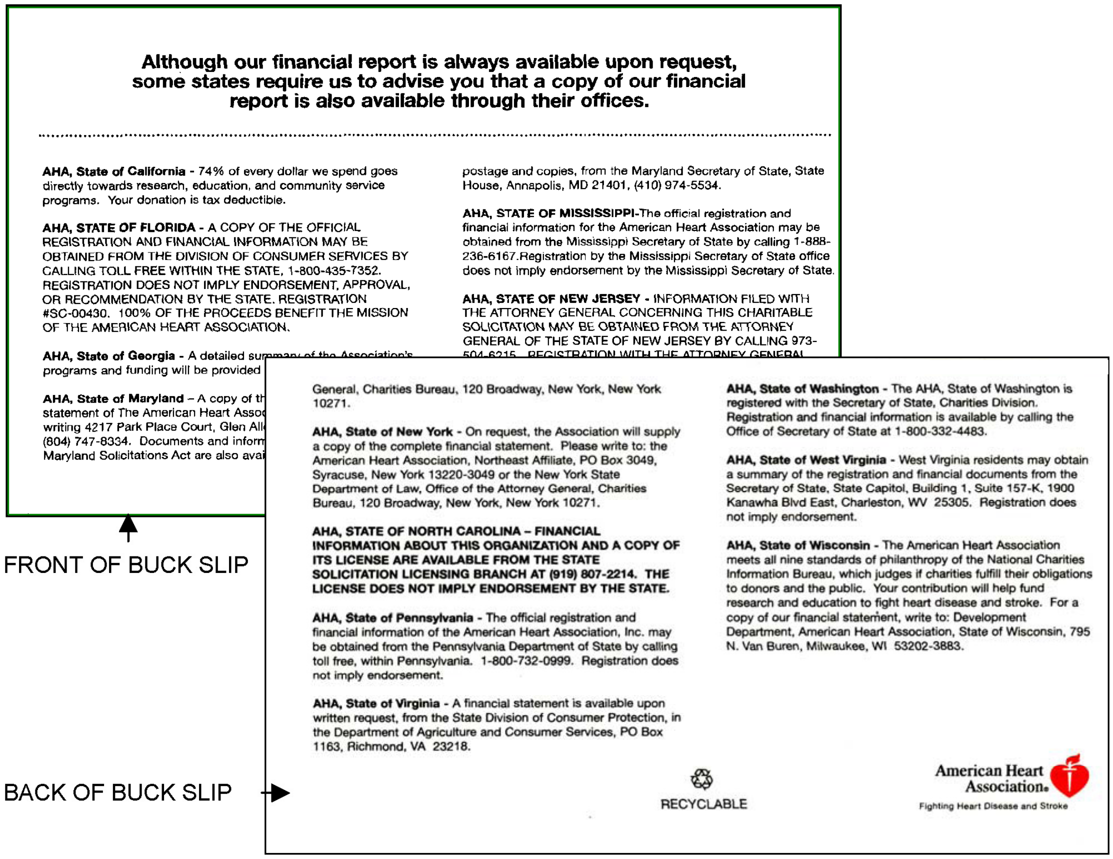
Thank you for your help, Mr. Sample!
999911119999

Mr. John Q. Sample
123 Main Street
Anytown, US 12345

The *salutation* of the Thank you note on line back of the CRE is also used in the P.S.. Donor information that had been printed on the reply device of PACKAGE 1 was printed the back of PACKAGE 2's CRE,.

Figure 4.98. American Heart Association Package 2: A-6 outgoing envelope addressed in Genuine HandWriting by pen and ink & CRE.

4. Buck Slip


Although our financial report is always available upon request, some states require us to advise you that a copy of our financial report is also available through their offices.

AHA, State of California - 74% of every dollar we spend goes directly towards research, education, and community service programs. Your donation is tax deductible.

AHA, STATE OF FLORIDA - A COPY OF THE OFFICIAL REGISTRATION AND FINANCIAL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE DIVISION OF CONSUMER SERVICES BY CALLING TOLL FREE WITHIN THE STATE, 1-800-435-7352. REGISTRATION DOES NOT IMPLY ENDORSEMENT, APPROVAL, OR RECOMMENDATION BY THE STATE. REGISTRATION #SC-00430. 100% OF THE PROCEEDS BENEFIT THE MISSION OF THE AMERICAN HEART ASSOCIATION.

AHA, State of Georgia - A detailed su... programs and funding will be provided

AHA, State of Maryland – A copy of th... statement of The American Heart Assoc... writing 4217 Park Place Court, Glen All... (804) 747-8334. Documents and inform... Maryland Solicitations Act are also avai...

postage and copies, from the Maryland Secretary of State, State House, Annapolis, MD 21401, (410) 974-5534.

AHA, STATE OF MISSISSIPPI-The official registration and financial information for the American Heart Association may be obtained from the Mississippi Secretary of State by calling 1-888-236-6167.Registration by the Mississippi Secretary of State office does not imply endorsement by the Mississippi Secretary of State.

AHA, STATE OF NEW JERSEY - INFORMATION FILED WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL CONCERNING THIS CHARITABLE SOLICITATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY BY CALLING 973-504-6215. REGISTRATION WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

General, Charities Bureau, 120 Broadway, New York, New York 10271.

AHA, State of New York - On request, the Association will supply a copy of the complete financial statement. Please write to: the American Heart Association, Northeast Affiliate, PO Box 3049, Syracuse, New York 13220-3049 or the New York State Department of Law, Office of the Attorney General, Charities Bureau, 120 Broadway, New York, New York 10271.

AHA, STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA – FINANCIAL INFORMATION ABOUT THIS ORGANIZATION AND A COPY OF ITS LICENSE ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE STATE SOLICITATION LICENSING BRANCH AT (919) 807-2214. THE LICENSE DOES NOT IMPLY ENDORSEMENT BY THE STATE.

AHA, State of Pennsylvania - The official registration and financial information of the American Heart Association, Inc. may be obtained from the Pennsylvania Department of State by calling toll free, within Pennsylvania. 1-800-732-0999. Registration does not imply endorsement.

AHA, State of Virginia - A financial statement is available upon written request, from the State Division of Consumer Protection, in the Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services, PO Box 1163, Richmond, VA 23218.

AHA, State of Washington - The AHA, State of Washington is registered with the Secretary of State, Charities Division. Registration and financial information is available by calling the Office of Secretary of State at 1-800-332-4483.

AHA, State of West Virginia - West Virginia residents may obtain a summary of the registration and financial documents from the Secretary of State, State Capitol, Building 1, Suite 157-K, 1900 Kanawha Blvd East, Charleston, WV 25305. Registration does not imply endorsement.

AHA, State of Wisconsin - The American Heart Association meets all nine standards of philanthropy of the National Charities Information Bureau, which judges if charities fulfill their obligations to donors and the public. Your contribution will help fund research and education to fight heart disease and stroke. For a copy of our financial statement, write to: Development Department, American Heart Association, State of Wisconsin, 795 N. Van Buren, Milwaukee, WI 53202-3883.

NOTICE OF FINANCAL RECORDS AVAILABILITY

Stuffed inside the note card was a 3” x 5” slip printed 2/1 (Black and red on one side, black on the other) on 20# white bond paper explaining that the organization’s financial information is available.

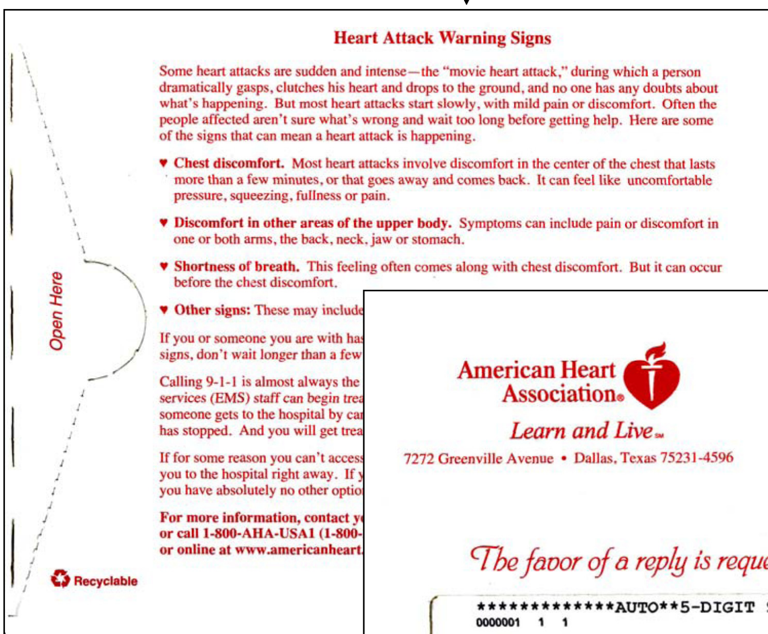
Figure 4.99. American Heart Association Package 2: Buck slip on availability of financial documents.

PACKAGE 3 – Gift Box of Cards (CONTROL):

The third package, identified as 1B, was a gift box of note cards. The approach of sending token gifts has become common among larger nonprofits and is generally aimed at non-donor segments, or as in this case, to obtain a second gift from a donor who had given recently. This package was targeted to donors who had given between $15 - $49.99 within the preceding 12 months. Such gifts are called *front-end premiums*. This strategy, which had been used successfully before, was being tested against PACKAGE 1, the Computer HandScript-personalized note card package. PACKAGE 3 included six items illustrated and described below: 1.) **Gift Box**, 2.) **Note Card Set**, 3.) **Letter**, 4.**) Reply Device**, and 5**.) Reply Envelope**, 6.) **Buck Slip** Specifications accompany illustrations OF PACKAGE 3 below.

Cards were mailed in a gift box measuring 5-3/8” x 6-1/2” x 3/4".

1. Gift Box



BACK OF GIFT BOX
The back of the gift box contained a message about Heart Attack Warning Signs.

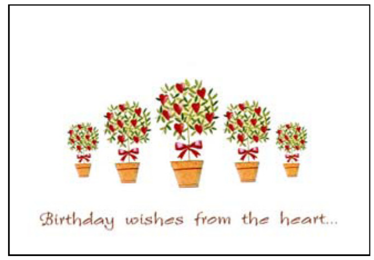
FRONT OF GIFT BOX
The front of the box featured a floral design, and its 3/4" thick dimension added a curiosity factor that enticed the recipient to open it to see what was inside.

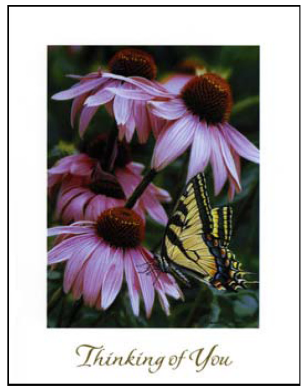
Figure 4.100. American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: outside box.

Note. The gift box of greeting cards was a long-standing test package known in the fund-raising industry as a *front-end-premium*. That is, it was a gift given *first*, as opposed to a gift given as a token thank you *after* a gift was given (thus the term *front-end*. The premise is that the gift will prompt the recipient to reciprocate with a financial contribution.

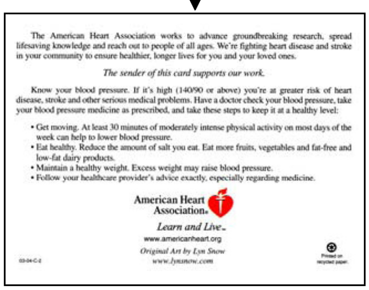
2. Note Card Set

CARD GALLERY
The gift cards include two each of the six designs shown here.





On the back of each note card a message describes how to maintain healthy blood pressure levels and a the bottom of the first paragraph a note reads: *The sender of this card supports our work.*



The American Heart Association works to advance groundbreaking research, spread lifesaving knowledge and reach out to people of all ages. We're fighting heart disease and stroke in your community to ensure healthier, longer lives for you and your loved ones.

The sender of this card supports our work.

Know your blood pressure. If it's high (140/90 or above) you're at greater risk of heart disease, stroke and other serious medical problems. Have a doctor check your blood pressure, take your blood pressure medicine as prescribed, and take these steps to keep it at a healthy level:

- Get moving. At least 30 minutes of moderately intense physical activity on most days of the week can help to lower blood pressure.
- Eat healthy. Reduce the amount of salt you eat. Eat more fruits, vegetables and fat-free and low-fat dairy products.
- Maintain a healthy weight. Excess weight may raise blood pressure.
- Follow your healthcare provider's advice exactly, especially regarding medicine.

American Heart Association.
Learn and Live.
www.americanheart.org
Original Art by Lyn Snow
www.lynsnow.com

03-04-C-2

Printed on recycled paper.

A packet of a dozen envelopes was also provided with the card set.

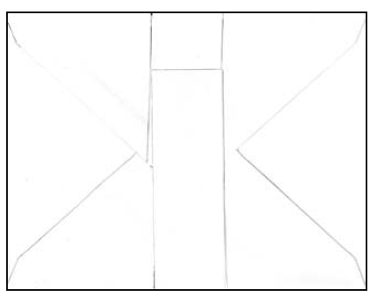


Figure 4.101. American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: 6 card designs.
Note. The gift box of greeting cards includes not only cards, but educational information on the back of each card.

3. Letter (Page 1 of 2)

T6263

American Heart Association®
Learn and Live℠

Dear Friend,

Let me tell you a story:

The doctor turns away from the operating table, tired but jubilant. Another successful operation. Another saved life. Another chance for her patient to start a better life. She's spent hours in that operating room and now she begins to relax, sighing deeply as the tension in her body fades away. The doctor smiles with deep satisfaction. She has won another courageous battle in the war against cardiovascular disease.

The American Heart Association has been helping make moments like these possible for over seventy-five years.

But, the war is far from over. Though we win small battles every day, heart attack, stroke and cardiovascular disease continue to be America's No. 1 cause of death.

To continue the important research and educational programs that provide doctors with more effective medication and surgery techniques, stroke victims a better chance at full recovery, and at-risk patients the chance to prevent heart attacks and strokes, the American Heart Association must have the support of caring friends like you.

To thank you for making our past victories possible, it is a pleasure for me to present you with your own personal collection of our 2004 note cards.

I know you will enjoy sending them to your friends and family.

While these cards are a gift and place you under no obligation, please know the American

(over, please)

Figure 4.102. American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: Page 1 of appeal letter.

3. Letter (*cont.*) Page 2 of 2)

Heart Association's medical research and educational programs <u>cannot go forward</u> without the loyal commitment of friends like you.

I hope that you will choose to send a generous contribution to help our crucial cause. Just complete the enclosed reply card and return it to us with your tax-deductible gift in the reply envelope provided.

Although cardiovascular disease and stroke affect more Americans than any other health disorders, hopefully you'll never need us.

But, the fact is...we need you.

Thank you in advance for your compassion and generosity. I look forward to your prompt reply.

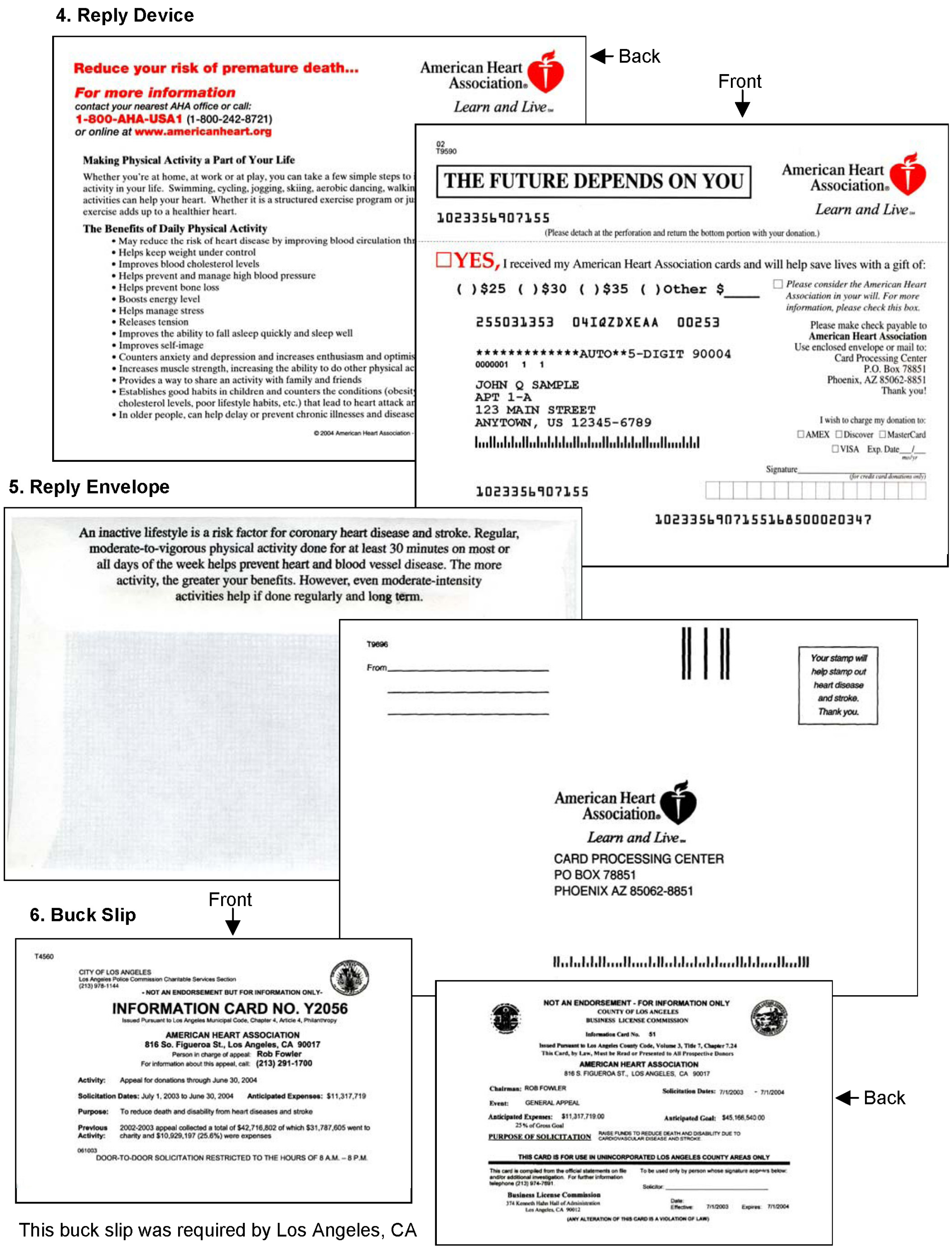
Sincerely,

Augustus O. Grant

Augustus O. Grant, M.D., Ph.D.
President and volunteer

P.S. Play a personal role in your community's health by making a tax-deductible gift today. Your contribution will be credited to your local affiliate of the American Heart Association.

Figure 4.103. American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: Page 2 of appeal letter.



This buck slip was required by Los Angeles, CA

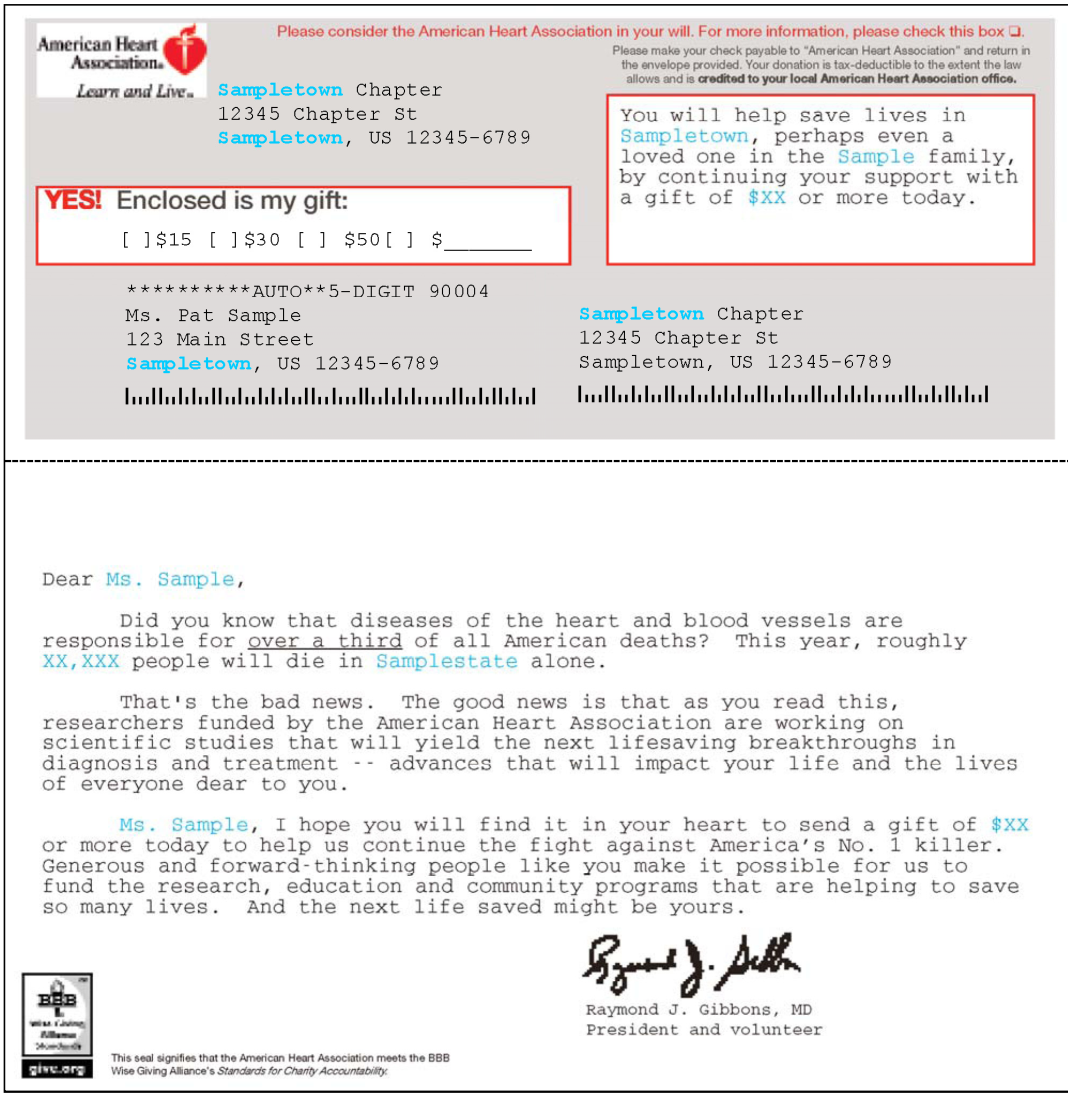
Figure 4.104 American Heart Association Package 3: Gift box of greeting cards: reply device, reply envelope and buck slip on Los Angeles solicitation regulations

PACKAGE 4 – Double Remit Letter (CONTROL):

The fourth package, identified as 3B, is a double remit letter. Used by many nonprofits for acquisition and renewal mailings, multiple forms can be produced on large-format sheet cut-sheet or continuous-form lasers, making it quite economical. This package was targeted to donors who had given between $15 - $49.99 preceding 13-36 months prior to the date of mailing. PACKAGE 4 included four items shown and described below. 1.) **Double Remit Letter** with local chapter and donor and information lasered on one side of a 7.25" x 7.25" form, 2.) **#7-3/4 Double-Window Outgoing Envelope** 3.) **#7-1/4 Window Reply Envelope** 4.) **Buck Slip** (a 3"x5" legal disclaimer). Specifications and illustrations below.

