# Developing a Cumulative Effect of Persuasion through Using a Particular Linguistic Patterning of Reference Switching in a Fundraising Letter



# Linguistics

Keywords: persuasion, reference switching, fundraising letter, context, communicative/socio-semiotic/pragmatic aspects.

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## **Abstract**

This paper argues how persuasion can be developed cumulatively through using a particular linguistic patterning of reference switching in a fundraising letter. It starts with a brief discussion of some linguistic styles of persuasion; then it moves to explain how reference switching as a linguistic style is related to the process of persuasion. After that the paper presents a detailed description of the method of analysis which is mainly based on the three dimensions of context as well as a preliminary description of the data (divided into three parts) found in that letter. Therefore, the persuasive aspect of that appeal letter will be interpreted through analyzing the pattern of reference switching within the text by investigating the communicative aspect (field, tenor, and mode), socio-semiotic aspect (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) and pragmatic aspect (speech acts and implicature). The procedure of analysis will deal with each part of the letter separately, but the paper concludes to show how those three parts are connected together so as to persuade the reader into adopting the major goal of the letter i.e. donating money.

#### 1. Introduction

"Fundraising is largely a persuasive activity that seeks to convince donors to contribute to a worthy cause" (Goering, Connor, Nagelhout & Steiberg: 2009). In studying and analyzing the persuasive discourse of a fundraising letter, the focus will be on arguing how reference switching in that discourse can be manipulated to persuade the readers into adopting the major goal of the letter i.e. donating money, since requesting people to contribute something needs a particular linguistic mechanism of organization. In this regard, the case study of this paper is a fundraising letter (see the complete version in the appendix). Anthony and Gladkov refer to elements of persuasion used in a fundraising letter, based on the three appeal categories of the Aristotelian model of persuasion (Aristotle 1984): credibility (ethos), affective/emotional (pathos), and rational (logos). Credibility appeals present the writer and the organization as trustworthy by providing information directly from the writer's experiences, establishing the writer's reliability, and showing the writer's positive image for the audience's interest and point of views (cited in Anthony and Gladkov, 2007:121). Affective appeals urge the audience to show empathy by appealing to the audience's views and addressing their attitudinal and moral values (cited in Anthony and Gladkov, 2007:122). Rational arguments address the sensible, logical appeal of the readers' minds, by presenting facts and statistics, urging action, and predicting effects, consequences or ends (cited in Anthony and Gladkov, 2007:121-122). Thus reference switching as a linguistic variable will be analyzed to investigate how these appeal categories of persuasion are developing cumulatively throughout the whole text of a fundraising letter.

Based on the above-mentioned proposed frame, the method of organizing ideas is a very important part for leaving a good impression and approaching the mind or heart of the reader; therefore, a linguistic style may be manipulated so as to achieve a particular purpose or to leave a desired influence on the audience. Hence, such linguistic style may affect "the persuasiveness of appeal" in some situations (Blankenship & Craig, 2011); in this regard, different forms of linguistic styles may have various levels of influences and persuasive functions on the reader. Some letters are designed linguistically to affect the readers' attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and impressions; the others may be intended to push the reader towards taking an action or performing a particular activity (Glazer & Ruinstein, 2004). These two functions of persuasion, whether taking an action or changing an attitude,

are projected after a long motivating thoughtful process generated by the way the linguistic devices /variables are manipulated ideationally, interpersonally and textually.

Normally, these devices have great influence on giving prominence to the addresser's views so as to change the mind and attitude of the readers. In this regard, it is necessary to highlight briefly some of these linguistic persuasive variables. One of these variable is linguistic intensity. Linguistic intensity as a persuasive variable refers to the process of modifying individuals' point of views through using intensifies such as very, extremely, really (Blankenship & Craig, 2011) so as to get others to adopt or reject a particular stance or action. In other words, these intensifiers aim to emphasize the addresser's position. A second variable is transitivity which refers to the rhetorical organization of ideas, based on truth conditions as related to the "quasilogical" strategy whose linguistic style is determined by the use of logical hypotactic structures and subordinate connectors throughout the text such as hence, therefore, only if, thus, etc. (Johnstone, 1989:145); it is an effective style since it is similar to the process of "formal and demonstrative logic" where arguers try to give the impression that their arguments are "logically incontrovertible," and so any decision taken afterwards is nonnegotiable (Johnstone, 1989:145). Some writers may resort to the style of "presentational discourse" (Johnstone, 1989:148) to persuade other individuals; to change the attitude of a person, the writer may need to flush that person with a "rhythmic, paratactic flow" of phrases, words, and sounds (Johnstone, 1989:148). It is to draw the audience's attention to the aesthetics of the text so as to make the claim (i.e., request) all the time present in the their consciousness. Other writers may employ analogy persuasively by "calling to mind, explicitly or implicitly, traditional wisdom often in the form of parable- or fable like stories" (Johnstone, 1989:149) so that they can persuade other people with their own perspectives; they employ analogy to teach or remind people by "the mode of storytelling" (Johnstone, 1989:149) in which sometimes the writer switches between past events and current issues to draw the reader's attention to particular comparative experiences.