1. Double Remit Letter

TOP HALF REPLY OF LETTER IS REPLY DEVICE
The top of the double remit was designed to be removed at perforation to eliminate the need to print a separate reply.



American Heart Association. Learn and Live.

Please consider the American Heart Association in your will. For more information, please check this box ❑.

Please make your check payable to "American Heart Association" and return in the envelope provided. Your donation is tax-deductible to the extent the law allows and is **credited to your local American Heart Association office.**

Sampletown Chapter
12345 Chapter St
Sampletown, US 12345-6789

You will help save lives in Sampletown, perhaps even a loved one in the Sample family, by continuing your support with a gift of $XX or more today.

YES! Enclosed is my gift:
[ ]$15 [ ]$30 [ ] $50[ ] $_______

**********AUTO**5-DIGIT 90004
Ms. Pat Sample
123 Main Street
Sampletown, US 12345-6789

Sampletown Chapter
12345 Chapter St
Sampletown, US 12345-6789

Dear Ms. Sample,

Did you know that diseases of the heart and blood vessels are responsible for over a third of all American deaths? This year, roughly XX,XXX people will die in Samplestate alone.

That's the bad news. The good news is that as you read this, researchers funded by the American Heart Association are working on scientific studies that will yield the next lifesaving breakthroughs in diagnosis and treatment -- advances that will impact your life and the lives of everyone dear to you.

Ms. Sample, I hope you will find it in your heart to send a gift of $XX or more today to help us continue the fight against America's No. 1 killer. Generous and forward-thinking people like you make it possible for us to fund the research, education and community programs that are helping to save so many lives. And the next life saved might be yours.

Raymond J. Gibbons, MD
President and volunteer

give.org

This seal signifies that the American Heart Association meets the BBB Wise Giving Alliance's *Standards for Charity Accountability.*

Figure 4.105. American Heart Association Package 4: Double remit letter with message and reply together.
Note. This style has become a classic short-form fund appeal with nonprofits and depends largely on *brand awareness, low production cost*, and *mass mailings* to break even.

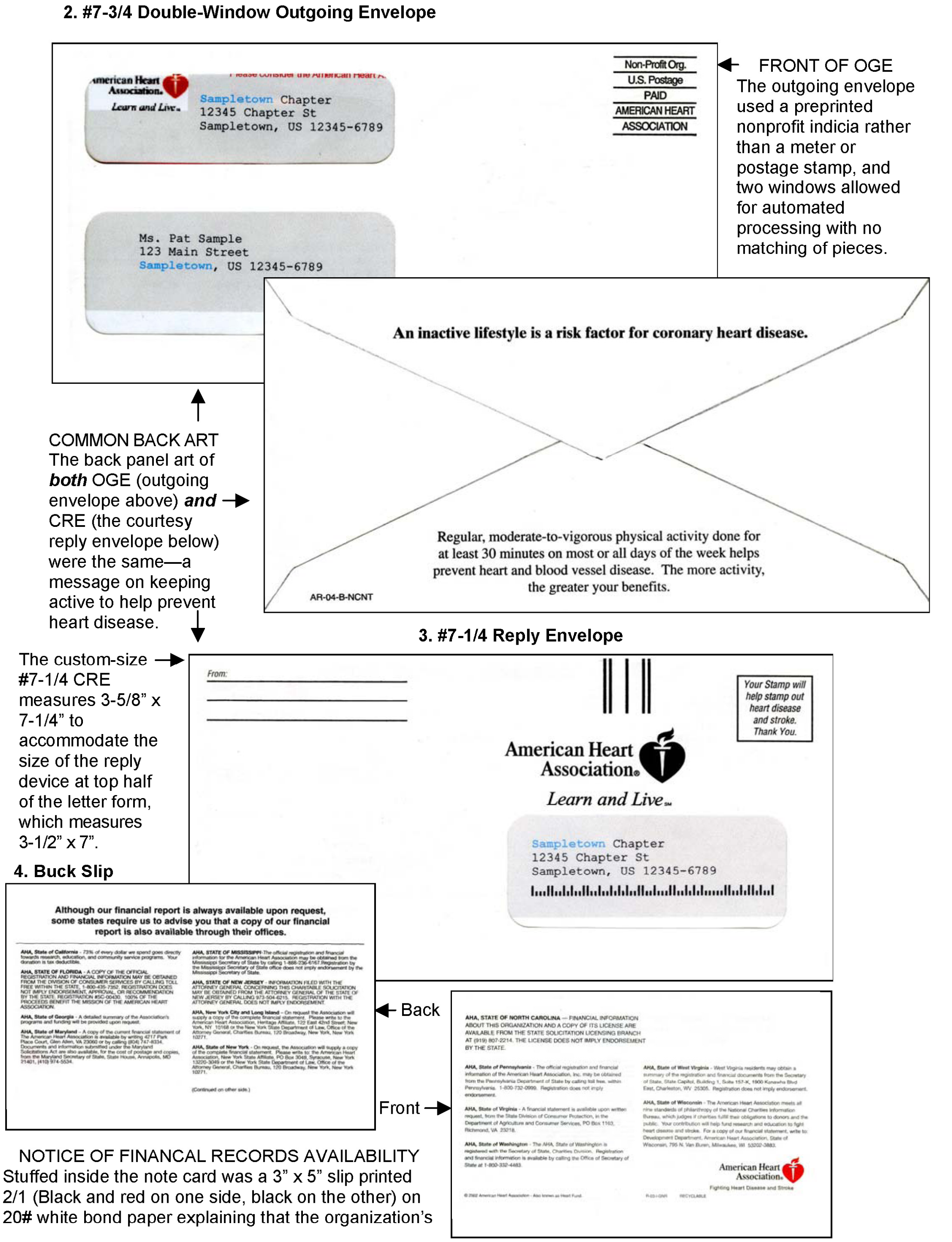


Figure 4.106. American Heart Association Package 4: Double remit letter reply envelope and buck slip on availability of financial documents.

I now report the results of three AHA 2004 renewal campaign-mailing tests. Each test contains two separate panels evenly divided using same list selection criteria—the range of months since the donors' last gift and the dollar range of the last gift given. Performance is compared between the effect of a Computer HandScript Note Card *test* package and the three *control* packages shown above. Particularly surprising was the fact that the Computer HandScript Note Card package beat the Genuine HandWriting package on key measures of response.

Table 4.40 Master Summary of Three American Heart Association 2205 Test Mailings.

American Heart Association 2004 Renewal Campaign									*6/24/04*
Two Mailing List Selection Criteria: a. Range of Months Since Last Gift b. Range of the Amount of Last Gift — **Panel ID & Designation**	**Criteria**	**A. Qty Mailed**	**B. Gifts Recd**	**C. % Reply**	**D. Average Gift**	**E. Total Income**	**F. Total Cost**	**G. Total Net Income**	**H. Income/ Ltr (G÷A)**
1A TEST: Computer HandScript ‡ Note Card 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $15-$49.99	25,000	2,772	11.09%	$22.67	$62,854.80	$28,500.00	$34,354.80	$1.37
1B CONTROL: Gift Box of Greeting Cards‡‡	0-12 months $15-$49.99	25,000	2,005	8.02%	$21.04	$42,187.50	$28,571.50	$13,616.00	$0.54
DIFFERENCES (TEST *vs.* CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %			**+ 767 + 38%**	**+ 3.07% + 38%**	**+ $1.63 + 8%**	**+ $20,667.30 + 49%**	**- $71.50 - 0.25%**	**+ $20,737.80 + 152%**	**+ $0.83 + 154%**
2A TEST: Computer HandScript Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $50+	25,000	2,274	9.10%	$86.20	$196,015.50	$28,500.00	$167,515.50	$6.70
2B CONTROL: Genuine Hand-Writing ‡‡‡ Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $50+	25,000	2,112	8.45%	$82.22	$173,639.74	$40,750.00	$132,889.74	$5.32
DIFFERENCES (TEST *vs.* CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %			**+ 162 + 8%**	**+ 0.65% + 8%**	**+ $3.98 + 5%**	**+ $22,375.76 + 13%**	**- $12,250.00 - 43%**	**+ $34,625.76 + 26%**	**+ $1.38 + 26%**
3A TEST: Computer HandScript Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	13-36 months $15-$49.99	25,000	1,472	5.89%	$22.48	$33,091.74	$28,500.00	$4,591.74	$0.18
3B CONTROL: Double Remit Letter ‡‡‡‡	13-36 months $15-$49.99	24,997	426	1.70%	$23.49	$10,007.00	$4,821.42	$5,185.58	$0.21
DIFFERENCES (TEST *vs.* CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %			**+ 1,046 + 246%**	**+ 4.19% + 246%**	**- $1.01 - 4%**	**+ 23,08.74 + 231%**	**+ $23,678.58 + 491%**	**- $593.84 - 11%**	**- $.03 - 14%**
	'04 Totals:	***149,997***	***11,601***	***7.37%***	***$46.81***	***$517,796.28***	***$159,642.28***	***$358,153.36***	***$2.36***

Notes on Paratextual Variables Tested in the 2004 Campaign:

‡ ***Computer HandScript Note Card*** refers to a greeting-card-style fund appeal and the simulated handwriting used to both address its outer envelope and write a P.S. note at the bottom of the package's fold-over note card. The premise is that the note-card-style appeal will send a ***paratextual signal*** that differentiates it from the typical fund-raising letter received, and will thus enhance chances it will get opened. The greeting card style and hand personalization are designed to produce the ***interpersonal involvement*** Biber (1988) describes in Dimension 1 of his multidimensional analysis of linguistic variation. As Biber identifies clusters of linguistic features in texts that create ***involvement*** (by communicating feeling and connecting interpersonally with readers), this study posits that physical elements of a package do the same thing. The notion is that as Biber arrays texts (based on ***linguistic features***) on a continuum with ***interpersonal involvement*** at one pole and ***informational content*** at the other, so can physical characteristics of a fund-appeal (or for that matter any marketing or fund-raising communication) similarly be located on the same continuum based on its physical (***paratextual***) features.

The ***Computer HandScript*** referred to above is not a conventional ***economy handwriting*** font. In fact, it is not a font but a program-driven set of glyphs made from samples of real handwriting. To produce a nuanced and realistic look, the natural imperfections and inconsistencies of real handwriting are retained. Letters connect with one another, and an algorithm substitutes ***alternate versions*** of repeated letters to enhance realism. Plus, the program solves the problem of letters with strokes that ***end above*** the baseline (***b***, ***o***, ***v***, and ***w***) not connecting with adjacent characters that and ***begin at*** the baseline (e.g. **ba**ck, **oc**ular, **ve**nerable, **wr**ite). It replaces these with two-letter pairings that connect naturally (e.g. ba, oc, ve, wr). AHA used the term ***fake handwriting*** in reference to both types described above—the ***Computer HandScript*** used in 2004 and the conventional ***economy handwriting*** used in 2005. However, since I test each as a distinct independent variable, I call the more sophisticated version used in 2004, ***Computer HandScript*** and the ***economy simulated handwriting*** used in 2005 ***Fake HandFont***. The difference each has on response is gauged by comparing results between **TEST** and **CONTROL** panels from both years' campaigns—***4B*** vs. ***3A*** and ***5B*** vs. ***2A***.

‡‡ ***Gift Box of Greeting Cards*** refers to a front-end premium. In contrast to appeals that offer to give a token gift in exchange for a donation, the term *front-end* refers to the fact that the gift (premium) is given first in the hope that it will motivate the donor to reciprocate with gift of their own. The box included a dozen all-purpose note cards with envelopes.

‡‡‡ ***Genuine HandWriting*** refers to a greeting-card-style fund appeal and the use of human handwriting to both address its outer envelope and write a P.S. note at the bottom of the package's fold-over note card. Other than using ***real human*** as opposed to ***computer-generated*** handwriting, the package is identical to the ***Computer HandScript Note Card*** version.

‡‡‡‡ ***Double Remit Letter*** refers to a very inexpensive renewal letter of only 150 words, measuring 7-¼"x7-¼" that is folded once and requires no matching of pieces since it uses a window envelope. In contrast, both ***Note Card*** packages require three pieces be matched (outer envelope, reply envelope with donor information, the addressed outer envelope).

Many practitioners in the field of fund raising (e.g. Huntsinger, 1992; Rosso, 2003; Warwick, 2003) suggest that an individual becomes a donor only when they have made a second financial contribution to a nonprofit organization. The rationale behind this view is that a second gift signifies interest beyond impulse, which is often the prompting reason many initial gifts are made—whether to help victims during natural disasters, to help fund a political contest, or for some other emergent motive. Therefore, nonprofit organizations often spend more on renewal campaign mailings than might be expected. In this practice, fund raisers follow their counterparts in commercial marketing who long ago learned the value of calculating mailing and internet expenditures in light of lifetime customer value metrics, not the cost/benefit of a single contact. For a nonprofit this means that if spending a bit more on a mailing piece can improve chances of securing a second gift from a donor, the investment is deemed justifiable. The reasoning is that after renewed, responses to subsequent appeals will more than make up for the higher cost of renewal campaigns.

So on second-gift (renewal or reactivation) mailings, rather than simply aiming to raise as much money for as little as possible, many nonprofit organizations seek to maximize response (the percentage of recipients who reply) rather than net income (dollars raised less costs incurred). In the cases at hand, the first five panels in tests 1 through 3 of the AHA 2004 renewal campaign were fairly costly compared to the sixth and most economical package (3B, the Double Remit letter). However, in these tests the least costly package was also the least effective one. The first five packages (whose results are detailed in the first five rows of the table above) cost more because they sought to create a more interpersonally involving look by creating paratextual elements like a gift box of greeting cards and a hand-personalized note card. These products were inherently more costly to produce, but added to the message by their very format. In Marshall McLuhan's (1964) words, the medium *became the message*. Yet the added costs achieved paratextually, the effect Biber's Dimension 1 measures linguistically—interpersonal involvement. In this case the interpersonal involvement was produced tacitly, by color, by the human warmth of hand personalization on the addressed envelope and personal notes. It was assumed that these paratextual elements would add emotional range to the mailings, and thus would increase interest, response, and net income (though maximizing response was the key indicator of success, in light of lifetime donor metrics that counted on making a profit through on subsequent mailings).

The data above, and that yet to follow regarding the AHA 2005 campaign and the campaign for the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement, will be evaluated in this context. The table displays differences in performance for each panel, presenting first results for the test panel first, then results for the control panel.

The difference between panels is presented on each indicator of performance as a positive or negative change in the raw value and as a positive or negative change in percentage compared to results achieved by the control package. Key indicator data of test 1 between the Computer HandScript Note Card package (test panel 1A) and the Gift Box of Greeting Cards package (control panel 1B) were not particularly surprising. Nor were data from test 3 comparing the Computer HandScript Note Card package (test panel 3A) against the organization's standard Double Remit Letter control package (test panel 3B). Both controls were obviously mass-produced and did not pretend to look personal. Cost control is readily apparent in the Double Remit Letter, which was produced for $192.88 per thousand. A single-page form produced on high-speed line printers was folded and inserted into a window envelope, thus requiring no matching between pieces and saving costs. The Gift Box of Greeting Cards was a more costly front-end premium produced at a cost of $1,143.86 per thousand. The reasoning behind this higher-cost was the assumption that a Gift Box of cards looks valuable, and thus would motivate recipients to reciprocate with return contribution. The Double Remit Letter and Gift Box of Greeting Cards represent opposite ends of the cost spectrum, each designed with different rationales. The cost of the Computer HandScript Note Card package, which was tested against both the Gift Box of Greeting Cards and the Double Remit Letter was similar to that for the Gift Box at $1,140.00 per thousand (just $3.86 per thousand or about 4 cents less per box).

In the test against the Double Remit Letter package, the Computer HandScript Note Card package increased response 246 percent. However, the average gift declined by 4 percent (from $23.49 to $22.48) and net income per letter declined 14 percent from $.21 per gift box of cards in the control segment to $.18 per note card mailed to the test segment. However, the 246 percent increase makes panel 3B the clear winner, since the most important objective in the strategy of any renewal campaign is to secure a second gift, based on the assumption that once renewed, subsequent mailings will more than make up for of any initial losses.

What was more surprising, however, was the fact that the Computer HandScript Note Card package out-performed the same package produced with genuine human handwriting. Most economy computer-simulated handwriting styles are hard-pressed to compete against real handwriting, since they do not replicate the quirks, mannerisms, and variation of real handwriting. Most look obviously fake. The letters of such out-of-the-box fonts do not always connect with adjacent alpha characters; there is no variety since every letter looks the same every time it is used; and those letters with strokes *terminate* above the baseline (e.g. *b*, *o*, *v*, and *w*) cannot connect with adjacent letters that *begin* at the baseline (since the font is designed to connect with the other 22 alpha characters that connect *at* the baseline. Therefore, it would not have been surprising had response to the Computer HandScript note card been lower than that to the package produced by human hand. However, the Computer HandScript used was not a typical Truetype font, but a software program that manipulated as set of several hundred graphic glyphs created from samples of genuine human handwriting. The program connected all letters for a natural cursive handwriting look; varied many letters when used consecutively; and replaced individual letters that were unable to connect with adjacent ones above the baseline with new pairs that connect naturally. Production costs for the Genuine HandWriting Note Card was $1,163.00 per thousand while the cost of the Computer HandScript Note Card was $1140.00 per thousand—30% less. So had response to the Computer HandScript package lagged behind that to the Genuine HandWriting control, an anticipated lower response had already been factored into the cost/benefit calculations. It was anticipated that any gap in the response rate to the test package would be neutralized by the lower production costs.

However, not only did the Computer HandScript Note Card package cost less, but its realistic look apparently enabled it to out-perform real handwriting. The Computer HandScript Note Card test package (panel 2A) beat the response rate of the Genuine HandWriting Note Card control package (panel 2B) by 0.65% for an 8% positive marginal improvement in response. The Computer HandScript Note Card test also beat the Genuine HandWriting package's average gift by $3.98 for 5% gain; and the Computer HandScript package raised $1.38 more net income each, for a 26% increase over the packages personalized by human hand.

Given these positive results, and apparently desiring to increase margins still more on their larger roll-out renewal mailing, AHA decided to test a less realistic-looking out-of-the box handwriting font in March 2005—one designated here as Fake HandFont—which required no special programming, but which also sacrificed some of the realism of Computer HandScript as a result.