Finally, it is worth concluding that there are many other linguistic styles/ variables that writers can utilize to persuade their audience such as rhetorical questions (Blankenship & Craig, 2006), implicit causality (Brown & Fish,1989), linguistic Intergroup bias (Maass, Slavi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989), and others. However, space is not enough to discuss these variables and others since the focus here, as stated above, is on reference switching as a linguistic variable that can be manipulated throughout the text to orient the readers persuasively towards a particular goal.

Therefore, this paper aims to investigate the way persuasion is attained and developed cumulatively through analyzing a particular linguistic patterning of reference switching as a linguistic device in a fundraising letter. It shows how references (such as it, we, they, you) are manipulated and switched to achieve the goal of motivating people to donate money. While analyzing references in this specific genre of an appeal letter, other relevant important points of inquiry can be highlighted such as: How can each reference switching be connected to the preceding and the following references of the letter? How can the writer move from one genre into another by switching references? How can each reference switching reflect a particular social process? What is the overall social process of the letter? What dynamism does reference switching add to the text? What implicature does each reference switching convey? What rhetorical value does each reference switching contain? Answering these questions will contribute to a better understanding of how persuasion works in appeal letters.

Hence, in the following, section 2 defines what reference switching means, justify the focus on reference switching, and highlights the interrelationship between reference switching as a linguistic style and the process of persuasion. Section 3 explains the methodology of analysis of persuasion through reference switching, while the general findings of reference switching in the fundraising letter are elaborated in Section 4. The cumulative effect of persuasion of the fundraising letter is analyzed in Section 5, where Section 5.1 deals with Part I, Section 5.2 deals with Part II and Section 5.3 deals with Part III. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the paper.

### 2. Reference Switching and Persuasion

Linguistically speaking, reference switching is a textual phenomenon which involves a shift from one reference into another, and that shift draws the reader's attention and makes him/her wonder. According to Lesley Sterling, "Switch-reference has a much richer range of functions than just indicating co/disjoint reference;" she also emphasizes that "The functional complexity of switch-reference systems can be accounted for...as having the clause rather than the NPs its semantic domain and as indicating agreement or disagreement between parameters of the eventualities described by the clause it relates" (Stirling1993: 1). In this regard, how reference switching is defined linguistically and what are its forms? Is there a reason for such shifting? What are the possible functions of switching? How is it related to persuasion? What are the dynamic meanings, values and rhetorical purposes behind such shifting? What are the genres and various social processes of switching and how are they related to the process of persuasion?

One way of investigating the relationship between form and meaning or between a linguistic expression and its function is to analyze one textual phenomenon which clearly involves a direct reference switching from predicted syntactic, semantic or rhetorical mode to another (Hatim & Mason,1997:112). In other words, within syntax, the writer may switch from one "linguistic system" into another, including pronominal reference, tense, definiteness, number and gender (Hatim & Mason,1997:112). For example, the reader expects the writer to maintain consistency in presenting these references, but that consistency may deviate from what is predicted because of some particular purposes intended by the writer. Thus this syntactic switching of some linguistic system will affect the meaning, the process of communication and the desired effect of the text.