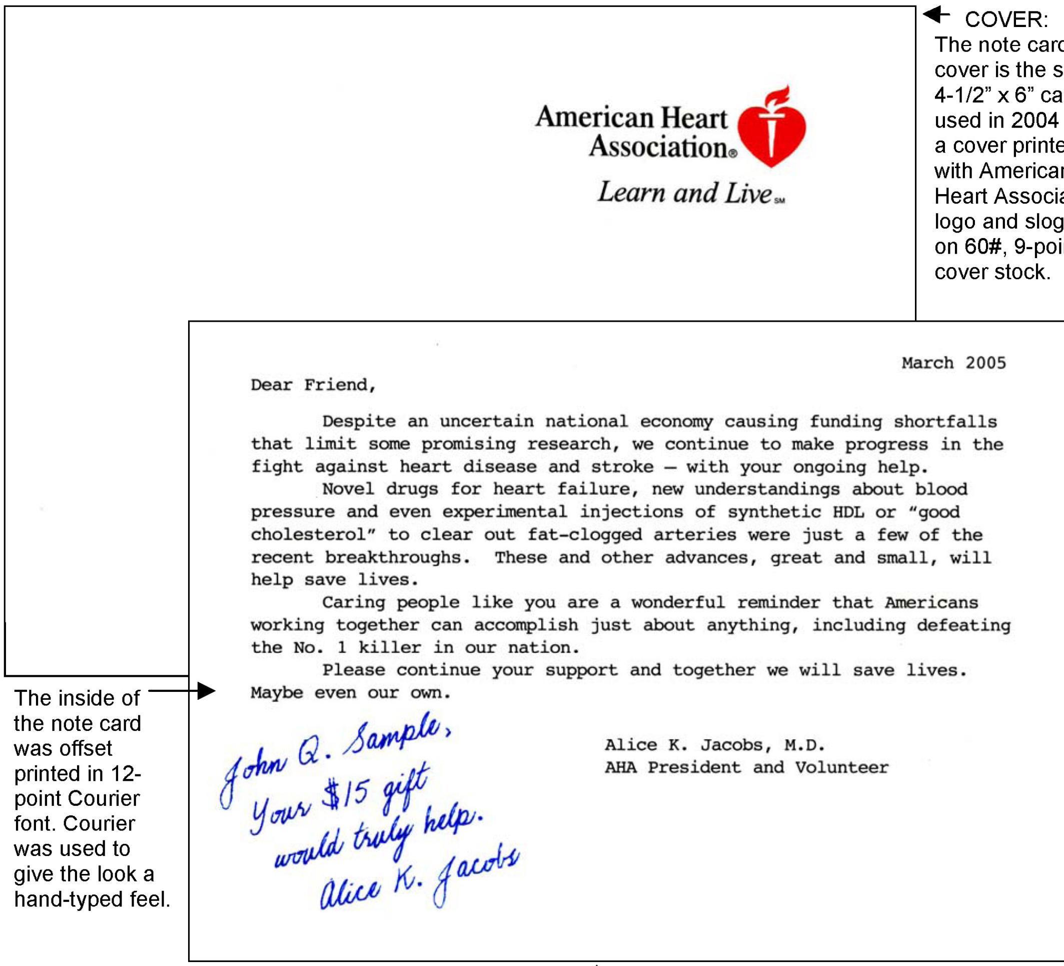
Below I first reproduce elements of the Fake HandFont package mailed by AHA in their 2005 renewal campaign and two alternative postage treatments applied in panel 4A (adding a first class stamp to the reply envelope) and 5A (affixing first class presort stamps to the outer and canceling them with PostCode to achieve a full-rate first class look). Following the presentation of reproductions of the package used and the alternate postage treatments described, I report results on a master table, compare key performance indicators, and discuss the implications of findings presented.

American Heart Association 2005 Donor Renewal Campaign.

PACKAGE 5 – Fake Hand-Writing Font Note Card (TEST):

PACKAGE 5 uses a less realistic-looking fake handwriting font (as opposed to the Computer HandScript used in the 2004 campaign that randomly varied letters and created special letter pairs to connect above the baseline letters). The outgoing envelope is the same for panels 4/A, 4/B, and 5/B. However, for panel 5/A the full-rate first class stamp is replaced with a first class *presort* stamp, which is cancelled (special permission is required of the USPS to cancel this class of postage stamp, which is technically called a precanceled stamp). Also, with panel 4/A, a full-rate first class stamp is affixed to ***both*** the outgoing ***and*** the reply envelopes. PACKAGE 5, targeted to all segments of the March 2005 renewal mailing, and has five components shown and described below: 1.) **Fold-Over Note Card** with preprinted body copy and a P.S. personalized with fake handwriting font, 2.) **A-6 Outgoing Envelope** addressed in the same fake handwriting font, 3.) **# 6-1/4 Reply Envelope**, 4.) **Personalized Reply Device**, and 5.) **Buck Slip**.

1. Fold-Over Note Card



American Heart Association®

Learn and Live℠

March 2005

Dear Friend,

Despite an uncertain national economy causing funding shortfalls that limit some promising research, we continue to make progress in the fight against heart disease and stroke – with your ongoing help.

Novel drugs for heart failure, new understandings about blood pressure and even experimental injections of synthetic HDL or "good cholesterol" to clear out fat-clogged arteries were just a few of the recent breakthroughs. These and other advances, great and small, will help save lives.

Caring people like you are a wonderful reminder that Americans working together can accomplish just about anything, including defeating the No. 1 killer in our nation.

Please continue your support and together we will save lives. Maybe even our own.

Alice K. Jacobs, M.D.
AHA President and Volunteer

John Q. Sample,
Your $15 gift
would truly help.
Alice K. Jacobs

COVER:
The note card cover is the same 4-1/2" x 6" card used in 2004 with a cover printed with American Heart Association logo and slogan on 60#, 9-point cover stock.

The inside of the note card was offset printed in 12-point Courier font. Courier was used to give the look a hand-typed feel.

FAKE HANDWRIING FONT-PERSONALIZED P.S. NOTE:
While the body copy of the note card was preprinted, a personalized with the donor's name, was printed at the bottom in fake handwriting font. The name of the signer had changed from the previous year. And the last line in the second paragraph varies slightly from the 2004 card.

Figure 4.107. American Heart Association Package 5: Fold-over A-6 size Fake HandFont note card with inside body copy typed in Courier, and P.S. printed in an economy-quality computer-simulated handwriting.

2. A-6 Outgoing Envelope

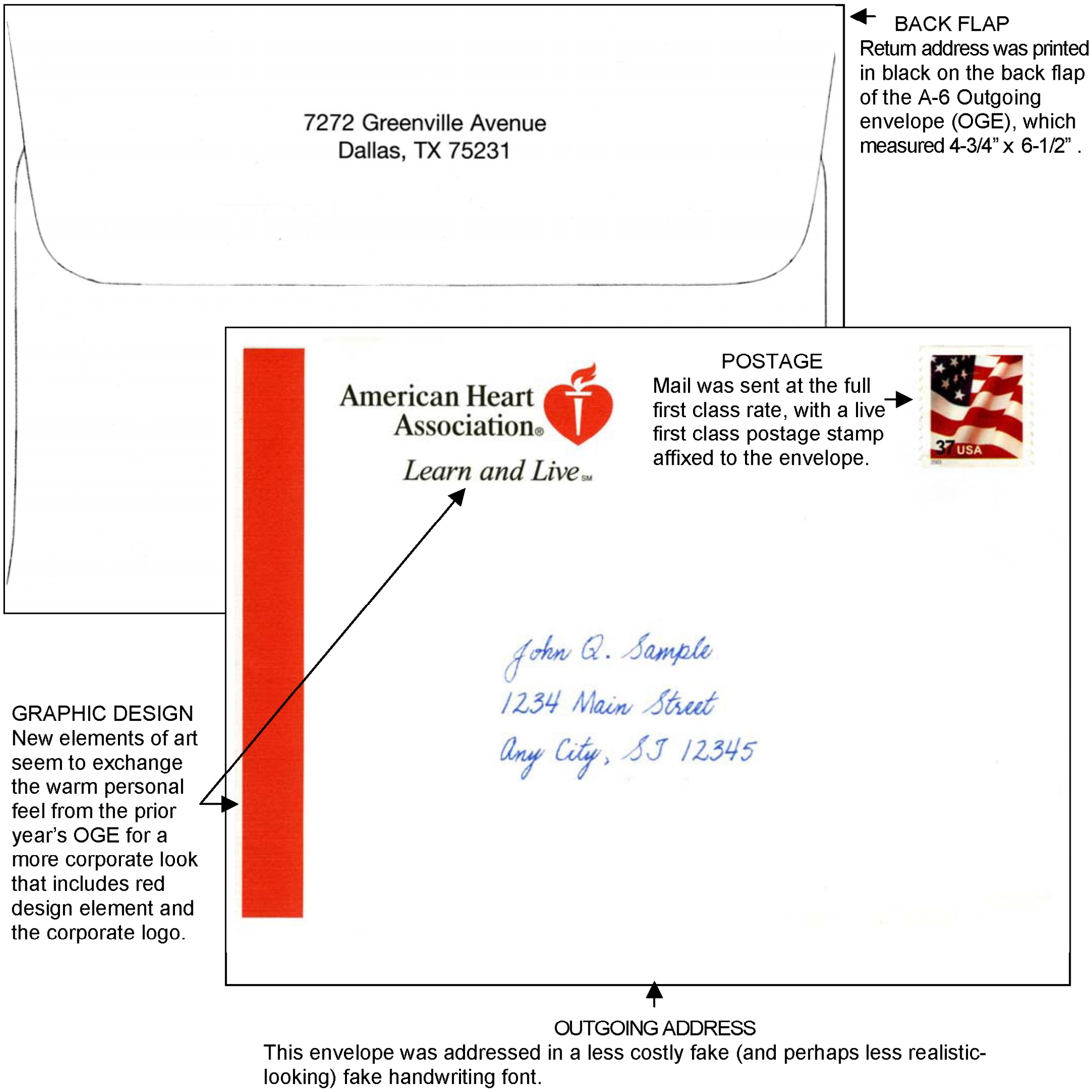
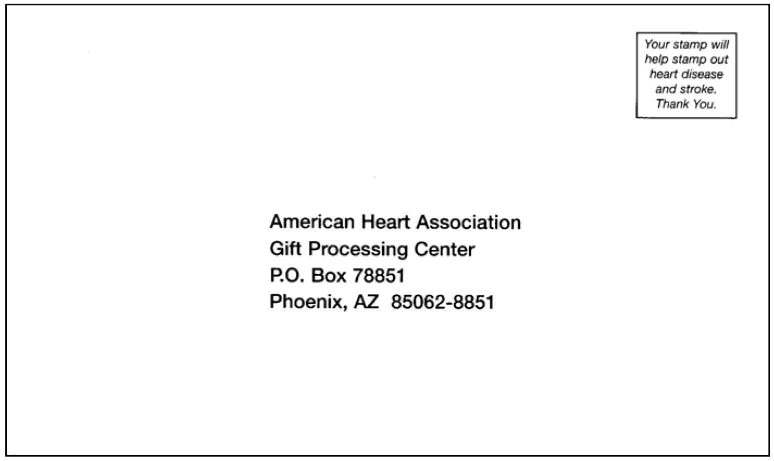


Figure 4.108. American Heart Association Package 5: A-6 outgoing envelope addressed in Fake HandFont.

3. # 6-1/4 Reply Envelope

CRE
PACKAGE 5 included a # 6-1/4 Courtesy Reply Envelope (CRE) that measures 3-1/2 x 6”, printed on 24# white wove. Panels 4/B, 5/A and 5/B require the donor to place his or her own stamp on the reply. But a stamp is already affixed for the donor on the reply envelope of to the envelope with Panel 4/A.



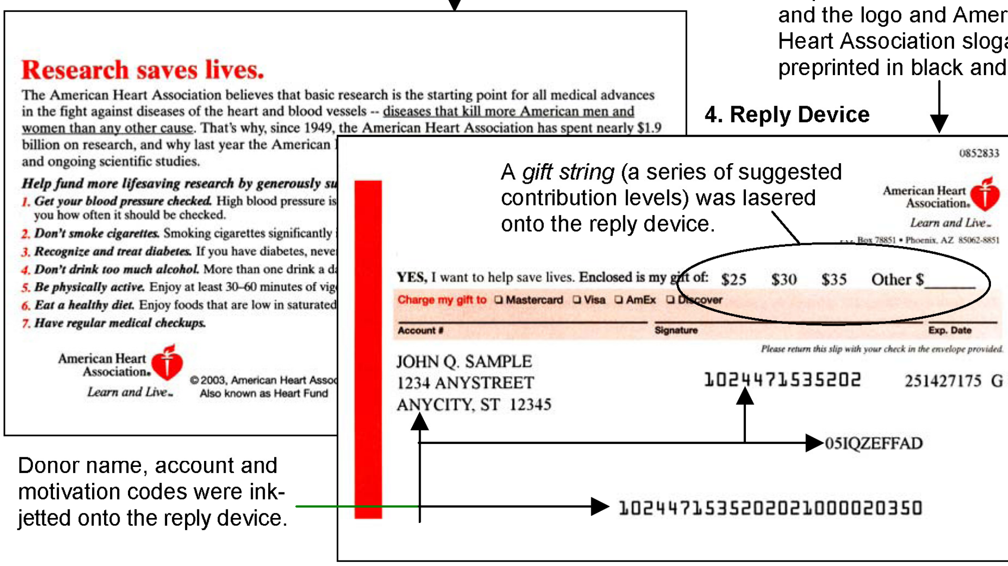
The reply device measured 3-3/8” x 5-1/2” and was printed on 60# bond text weight stock.

The back of the reply device contained educational information on heart disease.

The body copy on the front of the reply device was lasered in 10-point Times Roman font and the logo and American Heart Association slogan were preprinted in black and red ink.

4. Reply Device

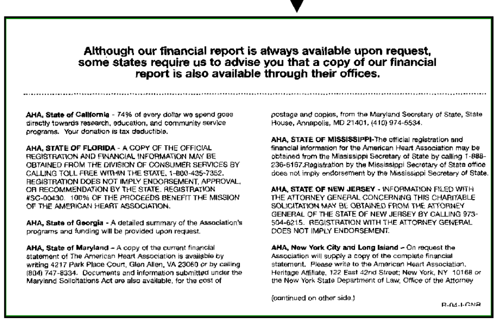
A *gift string* (a series of suggested contribution levels) was lasered onto the reply device.



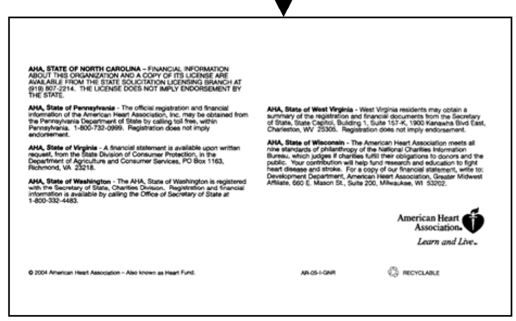
Donor name, account and motivation codes were ink-jetted onto the reply device.

5. Buck Slip

Back of Buck Slip



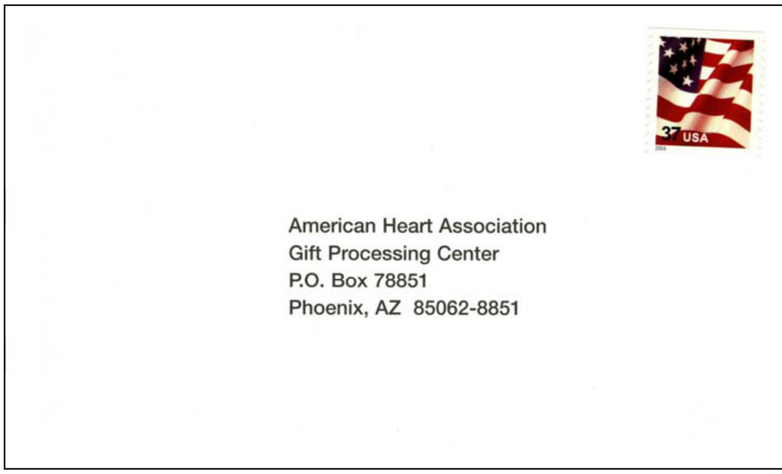
Front of Buck Slip



NOTICE OF FINANCAL RECORDS AVAILABILITY
Stuffed inside the note card was a 3” x 5” slip printed 2/1 (The back of the buck slip was in black whereas the 2004 was printed in black and red on the back. As before, it is printed on 20# white bond paper and explains that the organization’s financial information is available upon request.

Figure 4.109. American Heart Association Package 5: Fake HandFont package reply device, reply envelope and buck slip on availability of financial documents.

TWO VARIATIONS IN PACKAGE 5 for panels 4/A and 5/A



PANEL 4/A VARIABLE

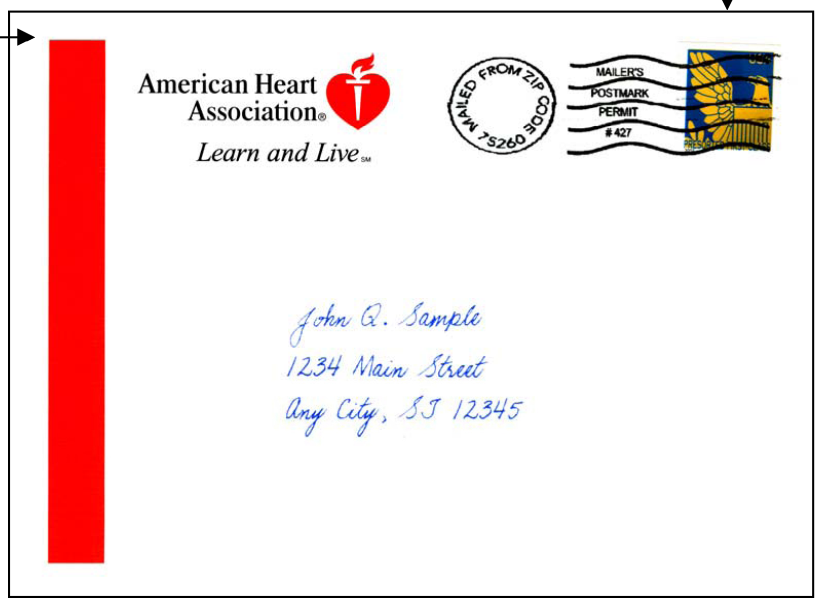
To test the impact on response, AHA affixed full-rate first class postage stamps to the reply envelopes of this panel of 562,232 records.

PANEL 5/A VARIABLE
A first class presort stamp was affixed to the OGEs of panel 4/A's A-6 envelopes, which, if effective, could save AHA thousands in postage (examples of the savings potential savings are presented below).

TEST OF STAMP ALTERNATIVES

Affixing a first class presort stamp allowed AHA to test it's effect on the response rate. This treatment was applied to test panel 5/A which contained 25,000 records. Were negative effects minimal or non-existent, this could mean thousands of dollars in savings by using first class presort stamps instead of the full-rate class used in the rest of the panels. (Saving 9¢ each on a million pieces of mail would save ninety thousand dollars.)

Moreover, were a nonprofit stamp to be used with similar positive results, postage rates might be cut by as much as 69% over first class rates (the lowest automation rate non-profit automated mail is 12.7¢). On a mailing of 1 million pieces that could save as more than a quarter million dollars over the 42¢ rate.



The first class presort stamp is cancelled with a postmark printed in the mail shop, not by the Post Office. ***It is s not legal to cancel this class of postage stamp***, apart from obtaining a special written exemption from the UPSPS. The guidelines of the USPS Domestic Mail Manual (DMM P023) prohibit canceling any class of postage stamp deemed to be pre-cancelled (this includes first class presort, nonprofit and commercial bulk or standard-rate stamps). ***The following further explains the issue of canceling precanceled stamps as well as a letter of exemption allowing it.***

Figure 4.110. American Heart Association Package 5: tests of stamping and cancellation options.

I now report the results of two AHA 2005 renewal campaign-mailing tests. However, unlike the 2004 campaign, in 2005 uneven counts and differing select criteria between panels constrained and confounded some comparisons, although useful tests involving of paratextual variables include: stamping both outer and reply envelopes, stamping mail with first class presort stamps, and using of PostCode cancellation. Several panels between the 2004 and 2005 campaigns with equivalent mailing list select criteria were also compared and results suggest that a shift to an economy *Fake HandFont* and *branded* outer envelope may have affected response.

Table 4.41 Master Summary of Three American Heart Association 2205 Test Mailings.