Moreover, switching within the same text may take several different linguistic forms; one form is pronominal switching which involves a shift within the various types of singular and plural pronouns (first, second and third); another form of shifting is the movement between past and non-past. Another is shifting from definiteness to indefiniteness or vice versa; another form is related to number ,especially if the language of study contains a dual system. One other form is related to gender, where the text switches form masculine to feminine case or vice versa (Hatim & Mason,1997:112-113). Clearly, that stylistic or linguistic mechanism is "well-known in the rhetoric of a number of languages" (Hatim & Mason,1997:112) as a way of manipulating the reader's attention, especially if the main goal of the text is focused on convincing the people of a particular perspective. For example, considering the pronominal reference switching in persuasion, if the writer keeps talking about himself all the time "I," the reader will feel that this writer is just intending to show off or to praise his/her deeds. Again, if the writer keeps addressing the reader "you" all the time, s/he may run the risk of alienating the addressee. The arguer needs to win his/her reader by shifting from presenting his/her experience to advising the reader to learn from that experience. In other words, the arguer needs to involve the reader by taking into account the parameters of social distance: power and solidarity. Hence using "I" all the time is a matter of relinquishing power, while using "you" all the time is a matter of excessive power (Hatim & Mason, 1997:118).

Hence, any text, whatever its form, and however it is structured, must contain some "elements of unpredictability," as naturally a sort of desired defiance to certain expected norm so as to bring novelty (Hatim & Mason,1997:113). However, this is not the only case; whenever there is a "deviation" or "defamiliarization" (Hatim & Mason,1997:113), there are certain implicit kinds of values attached to that unexpected structure. In other words, those values are the direct translation to "whys" (Hatim & Mason, 1997:114) whose thorough explanation makes the reader realize—the dynamism of the text. Firbas explains that "Communicative dynamism...is based on the fact that linguistic communication is not a static, but a dynamic phenomenon. By CD I understand a property of communication, displayed in the course of the development of the information to be conveyed and consisting in advancing this development. By the degree of CD carried by a linguistic element, I understand the extent to which the element contributes to the development of the communication, to which, as

it were, it 'pushes the communicative forward' (Fibras, 1972:78). Hatim and Mason define dynamism as "the motivated removal of communicative stability" (Hatim & Mason, 1997:111). Hence, any remarkable creative text must show "a marked degree of dynamism" since the reality behind producing a dynamic text is to counter our expectation, to reflect new meanings, and to lessen the degree of possible boredom while the text is being read (Hatim & Mason, 1997:111). Therefore, to produce a persuasive text, the writer needs to produce a text as dynamic as possible. Thus shifting from one pronominal reference to another within the same statement shows how the switched elements move from a low CD degree to a higher and then to a highest degree; for instance, the sentence "To use it well, we need your help" contains scalar degrees of dynamism (see 5.2 for the detailed analysis), where the addresser's voice is gradually rising to claim people's help and where she moves from neutrality it to collectivity we and then to expected solidarity you.

Dynamism motives us to look for the third connection between reference switching, genres, and persuasion; it is to investigate how the unexpected or deviated forms of reference switching are really considered as a direct reflection of different genres within one text and how those genres contribute to the process of persuasion. More interestingly, these genres are natural representations of social processes, as being generally followed in a particular community. In other words, it is crucially important to "see how the various aspects of text-in-context relate to one another" (Hatim & Mason, 1997:111) within a general framework called genre relations and how these genres carry social processes. More specifically, it is to find out how long the writer keeps the reader's attention, purposefully and persuasively, on the same genre and where the text is meant to direct that reader to another form of genre. Carlota S. Smith proposes tools to describe the different ways of presentation in written texts by distinguishing several discourse modes, for example, the narrative mode is used mainly to cover events and situations, whereas the descriptive mode is used to take the reader's time to show him/her certain characteristics or to describe some personal feelings (Smith, 2003:7-19). Therefore, by switching modes, the writer switches the various levels of the reader's feelings so as to produce some particular desired influence on that reader; for instance, convincing the reader of a particular point of view, the arguer needs to target the emotions of that reader by switching from intimacy to lack of intimacy, from presenting a non-threatening mode to a face-to-face encounter, from praising a particular event/experience to motivating the reader to learn from that experience, etc.

Furthermore, by locating the genres of reference switching, any analyst will go further to see how these genres represent specific social processes as s/he is moving from one context into another. S/he will try to find how these switched references are really connected to the lives of human beings; people's lives in any particular community are based on interactions which are mainly mediated by language as the tool of communication; for example, the social process of cooperation requires the linguistic shifting from "I"/ "we" to "you" when someone asks for a favor. Therefore, it will be found that this use of switch-reference can be very useful in texts since it involves referring to different participants, and it allows us to track who's doing what and what it is required from switching; indeed, this reference-tracking for a long time was considered the primary function of switch reference; some linguists believe that switch-reference resolves the case of ambiguation (Haiman & Munro 1983: x-xy). In this regard, it helps the reader to identify the expected duty of each participant in the text. Hence, the writer may persuasively use reference switching to disambiguate the implicit request of the text to the reader as s/he is switching between the various social processes such as bemoaning the situation, defending others, and claiming solidarity for the purpose of getting that reader to be more and more involved in the situation; for example, if an organization needs people's contribution, this organization "we" may, instead of asking the people "you" directly to donate ,present a third party "they" in the argumentation to justify why "we" needs that money. Consequently, any possible ambiguity or doubt related to where the donation will be spent won't arise.