American Heart Association 2005 Renewal Campaign With Comparisons *Between* 2004 and 2005 Results

6/24/05

Two Mailing List Selection Criteria: a. Range of Months Since Last Gift; b. Range of the Amount of Last Gift

Panel ID & Designation	Criteria	A. Qty Mailed	B. Gifts Recd	C. % Reply	D. Average Gift	E. Total Income	F. Total Cost	G. Total Net Income	H. Income/ Ltr (G÷A)
4A TEST: Fake HandFont † Note Card, 1st class stamp on *both* outer *and* reply envelopes † (see note below)	0-12 months $15+ & 13-36 months $50+	562,232	38,536	6.85%	$34.74	$1,338,749.63	$531,302.63	$807,447.01	$1.44
4B CONTROL: Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	13-36 months $15-$49.99	464,835	9,241	1.99%	$23.54	$217,577.89	$269,596.76	-$52,018.87	- $0.11
DIFFERENCES (TEST vs. CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %	*Differences in Select Criteria Constrain Some Comparisons.*		+ 29,295 + 317%	+4.86% + 244%	+ $11.20 + 5%	+ $1,121,171.74 + 515%	+ 261,705.87 + 97%	-$859,465.88 - 1,652%	- $1.55 - 1,409%
5A TEST: Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class *presort* stamp on outer envelope + *PostCode* * * (see note below)	0-12 months $15+ & 13-36 months $50+	25,000	1,679	6.72%	$36.55	$61,367.79	$23,625.00	$37,742.79	$1.51
5B CONTROL: Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $15+ & 13-36 months $50+	25,000	1,768	7.07%	$33.47	$59,180.00	$23,624.06	$35,555.95	$1.42
DIFFERENCES (TEST vs. CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %	*Differences in Select Criteria Constrain Some Comparisons.*		- 89 - 5%	- 3.5% - 5%	+ $3.08 9%	+ $2,187.79 +4%	+ $0.94 0%	+ $2,186.85 + 6%	+ $0.09 + 6%
Tests of Paratext Variables With Equalized Selects:	*'05 Totals:*	*1,077,067*	*51,224*	*4.76%*	*$32.74*	*$1,676,875.31*	*$848,148.44*	*$828,726.87*	*$0.77*
4B TEST (2005): Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class stamp outer envelope *only*	13-36 months $15-$49.99	464,835	9,241	1.99%	$23.54	$217,577.89	$269,596.76	- $52,018.87	- $0.11
3A CONTROL (2004): Computer HandScript ‡ Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only* ‡(see note below)	13-36 months $15-$49.99	25,000	1,472	5.89%	$22.48	$33,091.74	$28,500.00	$4,591.74	$0.18
DIFFERENCES (TEST vs. CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %	*Boxes Gray Where Differences in Qty Invalidate Comparison.*			- 3.90% - 66%	+ $1.06 + 5%				- $.29 - 161%
5B TEST (2005): Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class stamp outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $15+ & 13-36 months $50+	25,000	1,768	7.07%	$33.47	$59,180.00	$23,624.06	$35,555.95	$1.42
2A CONTROL (2004): Computer HandScript Note Card, 1st class stamp on outer envelope *only*	0-12 months $50+	25,000	2,274	9.10%	$86.20	$196,015.50	$28,500.00	$167,515.50	$6.70
DIFFERENCES (TEST vs. CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %	*Envelope Differences** Also Exist Along With Change of Computer HandScript to Fake HandFont.*			- 2.03% - 22.31%	- $52.73 - 61%	- $136,835.50 - $69.81%	- $4875.94 - 17.11%	- $131,959.55 - 78.77%	- $5.28 - 78.81%
5A TEST (2005): Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class *presort* stamp on outer envelope + *PostCode*	0-12 months $15+ & 13-36 months $50+	25,000	1,679	6.72%	$36.55	$61,367.79	$23,625.00	$37,742.79	$1.51
4A CONTROL (2005): Fake HandFont Note Card, 1st class stamp on *both* outer *and* reply envelopes	0-12 months $15+ & 13-36 months $50+	562,232	38,536	6.85%	$34.74	$1,338,749.63	$531,302.63	$807,447.01	$1.44
DIFFERENCES (TEST vs. CONTROL) Expressed as Change 2 Ways: +/- Raw Value & +/- %	*Boxes Gray Where Differences in Qty Invalidate Comparison.*			- .13% - 2%	+ $1.81 + 5%				+ $0.07 + 5%

Notes on Paratextual Variables Compared *Within* 2005 Tests & *Between* 2004 & 2005 Results:

† ***Fake HandFont*** is an economy-quality style of ***simulated handwriting***. Such fonts are limited to a set of 26 lower- and 26 upper-case letters. Thus, each character looks the same every time it is used, which sends a paratextual signal that the font is obviously fake. Plus, letters with strokes that ***end above*** the baseline (***b***, ***o***, ***v***, and ***w***) do not connect with adjacent characters that and ***begin at*** the baseline (e.g. **ba**ck, **oc**ular, **ve**nerable, **wr**ite).

‡ ***Computer HandScript*** is not a font, but a program-driven set of glyphs created from samples of real handwriting. To produce a nuanced and realistic look, natural imperfections and inconsistencies are retained, letters connect, and an algorithm substitutes ***alternate versions*** of repeated letters. Plus, the program replaces individual ***above-*** and ***at-the-baseline*** characters with two-letter pairings that connect naturally (e.g. ba, oc, ve, wr).

AHA used the term ***fake handwriting*** in referring to both types described above—the ***Computer HandScript*** used in 2004 and the ***economy-quality simulated handwriting*** used in 2005. However, since I test each as a distinct independent variable, I call the ***economy simulated handwriting*** used in 2005 ***Fake HandFont***, and I call the more sophisticated version used in 2004, ***Computer HandScript***. The difference in the effect on response of each type is measured in two tests that compare results from both years—a test between panels **4B** and **3A** and another between panels **5B** and **2A**.

* ***PostCode*** is a mailer's postmark that mail shops use to cancel ***presort*** stamps (1st class, nonprofit or bulk) to prevent envelopes from looking like *junk mail*, to create a full-rate first class look, and thus to increase *response*. Use of this technique requires a written exemption from USPS rules that *strictly prohibit* canceling discount stamps. The effect of this independent variable is measured in two tests—**5A** versus **5B** and **5A** versus **4A**.

****Envelope Differences*** in the 2005 campaign included adding a ½ "x4-½" red ***vertical bar*** and the American Heart Association ***corporate logo***. This shifted the tone of the outer envelope from an ***understated personal stationery*** feel of ***interpersonal involvement*** to an ***informational content*** focus by using 2005's ***corporate branding imagery***. Moreover, by allowing two items to vary in 2005, isolating which caused response to plummet is confounded.

In only one test panel of the 2005 renewal campaign (4B containing 464,835 records) was the selection integrity with the 2004 campaign data preserved. The select criteria for panel 3A of the 2004 test mailing (last gift made in the prior 13-36 months in the range of $15-$49.99), match with those of panel 4B in 2005 (also last gift made in the prior 13-36 months in the range of $15-$49.99). Although the quantities mailed in each panel differed, the important select criteria were stable, making it possible to compare the effectiveness of the Computer HandScript package used in 2004 with the Fake HandFont package used in 2005. Comparisons between the two panels are reported in the above table. Those data points that are not valid because of differing mailing list size have been grayed out on the table. Valid are column C (% Response), column D (Average Gift) and column H (Income/Ltr: G÷A).

The basic copy of the note card from 2004 to 2005 was essentially the same, but the package's outer envelope and P.S. note used a less natural-looking Fake HandFont instead of Computer HandScript. The 2005 renewal campaign also shifted away from using an understated style of outer envelope that resembled personal stationary. The personal look of the 2004 outer envelope communicated through the use of realistic computer simulated handwriting and a more personal-looking outer envelope exhibited communicated paratextually what Biber's Dimension 1 measures linguistically—the effect of *interpersonal involvement*. Instead of retaining this high touch look, the 2005 campaign opted instead for a package that used an obviously fake style of computer-simulated handwriting and used an envelope style that focused more on *corporate branding* than *personal connection*. The *corporate branding* effect in the 2005 outer envelope included the addition of a vertical ½" x 4-½"red bar and the organization's corporate logo and slogan. The change in simulated handwriting and envelope reflect a problem Jerry Huntsinger's observes:

> When your letter arrives in the home, and the donor knows by glancing at your carrier envelope that it's another appeal from charity XYZ, you are defeated before they even get inside the envelope. What is all this superstition and fetish about always identifying your organization on the carrier envelope? Sometimes. But not always. Under many conditions it cuts your response drastically. (1993, pp. 2,3)

Ultimately the shift to Fake HandFont and a branded outer envelope seem to have worked against the 2005 campaign. Compared to the Computer HandScript Note Card package mailed in 2004, results for panel 4B plummeted in 2005. Panel 4B's response rate declined 66 percent, and although the average gift actually increased 5 percent from $22.48 to $23.54, the net income per letter plummeted 161 percent and the campaign lost $52,018.87. The results seem to support the notion that paratextual variables can increase or diminish *interpersonal involvement* by changing physical attributes of a direct mail letter's *paratextual* elements. This seems to mirror *paratextually*, what Biber measures *linguistically*. That is *high informational content* seems to have been exhibited in the *paratextual* content of 2005's outer envelope as *fake* (and thus impersonal) *handwriting* and as *branding* while *high interpersonal involvement* seems to have been reflected in the realistic handwriting style and understated personal stationery look of the 2004 campaign's unadorned outer envelope.

Again, the mixing of list selection criteria confounds many comparisons within the 2005 campaign. Panel 4A included 536,232 donors who had given $15 or more in the prior 12 months as well as higher-value donors who had given in the prior 13-36 months in the range of $50 or more. In contrast, panel 4B included 464,835 donors who had made a gift of $15 or more in the prior 13-36 months; no current donors (those who had given in the prior 12 months) were included in panel 4B. This discontinuity made valid comparisons between the two panels virtually impossible. In addition, panel 4A was designed to test the effect of affixing a first class postage stamp to 562,232 reply envelopes. Panel 4B, however, required donors to affix their own stamps to reply envelopes. As shown above in the test comparing panel 4B with 2004's panel 3A (in which select criteria were the same), the new package did not perform well. This discrepancy was amplified when a better list and paying the donors' postage for them was added to the mix. The net income per package mailed reflects this—a 1,652% difference in total net income between panel 4A and 4B.

Results of the second test conducted in 2005 are recorded in the table above for panels 5A and 5B. For panel 5A, rather than using a full-rate first class stamp on the outgoing envelope, a presort first class stamp was affixed instead. In addition to this less expensive stamp, it was canceled with PostCode—a mailer's postmark used to cancel presort stamps (1st class, nonprofit or bulk). This is done in order to prevent envelopes from looking like *junk mail*, to create a full-rate first class look, and thus to increase *response*. Use of this technique, however, requires special written exemption from the USPS (United States Postal Service), since DMM (Domestic Mail Manual) regulations actually *prohibit* canceling discount stamps. Panels 5A and 5B were mailed to lists with identical quantities and profiles—25,000 donors who had given $15 or more in the prior 12 months as well as higher-value donors who had given in the prior 13-36 months in the range of $50 or more. The results reported in the table above indicate that the discount first class presort stamp received an response of 6.72 percent compared to an average of 7.07 percent for the full-rate first class stamp (5 percent less for the presort stamp package test). However, the presort stamp package received a 9 percent higher average gift ($36.55 compared to $33.47 for the full-rate package stamped with the full-rate first class stamp). In addition, the presort package generated 4 percent more in total income and 6 percent more in net income.

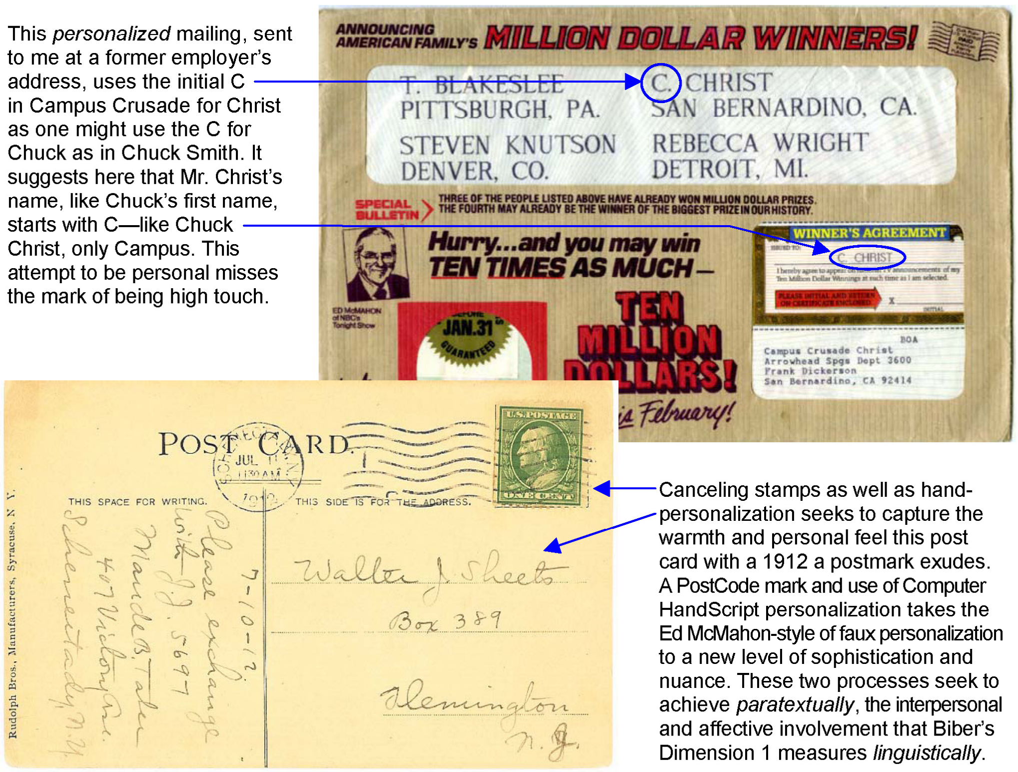
Although panel 5A was mailed to only 25,000 households and 4A was mailed to more than half a million (562,232), both panels shared the same list selection criteria: donors who had given $15 or more in the prior 12 months as well as higher-value donors who had given in the prior 13-36 months in the range of $50 or more. The difference in response attributable to the use of first class presort postage is measured in the comparison of these two panels' results (see last pair compared in table above). Again, the package using full-rate first class stamps had a very slight advantage—receiving a 6.85 percent response compared to 6.72 percent for the package using first class presort stamps (an advantage of just 0.13 percent for the full-rate first class package). But again, the presort stamp package outperformed the full-rate first class package elsewhere, receiving a 5 percent higher average gift ($36.55 compared to $34.74 for the full-rate package) and $0.07 net income per package mailed advantage ($1.51 per package for the presort segment compared to $1.41 for the full-rate segment, for a gain of 5 percent).

The last comparison test in the table above examines again two panels with differing list select criteria. Panel 5B included 25,000 donors who had given $15 or more in the prior 12 months as well as higher-value donors who had given in the prior 13-36 months in the range of $50 or more. In contrast, panel 2A included 25,000 donors who had made a gift of $15 or more in the prior 12 months. This discontinuity complicates analysis in that it can be argued that 2A had an advantage, being comprised only of higher-end current donors who had given $50 or more in the prior 12 months. However, the large degree in disparity between 2A and 5B suggest a deeper problem with the 2005 package. The Computer HandScript package used in 2004 garnered a 9.10 percent response compared to 2005's Fake HandFont package that received a 7.07 percent response (a –22.31 percent difference). More severe was the fact that the average gift declined from the Computer HandScript package's $52.73 average to just $33.47 for the Fake HandFont package used in 2005. Total net income for the Fake HandFont package declined 78.77 percent, falling from 2004's $167,515.50 to $35,555.95 in 2005—a drop of 78.71 percent.

These data indicate that altering a paratextual variable can have a profound impact on the impact of a direct mail campaign. A line seems to exist separating computer-simulated handwriting that looks obviously fake and that which looks authentic. In addition, the paratextual variable of the envelope itself is significant—better to have a piece look like a greeting card from a friend rather than an impersonal corporate communiqué. And finally, affixing precanceled stamps, and then canceling those stamps with a PostCode postmark can improve net income by lowering postage costs. Although AHA tested a first class presort stamp, once a stamp is cancelled, it is hard to tell the denomination (although some are quite adept at ferreting out a nonprofit stamp). However, the target audience is the average person, for whom a cancelled nonprofit stamp may pass as a full-rate nonprofit stamp.

The intention of such manipulation of paratext is to communicate greater *interpersonal involvement* by essentially shifting the piece from the *junk mail* genre to the *personal correspondence* genre in the eyes of he beholder—a contrast illustrated in the symbolism inherent in the two iconic mail pieces below:

This *personalized* mailing, sent to me at a former employer's address, uses the initial C in Campus Crusade for Christ as one might use the C for Chuck as in Chuck Smith. It suggests here that Mr. Christ's name, like Chuck's first name, starts with C—like Chuck Christ, only Campus. This attempt to be personal misses the mark of being high touch.



Canceling stamps as well as hand-personalization seeks to capture the warmth and personal feel this post card with a 1912 a postmark exudes. A PostCode mark and use of Computer HandScript personalization takes the Ed McMahon-style of faux personalization to a new level of sophistication and nuance. These two processes seek to achieve *paratextually*, the interpersonal and affective involvement that Biber's Dimension 1 measures *linguistically*.

Figure 4.111 Two iconic images contrasting high touch and mass produced mail.

This research suggests the need for further testing of PostCode cancellation with nonprofit stamps. If response rates were to hold near those for first class letters, postage savings could widen yet further. For instance, at the lowest nonprofit rate, an envelope may be sent for as low as 8-1/2 cents—a savings of more than 500 percent over full-rate first class mail. For example, were a mailing the size of AHA's 2005 aggregate renewal campaign (1,077,067 names) sent at the nonprofit rate at an estimated average of 14 cents, the postage cost would be$150.789.38. The same list mailed at the estimated first class presort rate of 35 cents each would cost $376,973.45 to mail. And if sent at the full first class rate of 42 cents, the cost would be $452,368.14. The gap between full-rate first class and the estimated nonprofit rate would be $301,578.76. Were the manipulation of paratextual variables able to create the look of a first class mail for a third the cost, well over a quarter million dollars would be saved. AHA's 2005 campaign generated a net income of $828,726.87. The potential savings by using nonprofit postage (assuming response would not be diminished) would have been 36% of the total raised. I now turn to an analysis of the campaign.

Franciscan Friars of the Atonement. The last test suggests this with a test of the use of nonprofit presort stamps with a mailing sent by a Catholic monastic order, Franciscan Friars of the Atonement (FFA), headquartered in Garrison NY. FFA wished to test the difference in response that could be attributed to an alternate postage treatment using a Computer HandScripted envelope along with a nonprofit stamp that was cancelled with a PostCode mark.

The envelopes below illustrate the effect FFA tested. Both envelopes were identical, save for the fact that the nonprofit stamp of one was cancelled and the other was not cancelled. As with the American Heart Association test, the assumption driving the test was the hypothesis that paratextual variables could have an effect on the way donors received the mail piece.

Two panels of 10,000 pieces of mail each were equally divided into A and B splits of a 20,000 record data file. Every other record in the zip code-ordered file was assigned alternatively to either panel 6A or panel 6B. Panel 6A's stamps were mailed naked while a cancellation mark was printed across panel 6B's stamps. Written authorization was obtained from the USPS to be able to cancel nonprofit stamps. As with the AHA mailing described as panel 5A the hypothesis was that the closer a mail piece resembled personal correspondence, the higher the likelihood it would get opened. Secondarily, the purpose was to also judge if this could also lower postage costs.

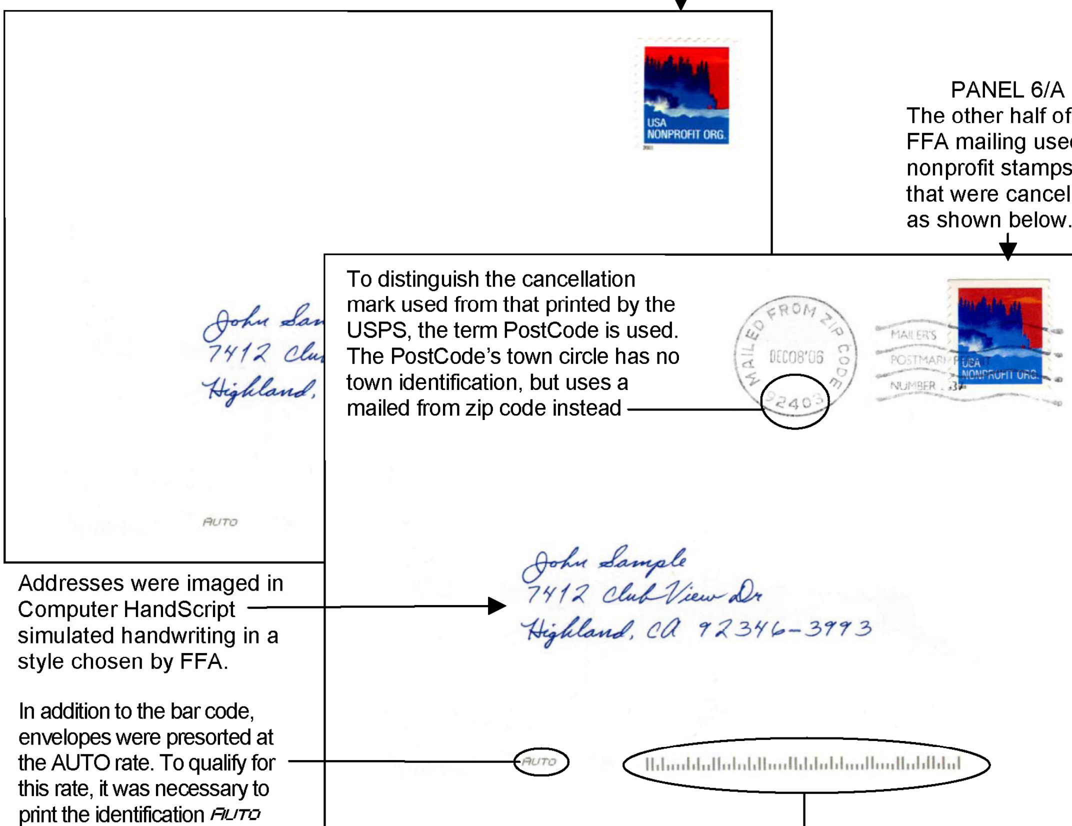
Test 6 -- Franciscan Friars of the Atonement

Each panel of this A/B split of a 20,000 record mailing list was sent a Computer HandScript note card package. Panel 6A was addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript simulated handwriting. A nonprofit stamp was then affixed and canceled using a PostCode mailer's postmark by the mail house. Only the outer envelope was stamped. The outer envelope's bar code and the AUTO rate designation were also printed in the lower right corner where the USPS prints the bar code on full-rate first class mail. This was done in order to give the envelope the look of first class mail. Panel 6B was sent an identical package. Like panel 6A, panel 6B's package was addressed and personalized in Computer HandScript simulated handwriting. A nonprofit stamp was also affixed and was the outer envelope's bar code and the AUTO rate designation were printed in the lower right corner. However, nonprofit stamps on panel 6B's outer envelopes were mailed naked (not canceled). The test was configured to determine if the effect cancellation of a nonprofit stamp would have on response.

Outgoing Envelope

PANEL 6/B
Half the envelopes of the FFA mailing used nonprofit stamps that were not cancelled.

PANEL 6/A
The other half of the FFA mailing used nonprofit stamps that were cancelled, as shown below.



Addresses were imaged in Computer HandScript simulated handwriting in a style chosen by FFA.

In addition to the bar code, envelopes were presorted at the AUTO rate. To qualify for this rate, it was necessary to print the identification AUTO on the envelope. Rather than printing this in a font or location that would take away from the personal affect sought, a digital font that resembled what the Post Office uses was chosen.