All these things and others will be analyzed thoroughly in this paper; but before starting the analysis of this letter, it is necessary to present briefly in the following next sections what method of analysis is needed here and what data are found that match the Aristotelian model.

## 3. Linguistic Method of Analysis

Connecting reference switching with persuasion, one should naturally refer to "elements of meanings that can and often will lie above the level of propositional content and beyond the level of the sentence" (Hatim & Mason, 1997:111). These meanings are predominantly related to register (i.e. communicative aspect), intention of the writer (i.e. pragmatic aspect) and intertextual domain (i.e. socio-semiotic aspect) (Hatim & Mason, 1990:57). Therefore, analyzing reference switching necessitates examining the context in which that reference switches; in other words, when a reference switches, it naturally switches from one context to another.

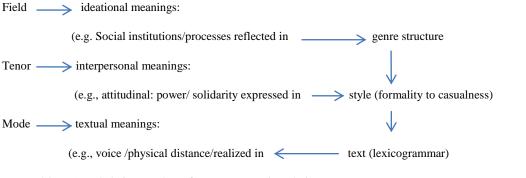
As for the communicative dimension, Halliday (1978) has suggested that "there are three aspects in any situation that have linguistic consequences" (cited in Eggins 1994: 32). These are field, tenor and mode, which are considered to be the parameters that "determine the linguistic forms of a register" (Benjamin 2010: 222). Thus Halliday (1964) explains that field refers to subject matter of discourse, and it includes the overall activity of a particular situation; therefore, field refers to social setting and the purpose of interaction. For example, in the case of a newspaper report, field would be the subject matter of the report, and the purpose in publishing it would be to inform people about what is taking place in the world.

According to Gregory (1967), tenor usually identifies the type of relationship between the addresser and the addressee. It has two forms: personal and functional. The personal one shows that a relationship can be distinguished in terms of the scale of formality to informality; it indicates how much the addresser is polite, intimate, colloquial, casual, etc. (cited in Hatim & Mason 1990: 48). Such a type of relationship is determined by the extent of closeness between participants in the text, the nature of their social statuses, and their roles in the community. Moreover, Gregory (1967) explains that the other one refers to the function of language: Is the language used to describe, exhort, teach, control, advertise, advise, appeal, or to persuade? (cited in Hatim & Mason, 1990: 50-51). On other hand, Hallidy (1964) explains that mode refers to the medium of communication. It involves whether a text is meant to be recited, read, or spoken. Thus it refers to the channel of communication or medium of language activity, so it represents a number of various forms of "communicative occurrences" such as a telephone conversation, an essay, a business, or a fundraising letter, etc. (Hatim & Mason, 1990: 49-50).

On the other hand, the socio-semiotic dimension refers to "the assumptions, conventions, presuppositions that surround discourse and reflect the ways in which a given culture constructs or partitions a reality" (Hatim & Mason, 1990:67). For example, in each culture there are various forms of address, so when a politician, for instance, calls an interviewer by his/her first name, s/he shows solidarity and informality, but when s/he switches to use the surname, s/he signals more than mere formality (Hatim & Mason, 1990:67). Hence, each form in language is considered as a sign whose social implication is actually obtained from social processes/occasions in the culture of specific community; and each genre, like a letter or a poem, with particular attitudinal levels and functional meanings being realized in a text by possible linguistic tools (like pronominal references) reflects these social processes. Therefore, each text of a genre has its own discoursal constraints; for example, militant discourse is inappropriate for boardroom meetings (Hatim & Mason1990:71). However, a persuasive text could be directed to every person in the society. To find the socio-semiotic meanings and the rhetorical intents of a persuasive text, one should try to analyze in details the three metafuctions of language: the ideational metafunction refers to the processes and participants, i.e., experiences in the world; the interpersonal one refers to the interaction between individuals; and the textual one refers to notion how language does fit in context (Butt, Fahey, Spinks, Yallop 2000).