Additional features not used with the AHA mailing include a Postnet Bar code. Most mail shops print bar codes to offer low mailing rates, however, by printing them immediately above or immediately below the address block, their positioning suggests that mail was mass-produced and is not personal. The bar codes on the FFA envelopes were printed in the lower right corner of the envelope because that is where the USPS prints them code on first class mail. The idea was to make the envelope look like a card someone had dropped in the mail to a friend.

Figure.112 Two contrasting envelope treatments for Franciscan Friars of the Atonement: a Computer HandScript addressed envelope with a naked (not cancelled) nonprofit stamp versus another with the stamp PostCode cancelled.

Table 4.42. Master Summary of Test of PostCode for Franciscan Friars of the Atonement.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Franciscan Friars of the Atonement Test of Postcode Cancellation of Precanceled Stamps</th></tr>
<tr><th>TEST/ PANEL</th><th>Description of Test and Control Panels</th><th>Note Cards Mailed</th><th>Percent Change in Response Rate of Test over Control:</th></tr>
<tr><td>6A</td><td>TEST:
Computer HandScripted Note Card, Mailed with a PostCoded* Nonprofit stamp on envelope (Test Cancelled Look)</td><td>10,000</td><td>5.6%</td></tr>
<tr><td>6B</td><td>CONTROL:
Computer HandScripted Note Card, Mailed with a Naked Nonprofit stamp on envelope (Control Not Cancelled Look)</td><td>10,000</td><td>4.4%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Two Measures of the Percentage Change In Response Attributable to the Printing of a PostCode Cancellation Mark Across the Face of Presort Nonprofit Postage Stamps:</td><td>Incremental Lift in the Response Rate of Test Panel (with Cancelled Stamps) over Control Panel (with Naked Stamps): +1.2%

Overall Lift in the Response (measures what the 1.2% difference between the two panels is as a percentage of the Control rate of 4.4%): +27.27%</td></tr>
</table>

*** A PostCode cancellation mark includes what the USPS calls a *town circle*—literally a circle the size of a nickel coin—inside of which are printed the date of mailing, zip code of origin, and optionally the date of mailing. (The date of mailing is required if the mail piece is sent at the first class presort rate).**

Ironically, the PostCode town circle does not actually include the *town* identification. Called a blind postmark, the PostCode town circle only includes the zip code of origin. This is an advantage for those using a mailing service in another city because it creates the illusion that their letters were mailed locally (unless, of course, someone with a keen eye were to notice the different zip code).

Finally, to the right of the *town circle*, four wavy lines are printed across the face of the postage stamp. Together the town circle and four wavy lines are called the PostCode Cancellation. It basically looks just like the cancellation mark the Post Office has printed across first class stamps since Benjamin Franklin was the Postmaster. He designed the cancellation mark after that used in England in the colonial era.

The rationale for printing a PostCode Cancellation Mark across the face of precanceled stamps (which the USPS defines as commercial bulk, nonprofit, or first class presort denominations) is the hypothesis that by canceling them, they will look like ordinary first class stamps. The reasoning is that this additional step will keep a piece of mail from being discarded because instead of obviously looking like junk mail, the reader may think it is something he or she should keep and read. Moreover, if the strategy increases response, the savings can reduce postage costs of mail normally sent at the full first class rate by as much as a third.

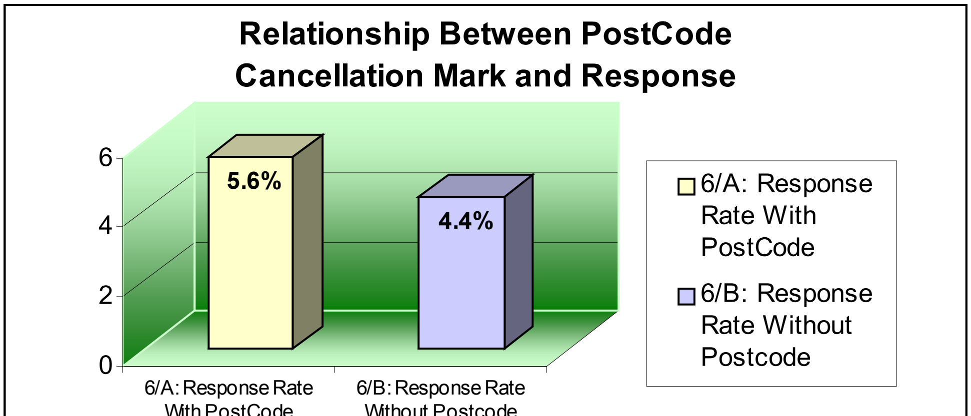


Figure 4.113. Response variation between packages with cancelled versus naked nonprofit stamps.

This back-end information provided after the results of this mailing were processed does not begin to approach the level of data sophistication exhibited in that provided by the American Heart Association. However, the simplicity of the FFA test makes analysis is thus less complicated and adds one more bit of credence to the suggestion that use of PostCode as a method of personalizing mail is in order.

The *incremental* lift in the rate of test panel 6A (with *Cancelled* Stamps) over Control Panel 6B (with *Naked* Stamps) is +1.2%. Overall Lift in the Response (measures what the 1.2% difference between the two panels is as a percentage of the Control rate of 4.4%): +27.27%.

The result of this test helps confirm again that perhaps one of the most significant moves nonprofit can make to improve response rates is to give attention to how their mail appears as it lays on the table where their donors lay it as they bring it in from the mail box. Does it land in the keep pile? Or does is blend in with other mass-produced pieces? The following illustrations summarize the challenge nonprofits face with getting their mail opened and the hope hand personalization and canceling discounted stamps holds out.

As important as the ability to use linguistic features that connect with donors by creating interpersonal involvement, as important as the ability to humanize the voice of philanthropy with stories about real people, as important as targeting the correct segments of a list by understanding what the data says motivates individuals to give—none of that matters if the envelope doesn't get opened.

The data on tests of two paratextual variables (hand-personalization and the cancellation of presort stamps with PostCode) seems to give hope that mail can be given a more personal look that will help it survive the sort when it reaches donor's homes and in turn increased response, at least in this test, helped to improve campaign results. Moreover, as noted above, if the use of discounted postage along with PostCode could even make nonprofit stamps look first class and get similar results as the AHA test did with first class presort stamps, the savings could be more than a quarter million dollars on postage alone on a similar mailing of 1 million-plus pieces of mail. While every organization and every organization's donors are different, the results American Heart Association and Franciscan Friars of the Atonement were able to achieve, should prompt organizations to test the techniques they found successful.

The Final section summarizes the implications of the three subjects this dissertation has considered—the Multidimensional analysis of fund-raising discourse produced by America's leading nonprofit organizations, a survey of the leaders in those organizations who produced that discourse, and a review of six tests evaluating the efficacy of two paratextual variables to improve performance—Computer HandScript and PostCode personalization.

> *It is a general rule that a written composition should be easy to read and therefore easy to deliver. This cannot be so where there are many connecting words or clauses, or where punctuation is hard, as in the writings of Heracleitus. To punctuate Heracleitus is no easy task, because we often cannot tell whether a particular word belongs to what precedes or what follows it.*
>
> *It should be observed that each kind of rhetoric has its own appropriate style.…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.*
>
> *Again, you must make use of the emotions. Relate the familiar manifestations of them.*
>
> *The narration should depict character; to which end you must know what makes it do so. One such thing is the indication of moral purpose; the quality of purpose indicated determines the quality of character depicted and is itself determined by the end pursued. Thus it is that mathematical discourses depict no character; they have nothing to do with moral purpose, for they represent nobody as pursuing any end.*
>
> *Next, when the facts and their importance are clearly understood, you must excite your hearers' emotions. These emotions are pity, indignation, anger, hatred, envy, emulation, pugnacity.*
>
> *Fear and pity may be aroused by spectacular means; but they may also result from the inner structure of the piece, which is the better way, and indicates a superior poet. For the plot ought to be so constructed that, even without the aid of the eye, he who hears the tale told will thrill with horror and melt to pity at what takes place.*
>
> *(Source: Aristotle's Rhetoric, 1954a).*

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

From Aristotle's comments in *Rhetoric*, it seems the challenge of imbuing the written word with the same emotional range and impact of speech transcends the ages. This research, confirms what was said in the opening lines. We all write. But effective writing is more difficult than it looks. Fund-raising discourse in particular—discourse that needs to communicate in the voice of those who have no voice—requires emotional range, interpersonal involvement, and a narrative platform that gives readers a window into the lives of people. It does not take pages. In what I call a *connecting narrative moment* a few words can make a powerful impression. The challenge for the profession of fund raising is to evaluate the written discourse of it practitioners. Nonprofit organizations, associations, and leaders within organizations need to intervene strategically to analyze, educate and train leaders to be effective writers of the voice of philanthropy.

At the beginning I noted that this study would examine three areas:

- First, I set out to analyze a corpus of texts produced by large nonprofit organizations and compare linguistic features revealed with the descriptions contained in a similar study alluded to above, by Connor and Upton (2003). I used quantitative methods from the field of corpus linguistics to describe patterns of co-occurring features in texts that marked them as accomplishing certain tasks. I also made use of several qualitative tools from the fields of rhetorical discourse analysis.
- Second, through a survey of those who write or cause the discourse of fund raising to be written, I sought to develop a profile of how leaders at large nonprofit organizations were equipped to write the voice of philanthropy.
- Third, I sought to evaluate six empirical tests measuring the effect of manipulating paratextual variables designed to create a more personal look in direct mail through hand personalization.

Scholars in the field of narrative psychology (Brunner 1959, 1986, 1990, 1995, 1996, 2002; Sarbain, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1988, Brothers, 1997) suggest that narrative communication evokes greater empathy and helps humans make meaning. Popular opinion has assumed fund-raising letters, it has been assumed, are highly charged emotional appeals that are filled with stories designed to tug readers emotions, often at the expense of rational judgment. However, using Douglas Biber's multidimensional analysis protocols, the data from more than 1.5 million words of text across 2.412 documents in nine philanthropic sectors representing 880 of American top nonprofit organizations confirmed an earlier study by researchers Tom Upton and Ulla Connor at Indiana University—that fund-raising letters are not at all what popular opinion has assumed them to be. Like so many things that on the surface sound plausible, truth has walked three standard deviations from the myth of the mean. The data suggest, no—the data actually *confirms*—that on the whole, fund raisers do *not* tell stories. The data confirm that neither do they seek to use prose to develop emotionally charged discourse nor do they create interpersonal involvement. Just the opposite is true. Those who are essentially the voice of philanthropy are a pretty weak voice if Biber's protocols help define strength as producing discourse that uses narrative and creates interpersonal involvement.

Of course, if the success criteria used to evaluate texts eliminate, by definition, these factors as unimportant, then things are fine just as they are. However, practitioners (about whom it is popular among scholars to cast aspersions for not being scholarly) define good fund-raising discourse as that which tells stories, builds relationships, and appeals to emotion. The overarching problem this study revealed is that fund raisers seem to persist in writing the same kind of prose they wrote in their higher education experiences—concentrated with prepositions, nouns, and precise vocabulary learned in their academic upbringing. Theirs is *discourse de facto*—(writing as a matter of practice). Those who write the discourse of philanthropy write as if they were *in fact* in another place at another time, writing for another audience with another goal: to impress an audience of one who is no longer there. What is need is *discourse de jure* (discourse written according to laws of communication)—laws that help focus the writer on connecting with readers at an interpersonal and emotional level. Thus writers need to be educated and trained to humanize their discourse. This is what the evidence of the linguistic data *confirms*.

In addition, the tests of mailings extended the notion of interpersonal involvement to the paratextual realm by examining the response to mail pieces by the American Heart Association and Franciscan Friars of the Atonement that heightened interpersonal involvement by virtue of the physical appearance of the direct mail piece looked. The intention was to manage the first impression made as the piece met the recipient's eye. It was suggested that envelope treatments, which most would dismiss as having nothing to do with a serious study of rhetorical and linguistic and rhetorical variables, has everything to do with them. It is actually job one for any nonprofit organization that depends on mail for a significant part of its income. Prize-winning copy, elegant art, the perfect reason to give, and the perfectly targeted list are irrelevant if the envelope in which the letter presenting the above does not get opened. *Nothing else matters if the envelope doesn't get opened.* In testing, the variables of hand-personalization and envelope design show relationships between these variables and response.

What has been discovered? My assumption is that the leaders of America's elite nonprofits (most of whom have higher level degrees) write like they were still in college seeking to please a professor. Their work product and opinions, represented in this study, suggest that their style of writing habits, long after their formal education is over, continue to reflect the constraining influence of the culture of higher education, whose measurement-reward systems mitigate against the kind of writing successful practitioners suggest works well in fundraising. I assume academia's influence on writing style lasts a lifetime and his hard to unlearn. The implications are significant for the profession of fund raising. Steps need to be taken to teach those who communicate on behalf of their organizations via the written word how to write the voice of philanthropy—how to think of their work of communication literally as that of being an advocating voice for those who have no voice. This will require training in rhetorical and linguistic principles and the development of more codified curricula that provides a body of theory and practice, informed by practitioners and scholars.

The survey of the backgrounds, views, challenges, and ambitions of some 300 fund raisers among the top 880 organizations in America, helped profile how they have learned the principles and practices which influence their work. Most learned from mentors and on-the-job-training. One comment was telling:

> As in any field, the best way to be better equipped is to come in every day with the mindset of a sponge and absorb everything anyone can teach you. No one I know in this field went to school for it. We all have our reasons as to how we got into this field, but once there, very few leave.

Those who do go to school to prepare for work in the field of fund raising, often learn about the more esoteric notions of philanthropy. As I note in the abstract, few programs offer any depth of coverage on language factors associated with what I see as the heart of the task any nonprofit faces—to continuously, creatively, and thoroughly communicate with its donors and prospective donors so that those who that the ***helpers*** (professionals who serve the needy and enlist donors to help them in that task by giving and volunteering) must be skilled in communicating with the ***funders*** in order to enlist the resources necessary to help the ***needy*** . The location of this research is represented in Figure 4.114, culminating with what has been a three-fold focus: 1.) the written discourse of fund-raising, 2.) those write that discourse, and 3.) the paratextual variables influencing the delivery of that discourse to its target audiences. Going forward, I suggest the following conceptual map which, borrowing from the organizational model of Windows Explorer, I call *Philanthropy Explorer*. It is a deictic/heuristic for thinking about further research that might seek to further document and explore variables affecting the voice of philanthropy:

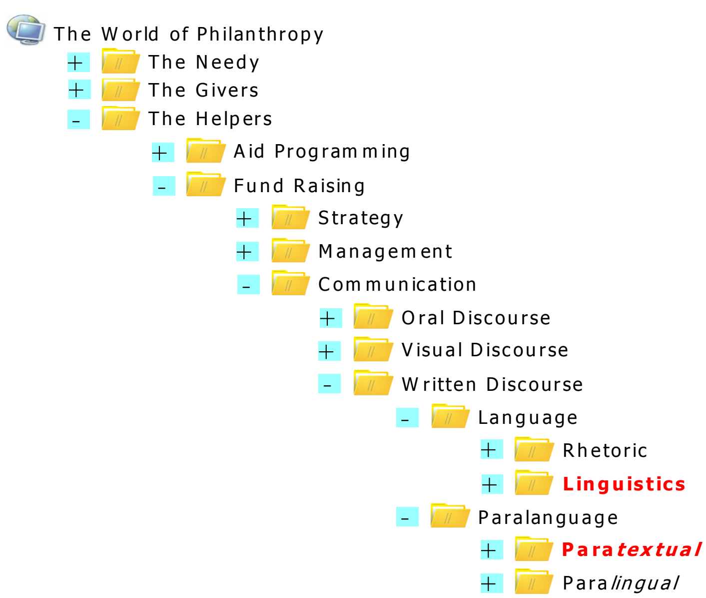


Figure 4.114. Locating this research in the world of philanthropy

I roundly criticized the ICIC Corpus for being lacking in its breadth and selection criteria. And I was sure my corpus selection process would find truly exemplary models of fund-raising discourse. That proved not to be the case. Just because the largest and most successful nonprofits were chosen did not guarantee exemplary texts would also be found. So before other criticize my study for a fault I found in others' best efforts, I criticize myself for falling short as well. So I conclude that the search for excellence in fund-raising discourse will require gaining cooperation from the nation's large advertising/fund-raising agencies whose staff, often after serving decades with larger nonprofits, move to those agencies to continue use their skills on behalf of a larger sphere of influence. They are the truly good writers. Theirs are the exemplary texts. My study has just been one more step. The next step would be to access this true brain trust of leaders in advertising agencies.

In addition to little formal training in writing the discourse of philanthropy, most nonprofit executives have been brought up in educational environments where emotion, creativity, personal stance, and emotion are not prized cultural values. Rather, as Bruner and Tannen observe, the paradigm of the scientific method runs so deep that few come out of higher education able to write well for anyone *but* those *in* higher education.

As the worldwide web began to grow in influence as a means of communication, many thought direct mail would soon decline rapidly and diminish as an influence in fund raising. However, the ubiquity of the online channel has opened it to many abuses and produced a degree of distrust and fatigue among users, wearied by endless unsolicited email. This seems to be confirmed in a survey by Internet software company Convivo (2008) documenting a steep decline in email effectiveness as a channel for fund raising. "Getting a donor or advocate to open an email message is getting tougher, down to 14 percent from 22 percent during the July 2005 to July 2006 period," Paul Clolery reported in the April 15, 2008 issue of trade publication, *The NonProfit Times*. He continues: "Even if they are opened, the click-through rate is only about 2 percent on appeal messages. Email fatigue and the increasing use of appended files are likely the primary reasons for the decline" (2008a p.1). This drop from 22 percent to 14 percent is a plummet in response of more than 36.36 percent. Clolery (2008b) reports another survey confirms this trend and suggests direct mail fund raising is here to stay.

Regardless of channel used or the size of gift sought in fund raising, the need that gives rise to the work of soliciting gifts must ultimately be mediated through language. And much of that must end up on paper or on screen. As a field on the road to becoming a profession, fund raising must better educate and train those who write the voice of philanthropy to effectively use language. This study is intended to inch the profession a little more in that direction. A handful of scholars stand out in this research as important contributors to the line of inquiry pursued—John Austin who said words actually do things, Deborah Tannen who found that texts could be placed on a continuum as that differentiated them as more or less interpersonally involving or information-focused; Kenneth Burke who viewed all communication as drama; Labov and Waletzky who observed that narratives of personal experience were often dramatic and were expressed in consistent patterns; Biber whose statistical innovations made it possible to describe dimensions of variation in discourse by measuring the co-occurrence of salient linguistic features; Bhatia who straight-jacketed fund-raising discourse as a genre with mandatory rhetorical and linguistic features—a homogenizing of the mediocre as models of excellence; Connor and Upton who applied Bhatia's genre model and Biber's methodology to measure texts in the ICIC corpus; and finally American Heart Association and Franciscan Friars of the Atonement, whose generosity with campaign data illustrated that paratext affects involvement and thus—direct mail response.

I will conclude as I began this summary with Aristotle. In the prefatory remarks to *Rhetoric*:

> Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible. . . . Secondly, persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions….Thirdly, persuasion is effected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question. 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. (Aristotle, Book I: 2)

The data confirm that as nonprofit leaders write the voice of philanthropy, they focus on their organization's credibility and arguments for the worthiness of their cause. But they fail to portray adequately the human drama their organizations witness every day. Recall the scene described earlier as the Good Samaritan stood in the lobby of a lodge in ancient Jericho, asking an innkeeper to take over the task of caring for the badly beaten man he had rescued from sure death. Few can translate into words, without being denuded of emotional impact, the analog of the Good Samaritan drama, about what they witness day in and day out. Were they to talk about their work face to face across a table at Starbucks over a Latte, the drama of what occurred would be retained. But when forced to put it in writing, it is as if their brains grow the emotion disappears and the human voice is replaced with a mechanical facsimile. Therefore, the key to strengthening, indeed *humanizing* the voice of philanthropy requires that nonprofit leaders see the human drama in their work and write about what they might see were they a movie director seeing the action through the lens a camera:

Actors we hate, love, cheer, and cry for:

- The unnamed pimp in the Covenant House letter; Janice, the young teenage runaway-tuned prostitute; the Crisis Van workers who rescued her

- Darwin "Trey" Miller, the gifted young man who was afforded the privilege of earning a Ph.D. at Stanford despite the failure of his family's business; a donor who cared and gave a scholarship
- A school that targets full scholarships exclusively to youth from families whose incomes fall in the lower one-third of the national average—Berea College
- Syla the holocaust survivor who placed her life, and the lives of her children in danger, to rescue Jews in Ukraine from extermination at the hands of Himmler's Einsatzgruppen

Scenes that provide the realism that make the actor's stories realistic:

- A cold New York street at 2:00 am where a runaway teenager faces danger
- A Stanford dorm room where a student aware of the privilege he has been given works almost round-the-clock to succeed
- A work-study program at Berea College where students who have been given the privilege of an education, but also learn the value and dignity of work as they study
- A home in World War II Korostishev, Ukraine turned pension for Hitler's SS officers who are entertained by their host Syla, who listens for clues to which of her neighbors will be their next targets for deportation to concentration camps, then with her sons warns them at great risk.

Agencies by which nonprofits change lives through specific interventions and *become the Friend of Mankind*:

- Covenant House's Crisis Van roams the streets of New York like a rolling Noah's Arc, rescuing lost children
- Stanford's scholarships become the means by which gifted student's dreams are fulfilled
- Berea's philosophy of targeting of gifted students from the nation's families whose income is in the lower third of income earned, becomes a powerful agent of advocacy for the poor
- American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) exemplifies the Jewish tradition of *Chesed* (lovingkindness) exemplified in the biblical story of Ruth and given modern-day wheels in JDC's *Hesed*Mobile, which cares for the elderly.

Whether analyzed with Labov and Waletzky's model, Kenneth Burke's, Vladimir Propp's, Mieke Bal's, Seymour Chatman's, Wayne Booth's—or one of any number of scholars in the fields of language and rhetoric—the key is to see the story, hear it, and then translate the essential struggles, heartaches, hopes and fears and the people, scenes, and agents of change, into texts that move individuals to care and then to give.

My title *Writing the Voice of Philanthropy* reflects the challenge inherent in mixing media. The idea of *writing* the *voice* seems like a mismatched pair of words. The tension, of course, is intentional. It is meant to show the strain in the task of reflecting emotion, interpersonal involvement, and vision for a cause in text. In a sense, the only way to write the voice of philanthropy is to translate the voice one hears, the images one sees, real life dramas one feels to text without losing emotional range. Kenneth Burke suggests that all communication is essentially drama, and that the notion of identification with others is the essential goals of communication. Thus he calls his rhetorical analysis model dramatism. Douglas Biber's multidimensional analysis helps writers measure their written output on several dimensional scales, which analysis helps quantify the degree to which linguistic elements which might produce drama are retained or lost in text.

In the introduction to this research, I presented a first century example of how one writer attempted to retain the drama behind a project for which he was raising funds. In a letter to his friend Cornelius Tacitus, Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Pliny the Younger) sought to raise funds for a local school in his hometown of Como, northern Italy. Pliny retained the drama of the cause by telling his friend about a conversation with several local fathers and sons with whom he discussed the need. He basically told a story in his letter. I close with yet another letter written hundreds of years ago to raise funds for another school. This letter, dated 18 September 1633, was written by John Eliot to help raise money for a new college in the Massachusetts Bay colony. Eliot, a 1622 graduate of Jesus College of Cambridge, sought to enlist financial assistance to build a school in Newtowne (later Cambridge), Massachusetts). He wrote to a wealthy Suffolk gentleman whose acquaintance he had made during his time at Jesus College—Sir Simonds D'Ewes. A portion of his letter is reproduced here from the Jesus College archives. In addition to many obsolete spellings and seemingly odd abbreviations, as was customary at the time, the text uses the letter "v" to represent the letter "u" and the notation "&c" for the modern equivalent "etc." In part, Eliot's appeal to De'Ewes for funds reads as follows:

> … if we norish not Larning both church & common wealth will sinke: & because I am vpon this poynt I beseech you let me be bould to make one motion, for the furtheranc of Larning among vs: God hath bestowed vpon you a bounty full blessing; now if you should please, to imploy but one mite, of that greate welth which God hath given, to erect a schoole of larning, a colledg among vs; you should doe a most glorious work, acceptable to God & man; & the commemoration of the first founder of the means of Larning, would be a perpetuating of your name & honour among vs: …. Such yong men as may be trained vp [m]ust beare theire own charges: only we want a house convenient, now the bare building of a house big enough for our young beginnings will be done with litle charge: I doubt not but if you should sett apart but 500 pound for that work, it would be a sufficient begining, & would make convenient housing for this many years; nay 400 or 300 would doe pretty well ….doe only this; send a sure bill of payment, of such a summe of mony to be imployed for such & such buildings &c: I say send such a bill to our worthy governour, & who else you will; & they will doe the worke presently, &, take payment in England, by returning that bill, & assigning it to be

> paide, as they thinke fitt for thire vse; or if you shall please send so much ready mony; or so much in marchandable commoditys; though it be troublesome:….. (Jesus College, ¶¶ 3,4)

Eliot's letter appealed to what fund-raising practitioners call the legacy motivation. Eliot suggests to D'Ewes that his gift would result in naming the school after him and thus the "perpetuating of your name & honour among vs." The appeal did not work. The relationship was apparently not close, and the motivation of having a log cabin school named in his honor was apparently not sufficient motive to Sir Simonds (Wright, 1954).

The gift that finally gave Harvard its name, however, came as a result of a relationship between two individuals who *were* close. The school's first master, Nathaniel Eaton spent time with his friend and classmate from their days at Cambridge's Trinity College—John Harvard. Harvard had arrived in Boston in May 1637. But after contracting tuberculosis, he died on September 14. 1638. However, during his short eighteen months in Massachusetts, he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his friend Nathaniel's work at and vision for the new school. As a result, Harvard bequeathed £799, half his estate, and his library of approximately 400 books to the nascent college. The school was renamed Harvard College on March 13, 1639 (Morison, 1936a).

While Eliot had failed to raise funds through a letter to an acquaintance (but not a close friend), Eaton's relationship with a friend who shared his vision for the new school led to a different result. Interpersonal involvement and friendship was the difference (Morison, 1936b). Harvard chose to remember his friend and his friend's vision for education. The key was the ingredient of interpersonal involvement. In the case of two longtime former schoolmates, it was certainly not a manufactured relationship borne out of a desire to just cultivate a gift. And certainly Eaton did not view Harvard as one who was near the end of his life. The gift came as a result of a friendship and shared vision for the cause of higher education in the new world.

A key factor in fund raising discourse is the notion that what we say and write can either focus on interpersonal involvement and people or on facts and concepts. The former builds friendships and shared vision. Conversely, the latter does not. Biber's multidimensional analysis and the rhetorical models used here to analyze various texts, enables one to examine their writing in light of the goals of building relationships and shared vision. Few nonprofits have the luxury of strolling with a friend and former classmate like John Harvard whose gift helps fund their organization's future. But careful attention to the use of language can build interpersonal involvement and communicate drama in by cutting connecting narrative moments in the text. These are the keys to writing the voice of philanthropy in such a way that long-term donor relationships are cultivated and money is raised with words—or more aptly with word pictures.

References

AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy. (2007). *Giving USA 2006: The annual report on philanthropy for the year 2006*. New York: American Association of Fundraising Counsel.

AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy. (2008). *Giving USA 2007: The annual report on philanthropy for the year 2007*. New York: American Association of Fundraising Counsel.

Abelen, Eric; Redeker, Gisela; & Thompson, Sandra A. (1993). The rhetorical structure of U.S.-American and Dutch fund-raising letters. *Text*, *13*(3), 323-350.

Abraham, Werner. (1991). *Discourse particles across languages*. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter.

Adams, Kenneth A. (2004). *A Manual of Style for Contract Drafting*. Chicago: American Bar Association.

Adler, Mortimer. (1940). *How to read a book: The art of getting a liberal education*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Advertising Hall of Fame. (2008). *E. St. Elmo Lewis*. Retreived May 7, 2008 from http://www.advertisinghalloffame.org/members/member_bio.php?memid=692.

AHF (Automobile Hall of Fame). (2008). Joe Girard: Inductee 2001. Retrieved October 26, 2008 from http://automotivehalloffame.org/honors/index.php?cmd=view&id=182&type=inductees

Aijmer, Karin. (2002). *English discourse particles: Evidence from a corpus*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Akinnaso, F. Niyi. (1982). On the differences between spoken and written language. *Language and Speech 25*, 97-125.

Akinnaso, F. Niyi. (1986). On the similarities between spoken and written language. *Language and Speech 25*, 323-359.

Allen, John; Cordes, Sam; & Filkins, Rebecca. (1998, November). *First-Class Versus Pre-Canceled Postage: A Cost/Benefit Analysis*. Paper presented at the 1998 Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research Annual Conference; Chicago, IL.

Andersen, Hans Christian. (1959). *The emperor's new clothes*. (Erik Blegvad, Translator and illustrator). New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Arbib, Michael A. (Ed.). (2006). *Action to language via the mirror neuron system*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aristotle. (1886). *Rhetoric*. (J.E.C, Weldon, trans.). London: MacMillan & Co.

Aristotle. (1954a). *Rhetoric*. (W. Rhys Roberts, trans.). New York: Modern Library.

Aristotle (1954b). *Poetics*. (Ingram Bywater, trans., Introduction by Friedrich Solmsen). New York: Modern Library.

Arndt, William F. & Gingrich, F Wilbur. (1957). *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature: A translation and adaptation of Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (4th revised and augmented ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Asch, David A. & Christakis, Nicholas. (1994). Different response rates in a trial of two envelope styles in mail survey research, *Epidemiology*, *5*(3), 364-365.

Austin, John L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Axelrod, Rise B. & Cooper, Charles R. (1988). *The St. Martin's Guide to Writing.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Aziz-Zadeh, Lisa; Wilson, Stephen M.; Rizzolatti, Giacomo; Iacoboni, Marco. (2006). Congruent embodied representations for visually presented actions and linguistic phrases describing actions. *Current Biology*, *16*(18), 1818-1823.

Bagozzi, Richard P. (1975). Marketing as exchange *Journal of Marketing*, *39*(4), 32-39.

Bailey, Kathleen. (2006). *Language teacher supervision: A case-based approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bain, Alexander. (1890). *English composition and rhetoric: A Manual*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Bain, Alexander. (1901). *Teaching English: With detailed examples and an inquiry into the definition of poetry*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

BBC. (2008). *History of the postal service*. Retreived September 9, 2008 from http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/alabaster/A1082558.

Baker, Margaret Ann. (1993). Direct mail sales letters: Form and substance. *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, *23*(2), 159-170.

Bal, Mieke. (1997). *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Barbieri, Fredreica. (2008). Patterns of age-based linguistic variation in American English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics 12*(1), 58–88.

Bargiela-Chiappini, Francesca & Nickerson, Catherine. (1999). *Writing business: Genres, media and discourses*. London: Longman.

Barlow, William. (2008). The Boston post office and the evolution of machine cancellation: An exhibit by Wm. P. Barlow, Jr.: Gold medal at INDYPEX 2008, June 27-29, 2008, Indianapolis, IN. Retrieved October 26, 2008 from http://machinecancel.org/exhibits/barlow_boston/barlow_boston_part3.pdf

Barnett, Betty J. (1991*). Friend Raising*. Seattle: YWAM Publishing.

Barry, Thomas E. & Howard, Daniel J. (1990). A review and critique of the hierarchy of effects in advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, *9*, 121-135.

Baumgarten, Nichole & Probst, Julia. (2005). The interaction of *spokenness* and *writtenness*. In Beedham, Christopher (Ed.). *Language and meaning: The structural creation of reality*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Berkenkotter, Carol & Huckin, Thomas N. (1995). G*enre knowledge in disciplinary communication: Cognition/culture/power*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Bernstein, Basil. (1961). Aspects of language learning in the genesis of social process. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry,* (*1*), 313-324.

Bernstein, Basil. (1964). Elaborated and restricted codes: Their social origins and some consequences, *American Anthropologist, 66*(6), part 2.

Berryman, Gregg. (1984). *Notes on Graphic Design and Visual Communication*. Los Altos, CA: William Kaufmann.

Besnier, Niko. (1990). Language and Affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *19*, 419-451.

Bhatia, Vijay K. (1993). *Analysing genre: Language use in professional settings*. New York: Longman.

Bhatia, Vijay K. (1997). Introduction: Genre analysis and world Englishes. *World Englishes*, *16*(3), 313-319.

Bhatia, Vijay K. (1998). Generic patterns in fundraising discourse. *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising*, *22*, 95-110.

Bhatia, Vijay K. (2002). Applied genre analysis: A multi perspective model. *Ibérica 4*, 3-19.

Biber, Douglas. (1984). *A model of textual relations within he written and spoken modes*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California.

Biber, Douglas. (1985). Investigating macroscopic textual variation through multi-feature/multi-dimensional analyses. *Linguistics 23*, 337-360.

Biber, Douglas. (1986). Spoken and written texutual dimensions in English: Resolving the contradictory findings. *Language*, *27*, 3-43.

Biber, Douglas. (1987). Spoken and written texutual dimensions in English: Resolving the contradictory findings. *American Speech 62*, 99-119.

Biber, Douglas. (1988). *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, Douglas. (1993). Representativeness of corpus design. *Literary and Linguistic Computing 8*(4), 243-257.

Biber, Douglas. (1995). *Dimensions of register variation: A cross-linguistic comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, Douglas. (2004). Conversation text types: A multi-dimensional analysis. *7es Journées internationals d'Analyse statistique des Données Textuelles (JADT).* <http://www.cavi.univparis3.fr/lexicometrica/ jadt/jadt2004/ pdf/JADT_000.pdf>

Biber, Douglas; Connor Ulla; & Upton, Thomas A. (2007). *Discourse on the move: Using corpus analysis to describe discourse structure.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Biber, Douglas & Conrad, Susan. (2003). Register Variation: A Corpus Approach. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen & Heidi E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Biber, Douglas; Conrad, Susan; & Reppen, Randi. (1998). *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, Douglas; Conrad, Susan; Reppen, Randi; Byrd, Pat; & Helt, Marie. (2002). Speaking and writing in the university: A multidimensional comparsion. *TESOL Quarterly,36*(1), 9-48.

Biber, Douglas & Finegan, Edward. (1988). Adverbial stance types in English. *Discourse Processes, 11*(1), 1-34.

Biber, Douglas; Johansson, Stig; Leech, Geoffrey; Conrad, Susan; & Finegan, Edward. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow, Essex England: Pearson Education.

Biber, Douglas & Vásquez, Camilla. (2008). Writing and speaking. In Charles Bazerman (Ed.), *Handbook of research on writing: History, society, school, individual, text* (pp. 535-548). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Birdwhistell, Ray L. (1970). *Kinesics and context.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Blakemore, Diane. (2002). *Relevance and linguistic meaning: The semantics and pragmatics of discourse markers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blankenship, Jane. (1962). A linguistic analysis of oral and written style. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *48*, 419-422.

Blakeslee, Sandra. (2006, January 10). Cells that read minds. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 23, 2008, from http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/10/science/ 10mirr.html

Bly, Carol. (1990). *The passionate, accurate story: Making your heart's truth into literature*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.

Blyler, Nancy Roundy. (1992). Narration and knowledge in direct solicitations. *Technical Communication Quarterly*, *3*, 59-72.

Booth, Wayne. (1983). *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Borden, Neil H. (1957). Daniel Starch. *The Journal of Marketing*, *21*(3), 265-267.

Borden, Neil H. (1964). The concept of the marketing mix. *Journal of Advertising Research*, June 1964, 2-7.

Bringhurst, Robert. (2004). *The elements of typographic style*. Point Roberts, WA: Hartley & Marks, Publishers.

Brothers, Leslie. (1997). *Friday's footprints: How society shapes the human mind*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brown, Gillian & Yule, George. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. (2002). *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Burke, Kenneth. (1945). *A rhetoric of motives*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Burke, Kenneth. (1950). *A grammar of motives*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Burke, Kenneth. (1966). *Language as symbolic action*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Burke, Kenneth. (1978). Questions and Answers about the Pentad. *College Composition, 29*(4), 330-335.

Burkhardt, Armin. (1990). *Speech Acts, Meanings and Intentions. Critical Approaches to the Philosophy of John R. Searle*. Berlin, Germany/New York: de Gruyter.

Camerer, Colin; Lowenstein, George; & Prelec, Drazen. (2005). Neuroeconomics: How neuroscience can inform economics. *Journal of Economic Literature, 43* 9–64.

Campbell, George. (1776/1844). *The philosophy of rhetoric*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. (1982). *The rhetorical act*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Caples, John. (1936). *Advertising for immediate sales*. New York: Harper.

Caples, Jonn. (1938). *Advertising ideas: A practical guide to methods that make advertisements work*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Caples, John. (1957). *Making ads pay*. Paramus, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Caples, John. (1974). *Tested advertising methods*. Paramus, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Caples, John. (1983). *How to make your advertising make more money*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Carpenter, Clint. (2001, September 15). "A" in penmanship: Hand-written notes are working. *The NonProfit Times*, p. 14.

Carroll, John B. (1960). Vectors of prose style. In T.A. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in language* (pp. 283-292). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chafe, Wallace. (1979). The flow of thought and the flow of language. In Talmy Givón, (Ed.), *Discourse and Syntax* (pp. 159-181). New York: Academic Press.

Chafe, Wallace. (1982). Integration and involvement in speaking, writing and oral literature. In Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy* (pp. 35-53). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chafe, Wallace. (1984). Integration and involvement in speaking, writing and oral literature. In Tasso Borbe (Ed.), *Semiotics unfolding* (pp. 1095-1102). Berlin: Moulton.

Chafe, Wallace. (1987). Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Russell Tomlin (Ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse* (pp. 21-51). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chafe, Wallace & Danielewicz, Jane. (1987). Properties of spoken and written language. In Rosalind Horowitz & S. Jay Samuels (Eds.), *Comprehending oral and written language* (pp. 83-113). San Diego: Academic Press.

Chafe, Wallace. (1992). The flow of ideas in a sample of written language. In William C. Mann & Sandra A. Thompson (Eds.), *Discourse description: Diverse linguistic analyses of a fund-raising text* (pp. 267-294). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Chafe, Wallace & Tannen, Deborah. (1987). The relation between written and spoken language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *16*, 383-407.

Chase, Alston H. & Phillips, Henry, Jr. (1972). *A new introduction to Greek* (3rd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chatman, Seymour (1978). *Story and discourse: Narrative structure in fiction and film*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Clarke, Cheryl A. (2001). *Storytelling for grantseekers: The guide to creative nonprofit fundraising*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clift, Rebecca. (2005, August). *Indexing stance: reported speech as an interactional evidential*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA. Retrieved October 23, 2008 from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p22705_index.html.

Clolery, Paul. (2008b, April 15). Get an email address, generate income: Benchmarking study shows what's working and not working online. *The NonProfit Times*, pp. 1,4.

Clolery, Paul. (2008a, May 15). You've Got Mail? Donor lists growing, open rates dropping. *The NonProfit Times*. P. 212.

Cobban, Alan B. (2001). English university benefactors in the middle ages. *History*, *86*(283), 288-312

Cook, Guy. (1992). *The discourse of advertising*. London: Routledge.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny & Gumperz, John Joseph. (1981). *From oral to written: The transition to literacy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Connor, Ulla. (1998). Epilogue. *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising*, *22*, 111-114.

Connor, Ulla. (2000). Variation in rhetorical moves in grant proposals of US humanists and scientists. *Text*, *20* (1), 1-28.

Connor, Ulla. (2001, February). Persuasive appeals in direct mail letters. In T. Upton (Chair), *How to make a better pitch: Analyzing philanthropic discourse through corpus linguistics*. Colloquium conducted at the annual meeting of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL), St. Louis, MO.

Connor, Ulla; Anthony, Molly; & Gladkov, Kostya. (2007). *Rhetorical appeals in fundraising.* In Douglas Biber, Ulla Connor & Thomas A. Upton (Eds.). *Discourse on the move: Using corpus analysis to describe discourse structure* (pp. 121-154). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Connor, Ulla & Gladkov, Kostya. (2004). Rhetorical appeals in fundraising direct mail letters. In Ulla Connor & Thomas A. Upton (Eds.). *Discourse in the professions: Perspectives from corpus linguistics* (pp. 257-286). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. 2004.

Connor, Ulla & Mauranen, Anna. (1999). Linguistic analysis of grant proposals: European Union research grants. *English for Specific Purposes*, *18*(1), 47-62.

Connor, Ulla & Upton, Thomas A. (2003). Linguistic dimensions of direct mail letters. In Pepi Leistyna & Charles F. Meyer (Eds). *Corpus analysis: Language structure and language use* (pp. 71-86). Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2003.

Connor, Ulla & Upton, Thomas A. (2004). The genre of grant proposals: A corpus linguistic analysis. In Ulla Connor & Thomas A. Upton (Eds.). *Discourse in the professions: Perspectives from corpus linguistics* (pp. 236-255). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. 2004.

Connor, Ulla & Wagner, Lilya. (1998). Language use in grant proposals by nonprofits: Spanish and English. *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising 22*, 59-73.

Conrad, Susan & Biber, Douglas. (2000). Adverbial marking of stance in speech and writing. In Susan Hunston & Geoffrey Thompson (Eds.), *Evaluation in text* (pp. 56-73). New York: Oxford University Press.

Conrad, Susan & Biber, Douglas. (2001). Multi-dimensional methodology and the dimensions of register variation in English. In Susan Conrad & Douglas Biber, (Eds.),V*ariation in English: Multi-Dimensional studies* (pp. 13-42). New York: Longman.

Convivo. (2008). *The Convio Online Marketing Nonprofit Benchmark Index Study.* Austin: Convivo, Inc.

Corbett, Edward P. J. & Connors, Robert J. (1999). *Classical rhetoric for the modern student* (4th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Covenant House. (2008, July 14), *Covenant House History: Timeline.* Retrieved July 14, 2008, from http://www.covenanthouse.org/ab_history.htmlmirror_neurons/print.html.

Cramer, Duncan & Howitt, Dennis. (2004). The Sage Dictionary of Statistics: A Practical Resource for Students in the Social Sciences. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Crismore, Avon. (2001, February). *Rhetorical roles of metadiscourse and pronouns in fundraising letters.* In T. Upton (Chair), *How to make a better pitch: Analyzing philanthropic discourse through corpus linguistics*. Colloquium conducted at the annual meeting of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL), St. Louis, MO.

Curti, Merle E. & Nash, Roderick. (1965). *Philanthropy in the shaping of American higher education*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Cutlip, Scott M. (1965). *Fundraising in the United States: Its role in America's philanthropy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Damasio, Antonio R. (1994). *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason, and the human brain*. New York: Quill, Harper Collins

Damasio, Antonio R. (1999). *The feeling of what happens: Body and emotion in the making of consciousness*. New York: Harcourt & Brace.