In this regard, we can understand that there is something behind producing any form of any sentence whether the sequence is habitual or not. Then, how is it the case with reference switching in a specific text? And what pragmatic meanings of persuasion does each reference switching contain? To answer these questions and others, the analysis is expected to refer to Austin's illocutionary act as the communicative force associated with any utterance, e.g., warning ,ordering , and advising ( cited in Levinson, 1983 : 236), Searle's speech Acts(1969) - the representative, directive, expressive , and declarative one ( cited in Mey, 2001:120 -122), and how Grice's maxim of manner (Grice, 1978) is violated (cited in Hatim &Mason, 1990:62); in other words, when the writer switches references, this deviation involves a conversational implicature ,i.e., "what is meant but not actually said" (O'Grady,1992:259).In this regard, there is some kind of unexpressed content behind any sort of reference switching, whenever the text is meant to persuade.

Hence, the method of analysis involves using the three dimensions of context (i.e., the communicative, sociosemiotic, and pragmatic ones) as an approach towards analyzing reference switching in a fundraising letter. In other words, the analysis will show how these contextual factors constrain the interpretation of reference switching. Thus, finding the interrelationship between the communicative dimension (field, tenor, mode) and the semiotic dimension (ideational, interpersonal, textual meanings), the pragmatic meaning as related to the goal of persuasion will be clearly explained. The following diagram shows the simultaneous and sequential process of analysis:



Remote/close (word choices, verbs, references, syntactic ordering, etc.)

(Hatim & Mason1990:71-75).

Figure (2) shows the interaction among the three dimensions of contexts.

## 4. Findings

After explaining the method of analysis, it is now appropriate to take a look at the data of this letter. The letter of this study, as stated above, is taken from Mann & Thompson's Discourse Description: diverse linguistic analyses of a fundraising text (1992) in which it is analyzed by diverse approaches; however, none of those considered reference switching as a potential persuasive linguistic style, being utilized dramatically throughout the text. Hence to facilitate smooth analysis and comprehension of how the cumulative effect of persuasion is developing throughout the linguistic patterning of reference switching, the letter is divided into three major parts; each contains a different reference switching which contributes sequentially to the development of the following part till the final request is stated clearly. The following diagram presents a very brief analysis of the pattern of the letter's reference switching:

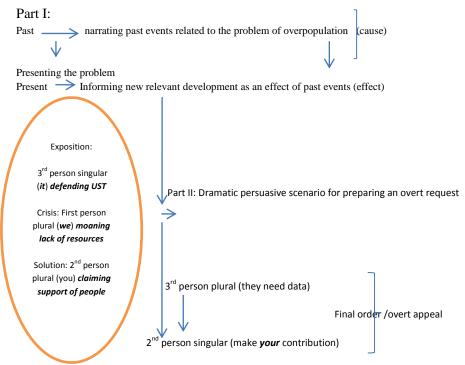


Figure (1) summarizes the findings of reference switching in a fundraising letter.

By examining the diagram, it is noticeable how these three parts switch from one reference to another. But to find out the interrelationship between these references and their effect on the cumulative development of persuasion within this letter, they should be interpreted in terms of the three dimensions of context (communicative, pragmatic and socio-semiotic ones) so that the reader can get a deeper understanding of this textual phenomenon as well as perceive the dramatic manipulative matching with the Aristotelian elements of persuasion. Thus after explicating briefly the data and method of analysis, it is now appropriate to show how these can fit together while analyzing the letter.

#### 5. Analysis of a Fundraising Letter

In order to achieve the overall persuasive goal of a fundraising letter, the letter is organized in three parts; each contains a different reference switching, which reflects a different goal, a different genre, and a different social process. All three parts contribute to make the text of the letter effective, efficient, and dynamic. In other words, the three parts, enhanced by particular switched references, are feeding into each other till the ultimate final point.

To find all this and other relevant concepts, the main tool of analysis is an investigation of the three dimensions of contexts as explained above. Moreover, the direction of analysis will take two opposite ways but complementary to each other. In this regard, the context of situation is mainly related to top-down analysis, but how the structures function in context is related mainly to bottom-up analysis (Hatim &Mason, 1997:17). By analyzing the text, it will be found that even though top-down analysis, as related to the communicative dimension of context, will contribute to the understanding of the background information of the letter, it is not sufficient by itself to investigate how persuasion is interrelated with reference switching in a particular text. Hence, bottom-up analysis is predominantly required to investigate how lexicogrammar of reference switching guides the reader (i.e. tracking reference switching in the text will help the reader to realize who is doing what) and to find out how the pragmatic and socio-semiotic associations are working together (i.e. to find what

semiotic and functional meanings that reference switching has); therefore, one cannot focus exclusively on one dimension and ignore the others, since those three dimensions will collaborate simultaneously towards analyzing reference switching.