Damasio, Antonio R. (2003). *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, sorrow and the feeling in the brain*. New York: Harcourt.

Dancygier, Barbara. (1998). *Conditionals and prediction: Time, knowledge, and causation in conditional constructions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

David, Carole. (1999). Words of women: A study of executives' rhetorical strategies. In Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini & Catherine Nickerson (Eds.), *Writing business: Genres, media and discourses* (pp. 153-177). Essex, England: Pearson Education.

Declerck, Renaat; Reed, Susan; and Cappelle, Bert. (2006). *The grammar of the English tense system: A comprehensive analysis*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Deighton, John & Romer, Daniel, Josh. Josh. (1989). Using drama to persuade. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *16*(3), 335-343.

DeVito, Joseph A. (1965). Comprehension factors in oral and written discourse of skilled communicators. *Speech Monographs, 32*, 124-128.

DeVito, Joseph A. (1966a). Psychogrammatical factors in oral and written discourse by skilled communicators. *Speech Monographs 33*, 73-76.

DeVito, Joseph A. (1966b). Levels of abstraction in spoken and written language. *Journal of Communication. 17* 354-361.

Dichter Ernest. (1947a). The psychology of everyday living. New York: Barnes & Noble.

Dichter, Ernest. (1947b). Psychology in market research. *Harvard Business Review. 25*, 432-443.

Dichter, Ernest. (1948). These are the real reaons why people buy goods. *Advertising and Selling. July*, 33-34.

Dichter, Ernest. (1949). A psychological review of advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Marketing*, *14*, 61-66.

Dichter, Ernest. (1964). *Handbook of consumer motivations: the psychology of the world of objects*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Dichter, Ernest. (1971). *Motivating human behavior*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Dichter, Ernest. (1979). *Getting motivated by Ernest Dichter: The secret behind individual motivations by the man who was not afraid to ask "why?"* New York: Pergamon Press.

Dichter, Ernest. (1986). How to test advertising copy correctly. In B. Lipstein (Ed.), *Copy research: A historical perspective* (pp. 107-117). New York: The Advertising Research Foundation.

Dillman, Don A. (1978). *Mail and telephone surveys: The total design method*. New York: John Wiley.

Dillman, Don A. (2000). *Mail and Internet surveys: The tailored design method*. New York: John Wiley.

Dillman, Don A., Clark, J. R., and Sinclair, M. A. (1995). How prenotice letters, stamped return envelopes, and reminder postcards affect mailback response rates for census questionnaires. *Survey Methodology*, *21*, 1-7.

DiPardo, Anne. (1990). Narrative knowers, expository knowledge: Disourse as a dialectic. *Written Communication*, *7*(1), 59-95.

DMA (Direct Marketing Association). (2008). *Direct Marketing Facts & Figures in the Nonprofit Industry*. New York: DMA.

Dragga, Sam & Gong, Gwendolyn. (1989). *Editing: The Design of Rhetoric*. Amityville, NY: Baywood.

Drucker, Peter (1973). *Management: Tasks, responsibilities, practices*. New York: Harper & Row.

Drucker, Peter. (1990). *Managing the nonprofit organization: Principles and practices*. New York. HarperCollins.

Duronio, Margartet A. & Tempel, Eugene R. (1997). *Fund raisers: Their careers, stories, concerns, and accomplishments*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Douglas, James. (2000). Political theories of nonprofit organizations. In Steven Ott, *The nature of the nonprofit sector* (pp. 205-216). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Edell, Julie A. & Burke, Marian C. (1987). The power of feelings in understanding advertising effects. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *14*, 421-433

Edelman, Murray (1964). *The symbolic use of politics*. Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press.

Engel, James F., Blackwell, Roger D., & Kollat David T. (1968). *Consumer Behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Essberger, Josef. (2007). *English preposition list: 150 prepositions including 370 sample sentences 200 quiz questions with answers illustrated*. Cambridge, England: EnglishClub.com

Eviatar, Zohar & Just, Marcel Adam. (2006). Brain correlates of discourse processing: An fMRI investigation of irony and conventional metaphor comprehension. *Neuropsychologia*, *44*(12), 2348-2359.

Firth, John R. (1950). Personality and language in society. *Sociological Review 42*, 37-52.

Fitzmaurice, Susan. (2000). Remarks on the degrammaticalization of infinitive *to* in present-day American English. In Olga Fischer, Anette Rosenbach & Dieter Stein (Eds.). *Pathways of change: grammaticalization in English* (pp. 171-186). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fishbein, Martin & Ajzen, Icek (1975). *Belief, attitude, intention and behavior: An introduction to theory and research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Flesch, Rudolf. (1960). *How to write, speak and think more effectively*. New York: Signet, Penguin Books.

Flowerdew, Lynne. (1998). Corpus linguistics applied to textlinguistics. *System*, *26*, 541-552

Forster, Edward Morgan. (1927). *Aspects of the Novel*. New York: Harcourt.

Forte, Jim. (2008). United States and Worldwide Postal History. Retrieved October 26, 2008 from http://www.postalhistory.com/photo.asp?url=IL!960922

Frank, Jane. (1990). *A discourse analysis of the language used in direct mail communication*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University.

Franklin, Benjamin. (1771-1788/1909). *The autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son.

Frijda, Nico H. (1986). *The emotions: Studies in emotion and social interaction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Frijda, Nico H. (1988). The laws of emotion. *American Psychologist*, *43* 349-358.

Fusari, Sabrina. (2007, June). The discourse of philanthropy in Italy and the United States. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*. Retrieved October 23, 2008 from http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr14/fusari.htm

Galbraith, Jay R. (1973). *Designing Complex Organizations*. Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley.

Gale, Fredric G. & Kleine, Michael W. (1997). Speaking of rhetoric: A conversation with James Kinneavy. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, *27*(3), 31-50.

Gallese, Vittorio; Keysers, Christian; Rizzolatti, Giacomo. (2004). A unifying view of the basis of social cognition. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 8*(9), 396-403.

Gastaut, Henri & Bert, Jacques. (1954). EEG changes during cinematographic presentation (Moving picture activation of the EEG). *Electroencephalography and Clinical Neurophysiology*, *6*, 433-444.

Gazzaniga, Michael S. (1998). *The mind's past*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gazzaniga, Michael S (Ed.). (2004). *The cognitive neurosciences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Genung, John Franklin. (1886). *Elements of rhetoric with illustrative examples*. Boston: Ginn and Company.

Geller, Lois K. (1998). *Direct marketing techniques: Building your business using direct response advertising*. Menlo Park, CA: CRISP Publications.

Geller, Lois K. (2002). *Response: The complete guide to profitable direct marketing*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gingrich F. Wilbur (1971). *Shorter lexicon of the Greek New Testament*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Girard, Joe. (1977). How to sell anything to anybody. New York: Warner Books

Goddard, Angela. (1998). *The Language of advertising: Written Texts*. London: Routledge.

Goering, Elizabeth (2004). Framing matters: Communicating relationships through metaphor in fundraising texts. In Thomas Upton & Ulla Connor (Eds.), *Discourse in the professions: Perspectives from corpus linguistics* (pp. 287-306). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goody, Jack. (1977). *The domestication of the savage mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, Erving. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Goffman, Erving. *Forms of talk*. (1981). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goosens, Louis. (1987). Dealing with linguistic action verbs in depth. In Jef Verscheren (Ed.), *Linguistic Action: some empirical-conceptual studies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Gorsuch, Richard L. (1983). Factor analysis, 2nd edition. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Grace, Kay Sprinkel (1997). *Beyond fundraising: New strategies for nonprofit innovation and investment*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Grazer, Brian (Producer) & Howard, Ron (Director). (1995). *Apollo 13*. [Motion picture]. Los Angeles, CA: Universal Studios.

Green Donald P. (2003). *Mobilizing African-American voters using direct mail and commercial phone banks: A field experiment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Institution for Social and Policy Studies.

Green, Georgia M. (1996). *Pragmatics and natural language understanding*. London: Routledge.

Green, Georgia M. (2000, November). *Discourse particles in NLP* (Transcript of talk presented at The Ohio State University).

Gumperz, John Joseph; Kaltman, Hannah; & O'connor, Mary Catherine. (1981). Cohesion in spoken and written discourse. In Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Cohesion in Written Discourse*, *12*, 3-20. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Hager, Mark A., Pollak, Thomas H., Rooney Patrick Michael. (2003). Response rates for mail surveys of nonprofit organizations: A review and empirical test. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *32*(2), 252-267.

Halliday, Michael A. K. (1973). *Exploration in the function of language*. New York: Elsevier.

Halliday, Michael A. K. (1985a). Systemic background. In James D. Benson & William S. Greaves (Eds.), *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse*, *1,* 1-5 Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Halliday, Michael A. K. (1985b). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, Michael A. K. (1992). *Some Lexicogrammatical Features of the Zero Population Growth Text*. In William C. Mann and Sandra A. Thompson (Eds.), *Discourse description: Diverse linguistic analyses of a fund-raising text*. 327–358. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Halliday, Michael A. K., and Hasan, Ruqaiya. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Hands, Arthur R. (1968). *Charities and social aid in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Harrison, Randall P. (1984). *Fund raising by formula. Hillsdale*. NY: Public Service Materials Center.

Hart, John Seely. (1877). *A manual of composition and rhetoric: A text-book for schools and colleges*. Philadelphia: Eldredge and Brother.

Haspelmath, Martin. (1997). *Indefinite pronouns*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Havelock, Eric Alfred. (1963). *Preface to Plato*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Hilligoss, Susan & Howard, Tharon. (2002). *Visual communication: A writer's guide* (2nd ed.). New York: Longman.

Hinkel, Eli. (2002). *Second language writers' text: Linguistic and rhetorical features*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hinkel, Eli. (2003). Teaching academic ESL writing: Practical techniques in vocabulary and grammar. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Horstman Aleah, J. (2006). *The revolving door: Predicting turnover (intent to stay) among fundraisers in the nonprofit sector*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Colorado at Denver.

Howard, John A. and Sheth, Jagdish N. (1967). A theory of buyer behavior in changing marketing systems: Consumer, corporate and government interfaces. In Reed Moyer, (Ed.), *Proceedings of the American Marketing Association, Winter Conference proceedings*, *26*. American Marketing Association: Washington, DC.

Hunston, Susan & Thompson, Geoffrey (Eds.). (2000). *Evaluation in text: Authorial Stance and the construction of discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Huntsinger, Jerald E. (1977). *Fund raising letters: A comprehensive study guide to raising money by direct response marketing* (3rd ed.). Richmond, VA: Emerson.

Huntsinger, Jerry. (1989a, February). Who says short letters won't work? *The NonProfit Times*.

Huntsinger, Jerry. (1989b, April). Direct mail: sweeping changes since 1969. *Fund Raising Management*, *20*(2), p. 64.

Huntsinger, Jerry. (1992). *Making direct response fund raising pay off: Outstanding fund raising letters and tips*. Chicago: Bonus Books.

Housden, Matthew & Brian, Thomas. (2002). *Direct marketing in practice*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Hyland, Ken. (1996). Writing without conviction? Hedging in science research articles *Applied Linguistics*, *17*, 433-454.

Hyland, Ken. (1998a). *Hedging in scientific research articles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hyland, Ken. (1998b). Boosting, hedging and the negotiation of academic knowledge. *Text*, *18*, 349–382.

Hyland, Ken. (2000). Hedges, boosters and lexical invisibility. *Language Awareness*, *9*, 179-197.

Hyland, Ken. (1998). *Hedging in scientific research articles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hymes, Dell. (1967). Models of interaction of language and social setting. *Journal of Social Issues 33*(2), 8-28.

Iacoboni, Marco. (2008). *Mirroring people: The new science of how we connect with others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux

Iacoboni, Marco, Molnar-Szakacs, I., Gallese, V., Buccino, G., Mazziotta, J.C., Rizzolatti, G. (2005). Grasping the intentions of others with one's own mirror neuron system. *Plos Biol. 3* e79. Retrieved October 23, 2008 from http://biology.plosjournals.org/perlserv/?request=get-document&doi=10.1371/journal.pbio.0030079&ct=1

Indiana Center for Intercultural Communication (ICIC). (2008). *ICIC Corpus of philanthropic fundraising discourse*. Retrieved from Indiana Center for Intercultural Communication Web site: http://www.iupui.edu/~icic/corpusother.htm

Jaconowitz, Fran & Lautman, Kay P. (2000). Why direct mail practitioners can't forget that the more things change, the more they stay the same. In Michael Johnston (Ed.), *Direct response fund raising* (pp. 121-150). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Jakobson, Roman. (1960). Closing statement: Linguistics and Poetics. In Thomas A. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in Language* (pp. 350-377). Cambridge, MA: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Jeannerod, Marc; Arbib, Marc A.; Rizzolatti, Giacomo; & Skata, H. (1995). Grasping objects: the cortical mechanisms of visuomotor transformation. *Trends in Neurosciences*, *18*(7), 314-320.

Jesus College. (2008). Extracts from John Eliot's letter to Sir Simonds D'Ewes about founding a college, 18 September 1633. Retrieved October 30, 2008 from http://www.jesus.cam.ac.uk/college/history/eliotexhibletter.html

Jones, Thomas O. & Sasser, W. Earl, Jr. (1995). Why satisfied customers defect. *Harvard Business Review*, *73*(6), 88-89.

Jutkins, Ray. (1994). *Power direct marketing: How to make it work for you*. Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books.

Kaufer, David & Ishizaki, Suguru. (2006). A corpus study of canned letters: Mining the latent rhetorical proficiencies marketed to writers-in-a-hurry and non-writers. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, *49*(3), 254-266.

Kay, Paul. (1977). Lauguage evolution and spech style. In Ben G. Blounnt & Mary Sanches (Eds.), *Sociocultural dimensions of language change* (pp. 21-33). New York: Academic Press.

Kelly, Kathleen S. (1991). *Fund raising and public relations: A critical analysis*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kelly, Kathleen S. (1998). *Effective fund-raising management*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Keyes, Elizabeth. (1987). Information Design: Maximizing the Power and Potential of Electronic Publishing Equipment. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, *30*(1), 32–37.

King, Martin Luther Jr. (1993). *I have a dream.* (foreword by Rev. Bernice A. King. San Francisco: Harper.

King, Stephen. (2000). *On writing: A memoir of the craft*. New York: Scribner.

Kinneavy, James E. (1969). The basic aims of discourse. *College Composition and Communication*, *20*(5), 297-304.

Kinneavy, James E. (1971). *A theory of discourse; the aims of discourse*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kostelnick, Charles & Hassett, Michael. (2003). *Shaping information: The rhetoric of visual conventions*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Kotler, Philip. (1982). *Marketing for nonprofit organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kotler, Philip. & Levy, Sidney J. (1969). Broadening the concept of marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, *33*, 10-15.

Kotler Philip, Fox Karen, F.A. (1985). *Strategic marketing for educational institutions*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kotler, Philip. & Levy, Sidney J. (1983). *Nonprofit Marketing*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kotter, John P., Schlesinger, Leonard A. & Sathe, Vijay. (1986). *Organization: Text, cases, and readings on the management of organizational design and change* (2nd ed.). Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.

Kneupper, Charles W. (1985). The relation of agency to act in dramatism: A comment on *Burke's Act*. *College English*, (*47*)3, 305-308.

Kroch, Anthony & Hindle, Donald M. (1980). A quantitative study of the syntax of speech and writing. *Final report to the National Institute of Education on grant G78-0169*.

Kress, Gunther & van Leeuwen, Theo. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Kroll, Barbara. (1977). Ways communicators encode propositions in spoken and written English: A look at subordination and coordination. In Elinor Ochs & Tina Bennett *Discourse across time and space*. Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics, no. 5, Los Angeles: University of Southern California

Kuniholm, Roland. (1995). *The complete book of model fundraising letters*. Paramus, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kuniholm, Roland. (1989). *Maximum gifts by return mail: An expert tells how to write highly profitable fund-raising letters*. Ambler, PA: Fund Raising Institute.

Labov, William. (1972). *Language in the inner city: Studies in Black vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William. (forthcoming). Oral Narratives of personal experience. In Patrick Colm Hogan (Ed.), *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the language sciences*. Storrs CT: University of Connecticut Press.

Labov, William & Joshua Waletzky. (1967). Narrative analysis. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts* (pp. 12-44). Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

Lakoff, George. (1972). Hedges: A study of meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts. *Chicago Linguistics Society, 8*, 138-228.

Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lautman, Kay Partney. (2001). *Direct marketing for nonprofits: Essential techniques for the new era*. Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Publications.

Lautman, Kay Partney & Goldstein, Henry. (1984). *Dear Friend: Mastering the Art of Direct Mail Fund Raising.* Washington, DC: Taft Group.

Layton, Daphne Niobe. (1987). *Philanthropy and volunteerism: An annotated bibliography*. New York: The Foundation Center.

LeDoux, Jospeh. (1996). *The emotional brain: The mysterious underpinnings of emotional life*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

LeDoux, Jospeh. (2002). *Synaptic self: How our brains become who we are*. New York: Viking Press.

Leech, Geoffrey & Svartvik, Jan. (1978). *A Communicative Grammar of English*. London: Longman.

Levitt, Theodore. (1960). Marketing myopia. *Harvard Business Review*, July/August. 1960.

Levitt, Theodore. (1986). *The marketing imagination*. New York: Free Press.

Lewis, Clive Staples. (1985). *Letters to children* (Lyle W. Dorsett & Marjorie Lamp Mead, Eds.). New York: Touchshone, Simon & Schuster.

Lewis, Herschell Gordon. (1984). *Direct mail copy that sells*! Paramus, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Lewis, Herschell Gordon. (1989). *How to write powerful fundraising letters.* Chicago: Pluribus Press.

Lewis, Naphtali & Reinhold, Meyer (Eds.). (1966). *Roman Civilization. Sourcebook II: The Empire.*

Lewis, Nicole. (2002, May 16). Returning to the fold: Charities intensify efforts to recapture lapsed donors. *The Chronicle of Philanthropy.* p. 27.

Linder, Eileen W. (Ed.). (2006). *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches*. New York: National Council of Churches.

Ling, David A. (1970). A pentadic analysis of senator Edward Kennedy's address to the people of Massachusetts, July 25, 1969 *Central States Speech Journal*, *21*, 81-86.

Ling, David A. (1982). A pentadic analysis of senator Edward Kennedey's address to the people of Massachusetts, July 25, 1969. In Bernard L. Brock & Robert L. Scott (Eds.), *Methods of rhetorical criticism: A twentieth-century perspective*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Linsky, Arnold S. (1975). Stimulating responses to mailed questionnaires: A review. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *39*(1), 82-101.

Longacre, Robert E. (Ed.). (1977). *Discourse grammar* (vols. 1-3). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Longacre, Robert E. (1992). The discourse strategy of an appeals letter. In Willam C. Mann, and Sandra A. Thompson (Eds.), *Diverse linguistic analyes of a fundraising text* (pp. 109-130). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Longacre, Robert E. (1996). *The grammar of discourse.* New York: Plenum Press.

Longacre, Robert E. (1999). A top-down, template-driven narrative analysis, illustrated by application to Mark's gospel. In Stanley E. Porter & Jeffrey T. Reed (Eds.). *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results* (pp. 140-168). New York: Continuum Publishing Group.

Longacre, Robert E. (Ed.). (2003). *Holistic Textlinguistics.* Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Lord, James Gregory. (1981). *Philanthropy and Marketing; New Strategies for Fund Raising.* Cleveland: Third Sector Press.

Lord, James Gregory. (1988). *The raising of money.* Cleveland: Third Sector Press.

Lorenz, Gunter R. (1999). *Adjective Intensification—learners versus native speakers: A corpus study*. New York: Rodopi.

Lovelock, Christopher H. & Weinberg, Chares B. (1980). *Marketing for public and nonprofit managers*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Lyons, John. (1977). *Semantics* (2 vols.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. (1923/1989). The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In Charles K. Ogden and Ivor A. Richards (Eds.), *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism* (pp. 296–336). Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

Maloney, John C. (1994). The first 90 years of advertsing research. In Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock & David W. Stewart (Eds.), *Attention, attitude, and affect in response to advertising.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Mann, William C., Matthiessen, Christian & Thompson, Sandra A. (1992). Rhetorical structure theory and text analysis. In Willam C. Mann, and Sandra A. Thompson (Eds.), *Diverse linguistic analyes of a fundraising text* (pp. 39-78). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Mar, Raymond. A. (2004). The neuropsychology of narrative: Story comprehension, story production and their interrelation. *Neuropsychologia 42*(10), 1414-1434.

Mar, Raymond. A., Oatley, Keith & Eng, Allan. (2003, August). Abstraction and the vividness of details in fiction. In Brock, T. C. (Chair), *Models and mechanisms of narrative persuasion*. Talk and symposium presented at the 111th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada.

McCabe, Tom. & Campbell, Bruce. (1996). *Inside Outreach: A Guide to Financing Christian Outreach Ministries*. Milwaukee, WI: Christian Stewardship Association.

McCarthy, E. Jerome. (1960). *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.

McCullough, David. (2001). *John Adams*. New York; Simon & Schuster.

McCullough, David. (2005). *1776*. New York; Simon & Schuster.

McHenry, Tony; Xiao, Richard & Yukio, Tono. Corpus-based language: An advanced resource book. London: Routledge.

McLeish, Barry J. (1991). *The donor bond*. Rockville, MD: Fund Raising Institute, The Taft Group.

McLeish, Barry J. (1995). *Successful marketing strategies for nonprofit organizations*. New York: Wiley.

McLeish, Barry J. (2007). *Yours, mine, and ours: creating a compelling donor experience*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

McLuhan, Marshall. (1964). *Understanding media: The extensions of man*. New York: McGraw Hill.

McLuhan,B392 Marshall. (1967). *The medium is the massage*. New York: Bantom Books/Random House.

Meggs, Philip. (1992). *Type and image: The language of graphic design*. New York: John Wiley.

Milton, Ohmer. (1972). *Alternatives to the traditional: How professors teach and how students learn.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Morison, Samuel E. (1936a). The founding of Harvard College. Boston: Harvard University Press.

Morison, Samuel E. (1936b). Harvard College in the seventeenth century. Boston: Harvard University Press.

Mischke, Gertruida Elizabeth. (2005). Analysing *involvement* in distance education study guides: An appraisal-based approach. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Africa, Muckleneuk, Pretoria, South Africa.

Naisbitt John. (1982). *Megatrends: Ten new directions transforming our lives*. New York: Warner Books.

Naisbitt, John. (1999). *High tech high touch: Technology and our search for meaning.* New York: Broadway Books.

Nash, Edward L. (2000). *Direct marketing: Strategy, planning and execution* (4th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

NFO Research and Pitney Bowes. (1988). *1998 Pitney Bowes mail openability study*. Stamford CT: Pitney Bowes.

Oatley, Keith. (1994). *A taxonomy of the emotions of literary response and a theory of identification in fictional narrative. Poetics, 23*, 53-74.

Oatley, Keith. (1996). Inference and emotions in narrative and science. In D. R. Olson & N. Torrance (Eds.), *Modes of thought* (pp. 123-140). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Oatley, Keith. (1998). Meetings of minds. In S. Janssen & N. van Dijk (Eds.), *The empirical study of literature and the media: Current approaches and perspectives* (pp. 58-72). Rotterdam: Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doom.

Oatley, Keith. (1999). Why fiction may be twice as true as fact: Fiction as cognitive and emotional simulation. *Review of General Psychology*, *3*, 101-117.

Oatley, Keith. (2002). Emotions and the story worlds of fiction. In M.C. Green, J.J. Strange & T.C. Brock (Eds.), *Narrative impact: Social and cognitive foundations* (pp. 39-69). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Oatley, Keith. (2003). Creative expression and communication of emotion in the visual and narrative arts. In R. J. Davidson, K. R. Scherer & H. H. Goldsmith (Eds.), Emotions, literature, and music. *Handbook of affective Sciences*, (pp. 481-502). New York: Oxford University Press.

Oatley, Keith. (2004). Scripts, transformations, and suggestiveness, of emotions in Shakespeare and Chekhov. *Review of General Psychology*, *8*, 323-340.

Oatley, Keith & Johnson-Laird, P.N. (1987). Towards a cognitive theory of emotion. *Cognition and Emotion*, *1*, 29-50.

Oatley, Keith & Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1996). The communicative theory of emotions: Empirical tests, mental models, and implications for social interaction. In L.L. Martin & A. Tesser (Eds.), *Striving and feeling: Interactions among goals, affect, and self-regulation* (pp. 363-393). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Oatley, Keith, Keltner, Dacher & Jenkins, Jennifer M. (2006). *Understanding emotions* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Oatley, Keith & Mar, Raymond A. (2005). Evolutionary pre-adaptation and the idea of character in fiction. *Culture and Evolutionary Psychology*, *3*, 181-196.

Ochs, Elinor. (1979). Planned and unplanned discourse. In Talmy Givón (Ed.), *Discourse and syntax* (pp. 51-80). New York: Academic Press.

O'Donnell, Roy C. (1974). Syntactic differences between speech and writing. *American Speech. 49*(1).

O'Donnell, Roy C.; Griffin, William J.; & Norris, Raymond C. (1967). A transformational analysis of oral and written grammatical structures in the language of children in grades three, five, and seven. *Journal of Educational Research*, *61*, 36-39.

O'Dwyer, Bernard T. (2006). *Modern English structures: Form, function, and position* (2nd edition). Peterborough, ON Canada: Broadview Press.

Ogilvy, David. (1963). *Confessions of an advertising man*. New York: Dell Publishing.

Ogilvy, David. (1983). *Oglivy on Advertising*. London: Orvis.

Olson, David R. (1977). From utterance to text: The bias of language in speech and writing. *Harvard Educational Review 47* 257-281.

Ong, Walter J. (1967). *The presence of the word*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ong, Walter J. (1977). *Interfaces of the word*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ong, Walter J. (1981). *Fighting for life: Sexuality and consciousness*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ong, Walter J. (1988). *Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word*. New York: Routledge.

Orenstein, Frank E. (1967). Review: Measuring advertising readership results, by Daniel Starch. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *4*(3), 322-324.

Palmer, Frank Robert. (1974). *The English verb*. New York: Longman.

Palmer, Frank Robert. (1979). *Modality and the English modals*. New York: Longman.

Palmer, Frank Robert. (2003). Modality in English: Theoretical, descriptive and typological issues. In Roberta Facchinetti, Manfred G. Krug & Frank R. Palmer (Eds.), *Modality in Contemporary English: A Corpus-based Study* (pp. 1-20). New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Poldauf, Ivan. (1964). Some points of negation in colloquial English. In Josef Vachek (Ed.), *A Prague school reader in linguistics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Pennycook, Alastair. (1985). Actions speak louder than words: Paralanguage, communication, and education. *TESOL Quarterly*, *19*(2), 259-282.

Peters, Jeanne & Wolfred, Timothy. (2001). *Daring to Lead: Nonprofit Executive Directors and Their Work Experience.* San Francisco: CompassPoint Nonprofit Services.

Petty, Richard E. & Cacioppo, John T. (1981). *Attitudes and persuastion: Classical and contemporary approaches.* Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown.

Pfeffer, Jeffery. (1981). Management as symbolic action: the creation and maintenance of organizational paradoxes. In Straw, Barry M. (Ed.), *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *3*, 1-52. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Pleven, Arlene. (1997). Green guilt: An effective rhetoric or rhetoric in transition? *Technical Communication Quarterly. 6* (2), pp. 125-139.

Polkinghorne, Donald E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Precht, Kristen. (2000). Stance moods in English: Evidentiality and affect in British and American conversation. *Text*, *23*(2), 239-257.

Printz, Jenny & Maltby Dwight. (1997, May). Beyond personlization: When handwriting makes a difference. *Fund Raising Management*, pp. 16-19.

Propp, Vladimir. (1927/1968). *Morphology of the folktale* (2nd ed. Laurence Scott, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Quaglio, Paulo & Biber, Douglas. (2006). The grammar of conversation. In Bas Aarts & April McMahon (Eds.), *The handbook of English linguistics* (692-723). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius. (1920). *Institutio Oratoria* (H.E. Butler, Trans.). Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University press.

Quirk, Randolph; Greenbaum, Sidney; Leech, Geoffrey; & Svartvik, Jan. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language.* London: Longman.

Rader, Margaret. (1982). Context in written language: The case of imagnitive fiction. In Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Spoken and written discourse: Exploring orality and literacy* (pp. 185-198). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Ramage, John D. & Bean, John C. (1998). *Writing Arguments.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Ramshorn, Lewis. (1839). *Dictionary of Latin synonymes, for the use of schools and private students, with a complete index from the German by Francis Lieber.* Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown.

Raven Stamps Ireland. (2008). *1922 Aug. 14th cover bearing 2d Thom overprint tied by Learn Irish slogan cancel, crest on reverse: "Yeats & Son Dublin Opticians to the Lord Lieutenant".* Retrieved on October 26, 2008 from http://www.ravenstamps.com/images/ph/PH041-3.jpg

Rhodes, Richard. (2002). *Masters of death: The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the invention of the holocaust.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Reichheld, Frederick F. (2001). *Loyalty rules!* Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Riessman, Catherine Kohler. (2003). Performing identities in illness narrative: Masculinity and multiple sclerosis. *Qualitative Research*, *3* 5-33.

Ritzenhein, Donald N. (1998). Content analysis of fundraisig letters in understanding and improving the language of fundraising, *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising*, *22*, 23-36.

Rizzolatti, Giacomo; Fadiga, Luciano; Gallese, Vittorio; Fogassi, Leonardo. (1996). Premotor cortex and the recognition of motor actions. *Cognitive Brain Research*, *3*(2), 131-141.

Rizzolatti, Giacomo & Arbib, Michael A. (1998). Language within our grasp. *Trends in Neurosciences 21*(5), 188-194.

Rizzolatti, Giacomo; Fogassi, Leonardo; Gallese, Vittorio. (2006). Mirrors in the mind: A special class of brain cells reflects the outside world, revealing a new avenue for human understanding, connecting and learning. *Scientific American*, *295*(5), 54-61.

Rosen, Harold. (1987). The autobiographical impulse. In Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Linguistics in Context: Connecting Observation and Understanding 29* 69-88. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Rosso, Henry A. & Associates. (2003). *Hank Rosso's achieving excellence in fund raising* (2nd ed., Eugene R. Tempel, Ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rubin, Andee. (1980). A theoretical taxonomy of the differences between oral and written language. In Rand J. Spiro, William F. Brewer & Bertram C. Bruce (Eds.),*Theoretical issues in reading comprehension: perspectives from cognitive psychology, linguistics, artificial intelligence, and education* (pp. 411-438). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Sandell, Rolf Gunnar. (1977). *Linguistic style and persuasion*. London: Academic Press.

Sarbain, Theodore R. (1986). The narrative as root metaphor for psychology. In T.R. Sarbain (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied narure of human conduct* (pp. 3-21). New York: Praeger.

Sargeant, Adrian. (1999). *Marketing management of nonprofit organisations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schön, Donald A. (1979). Generative metaphor: A perspective on problem-setting in social policiy. In Andrew Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 137-163). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schön, Donald A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How practitioners think in action*. New York: Basic Books.

Schön, Donald A. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner: Toward a new design for teaching and learning in the professions*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Schwartz, Ruth. Ed. (2006). *Internal Revenue Service Data Book, 2006*. Pittsburgh: U.S. Government Superintendent of Documents.

Searle, John R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language.* Cambridge University Press.

Shamay-Tsoory, Simone G.; Lester, H.; Chisin, R; Israel, O.; Bar-Shalom, R.; Peretz, A.; Tomer, R.; Tsitrinbaum, Z.; & Aharon-Peretz, J. (2005). The neural correlates of understanding the other's distress: A positron emission tomography investigation of accurate empathy. *NeuroImage*, *27*(2), 468-472.

Schiffrin, Deborah. (1981). Tense variation in narrative. *Language*, *57*(1), 45-62.

Schiffrin, Deborah. (1987). *Discourse markers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schourup, Lawrence C. (1985). *Common discourse particles in English conversation*. New York: Garland.

Schwartz, Ruth. (2007). *Internal Revenue Service Data Book, 2006*. (Publication 55B, March 2007). Washington, DC.

Seymour, Harold J. (1988). *Designs for fund-raising.* Amber, PA: The Fund-Raising Institute.

Shales, Tom. (1988, July 20). The Jackson trimuph. *The Washington Post*, C1, C6.

Slack, Gordy. (2007, November 5), I feel your pain. *Salon.com.* Retrieved April 23, 2008, from http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2007/11/05/mirror_neurons/print.html.

Sless, David. (1999). The mass production of unique letters. In Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini and Catherine Nicherson (Eds.), *Writing business: Genres, media and discourses* (pp. 85-98). Essex, UK: Longman.

Slocum, W.L., Emprey L.T. & Swanson H.S. (1956). *Increasing response to questionnaires and structured interviews. American Sociological Review, 21*, 221-225.

Spears, Lee A. (2002). Persuasive techniques used in fundraising messages. *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, *32*(3), 245-265.

Starch, Daniel. (1910). *Principles of advertising: A systematic syllabus of the fundamental principles of advertising.* Madison, WI: The University Cooperative Company.

Starch, Daniel. (1923a). *Principles of advertising.* New York: A.W. Shaw.

Starch, Daniel. (1923b). Research methods in advertising. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *110*, 139-143.

Starch, Daniel. (1937). Factors in the Reliability of Samples. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *27*(177), 190-201.

Starch, Daniel. (1966). *Measuring Advertising Readership and Results.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Staats, Arthur W. & Staats, Carolyn K. (1958). Attitudes established by classical conditioning. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *14*, 321-328.

Stemmer, Brigitte. (2005). Imaging brain lateralization: Discourse and pragmatics in healthy, pathological and special populations. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, *5*, 539-544.

Stenström, Anna-Brita. (1994). *An introduction to spoken interaction.* London: Longman.

Stern, Barbara B. (1988). How does an ad mean? Language in services advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, (*17*)2 3-14.

Stone, Bob. (1979). *Successful direct marketing methods.* Chicago: Crain Books.

Stone, Bob. (1996). *Successful direct marketing methods* (6th ed.). Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books.

Stone, Bob & Jacobs, Ron. (2001). *Successful direct marketing methods* (7th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Stubbs, Michael. (1980). *Language and literacy: The sociolinguistics of reading and writing.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Sullivan, Patricia. (1998). Into print, into webs: The consideratoin of visual rhetoricfor print and on-line philanthropic documents. *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising 22,* 75-93.

Sullivan, William M. (1995). *Work and integrity: The crisis and promise of professionalism in America.* New York: Harper Business.

Swales, John M. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in academic and research settings.* New York: Cambridge Univerwity Press.

Syracuse, Amy. (2008, August). Ask & receive: Maryland Food Bank retains new donors by asking them to give again before the window of opportunity closes. *Target Marketing, 31*(8), 26-30.

Tannen, Deborah. (1980a). The parameters of conversational style. In *Proceedings of the 18th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, pp. 39-40, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Tannen, Deborah. (1980b). Implications of the oral/literate continuum for cross-cultural communication. In James E. Alatis (Ed.), *Current Issues in Bilingualism, Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics* (pp. 326-347). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. (1980c). A comparative analysis of oral narrative strategies: Athenian Greek and American English. In Wallace Chafe (Ed.), *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production* (pp. 51-87). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, Deborah. (1982a). The myth of orality and literacy. In William Frawley (Ed.), *Linguistics and Literacy* (pp. 37-50). New York: Plenum.

Tannen, Deborah. (1982b). Oral and literate strategies in spoken and written narratives. *Language*, *58*(1), 1-21.

Tannen, Deborah. (1984). *Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk Among Friends*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.

Tannen, Deborah. (1985). Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse. In David R. Olson, Nancy Torrance & Angela Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. (1986). *That's not what I meant!: How conversational style makes or breaks relationships*. NY: Ballantine.

Tannen, Deborah. (1987). *Hearing voices in conversation, fiction, and mixed genres*. In Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Linguistics in Context: Connecting Observation and Understanding* (pp. 89-113), *29*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, Deborah. (1989). *Talking voices*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. (1998). *The argument culture: Moving from debate to dialogue*. New York: Random House.

Tannen, Deborah. (2001). *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation.* New York: Quill.

Tannen, Deborah. (2001). *Talking from 9 to 5: Women and Men at Work*. New York: Quill.

Tannen, Deborah. (2006). *You're Wearing That?: Understanding Mothers and Daughters in Conversation*. New York: Random House.

Thompson, Sandra A. (1983). Grammar and discourse: the English detached participial clause. In F. Klein-Andreu *Discourse perspectives on syntax* (pp. 43-65). New York: Academic Press.

Tocqueville, Alex de. (1835/1956). *Democracy in America* (R.D. Heffner, Ed.). New York: New American Library.

Torre, Robert L. & Bendixen, Mary Anne. (1988). Direct mail fundraising: Letters that work. New York: Plenum, 1988.

Tottie, Gunnel. (1983). Much about not and nothing: A Study of the variation between analytic and synthetic negation in contemporary American English. Lund, Sweden: Gleerup.

Tottie, Gunnel. (1991). *Negation in English speech and writing: a study in variation.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Trager, George L. (1958). Paralanguage: A first approximation. *Studies in Linguistics*, *13*, 1-12.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2008). *Annual estimates of the population for the United States, regions, states, and Puerto Rico: April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2007 (NST-EST2007-01).* Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau Retrieved September 1, 2008 from http://www. census.gov/popest/states/NST-ann-est.html

Upton, Thomas A. (2001, February). A moves analysis of philanthropic direct mail letters. In T. Upton (Chair), How to make a better pitch: Analyzing philanthropic discourse through corpus linguistics. *Colloquium conducted at the annual meeting of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL).* St. Louis, MO.

Upton, Thomas A. (2002). Understanding direct mail as a genre. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, *7*(1), 65-85.

van Gelderen, Elly. (2002). *An introduction to the grammar of English: Syntactic arguments and socio-historical background.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

van Nus, Miriam. (1999). Can we count on your bookings of potatoes to Maderia? Corporate context and discourse practices in direct sales letters. In Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini and Catherine Nicherson (Eds.), *Writing business: Genres, media and discourses* (pp. 181-205). Essex, UK: Longman.

Vergarao, Carla. (2002). Dear Sirs, what would you do if you were in our position?: Disourse strategies in Italian and English money chasing letters. *Journal of Pragmatics. 34*, 1211-1233.

Vergarao, Carla. (2004). Discourse strategies of Italian and English sales promotion letters. *English for Specific Puproses. 23*, 181-207.

Vignemont, Frederique de & Singer, Tania. (2006). The empathic brain: how, when and why? *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *10*(10), 435-441

Vögele, Siegfried. (1992). *Handbook of diect mail: The dialogue method of direct written sales communication.* Hemel Hempstead, U.K.: Verlag Moderne Industrie/Prentice Hall.

Warwick, Mal. (1990). *Revolution in the Mailbox*. Berkeley, CA: Strathmore Press.

Warwick, Mal. (1992). *You don't always get what you ask for: Using direct mail tests to raise more money for your organiation.* Berkeley, CA: Strathmore Press.

Warwick, Mal. (1993). *999 tips, trends and guidelines for successful direct mail and telephone fundraising.* Berkeley, CA: Strathmore Press.

Warwick, Mal. (2001). *How to write successful fundraising letters*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Warwick, Mal. (2003a). Testing 1, 2, 3: *Raise more money with direct mail tests*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Warwick, Mal. (2003b, July). Storytelling. *Mal Warwick's Newsletter: Successful Direct Mail Telephone and Online Fundraising. 61*, p. 13.

Warwick, Mal. (2003c, July). Hndwriting shines. *Mal Warwick's Newsletter Successful Direct Mail Telephone and Online Fundraising. 61*, p. 13.

Warwick, Mal. (2008a). *Cost?* Retrieved from http://www.malwarwick.com/learning-resources/e-newsletters/march-2008.html#8_Cost April 4, 2008.

Warwick, Mal. (2008b). *The cardinal rules of writing fundraising letters and how to break them.* Retrieved from http://www.malwarwick.com/assets/presentations/ cardinal-rules-handout-text.pdf. April 6, 2008

Warwick, Mal. (2008c). *How much to spend.* Retrieved from http://www.malwarwick. com/mals-corner/askmal/how-much-to-spend.html.

Warwick, Mal. (2008d). *Are Hand-signed and hand-addressed packages worth the cost?* Retrieved October 9, 2008 http://www.malwarwick.com/mals-corner/askmal/production-pst.html#Are_Handsigned_ and_handaddressed_package

Warwick, Mal. (2008e). *Do hand-written appeals really work better?* Retrieved October 9, 2008 from http://www.malwarwick.com/mals-corner/askmal/production-pst.html#Will_ a_handaddressed_ outer_work_better_w

Warwick, Mal. (2008f). *Which is better—a stamp or indicia?* Retrieved October 9, 2008 from http://www.malwarwick.com/mals-corner/askmal/production-pst.html#_Which_is_better _a_stamp_or_indicia

Warwick, Mal; Hart, Ted & Allen, Nick (Eds.). (2002). *Fundraising on the Internet: The e-hilanthropyFoundation.org's guide to success online.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Waterman, Robert H & Peters, Thomas J. (1982). *In search of excellence: Lessons from America's best-run companies.* New York: Harper & Row.

Watson, Wilfred G.E. (2005). *Classical Hebrew poetry: A guide to its techniques.* Sheffield, England: Academic Press.

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language. (1996). New York: Gramercy Books.

Weigley, Russell Frank; Wainwright, Nicholas B. & Wolf, Edwin. (1982). *Philadelphia: A 300-year history.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Westin, Ingrid. (2002). *Language Change in English Newspaper Editorials.* New York: Rodopi.

Westley, Frances & Mintzberg, Henry. (1989). Visionary leadership and strategic management. *Strategic Management Journal, 10*, 17-32.

Williams, M. Jane. (1981). *Better by the year: The FRI annual giving book.* Ambler, PA: Fund Raising Institute.

Williamson, J. H. (1989). *The grid: History, use, and meaning.* In Victor Margolin (Ed.), *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, Kenneth George. (1993). *The Columbia guide to standard American English.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Wright, Franklin M. (1954). A college first proposed. *Harvard Library Bulletin, 8*(3). [The original letter is in the British Library: Ms. Harley 284, ff. 156-157].

Yadin, Daniel. (1994). *Creative marketing communications.* London: Kogan Page.

Young, Richard E.; Becker, Alton L. & Pike, Kenneth L. (1970). *Rhetoric: Discovery and change.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Xu, Jiang; Kemeny, Stefan; Park, Grace; Frattali, Carol; & Braun, Allen. (2005). Language in context: emergent features of word, sentence, and narrative comprehension. *NeuroImage*, *25*(3), 1002-1015.