Before starting analyzing the three parts of the letter, it is important to take a look at the communicative dimension of context as the necessary basic introduction to the coming discussion. Therefore, it has been stated above that if the text is taken from a top-down perspective, one can actually perceive the three well-known components: *field, tenor, and mode*. Field, as it is related to the main topic of the letter, is centered on a very worrying problem in the USA: it is the overpopulation. Finding a solution to the problem has motivated *Zero Population Growth*, a nongovernmental organization located in Washington, D.C., to mail a fundraising letter to the people of USA, asking them to donate so that the organization can continue working on solving the problem; it mailed this letter because of its insufficient resources (Thompson & Mann, 1992: vii).

That brief discussion of the field makes the reader perceive the tenor of the letter. Tenor is represented in this letter by the type of relationship between the following two parties: the organization is on one side ,and the public and public officials on the other. There are one addresser and two types of addressees. The organization is not only addressing the public who may show a certain kind of solidarity but also addressing those who have certain power in the society of the USA. This double form of address is actually reflected in the reference switching of the letter. Thus one major basis of tenor is to influence persuasively those who are concerned about overpopulation.

To achieve that persuasive effect, the mode of the text is structured in a way that matches the texture linguistically and conceptually. In other words, the structure and texture stick together, and they both move sequentially, where one can perceive a certain kind of progressive development in the text towards realizing the goal ,i.e., donating money. Hence, the structure and function move side by side throughout the letter, where it is initiated by a narrative mode as a matter of giving information; then it moves to the descriptive mode as a way of presenting the activities of the organization and proving its credibility; it ends by the polite imperative mode in which people are asked to contribute to ZPG. This conceptual structure of the text is matched linguistically with the use of reference switching over the three phases of the letter. There is actually a very dynamic compatibility between structure and texture.

However, analyzing only the communicative dimension of context is not enough. To understand how the goal develops and how the rhetorical functions, genres, and social processes work inside the text, other dimensions of context need to be considered in the following sections, which show the detailed elaboration of the three subdivisions of the letter. Hence, the analysis will take a different pattern, by analyzing lexicogrammar (i.e. the relationship between reference switching and the various types of processes). To do so, bottom-up analysis is the required method, where each reference switching will lead sequentially to the next. Thus the letter, as stated above, is divided into three parts so as to facilitate the smooth constructive interpretation of reference switching. Those three parts of reference switching interact in pushing the subsequent persuasive function of text ahead. The first part focuses on presenting the problem of overpopulation and later reaction, as both clearly distinguished by tense switching; the second part focuses persuasively on the aim of preparing the reader for covert (i.e., implicit) appeal as showed by the pronominal reference switching (I); and the third focuses on giving the final order (i.e. donating money) as represented by the pronominal reference switching (II). Moreover, any sequence of reference switching has to be interpreted in terms of how it is mutually relevant to other sequences in the text; this can be only discovered through examining the contextual parameters that surround any type of reference switching. However, what is most interesting is that each reference switching signals the border of a conventional genre whose social process or occasion is found in the culture and behavior of individuals of any particular community.

### 5.1 Part I: Tense Switching as a Reference (past- non past)

"It is axiomatic that all events take place in time and there are two possible practical relationships between events: they might be even simultaneous or sequential. It is axiomatic that no event can be simultaneous with itself, and it follows that all recurrences of an event are sequential. It is necessary, in this connection, to emphasize the obvious: those axioms apply to human activities too. All the repetitious activities are sequential..." (Bull, 1971:8). Linguistically speaking, the sequential occurrences of events in time is expressed by the tense of the verb. Tense in English can be mainly divided into two major categories: present and past. Thus tense is a grammatical way of showing temporal relations between various events, i.e., the time of occurrence of an event is only understood by recognizing the given used form of a verb. Therefore, tense in the first part of the letter plays a major role in indicating reference to two different phases of a relevant event. Let's Consider the following first part:

Dear Friend of ZPG:

At 7:00 a.m. on October 25, our phones started to ring.

Calls jammed our switchboard all day.

Staffers **stayed** late into the night, answering questions and talking with reporters from newspapers, radio stations, wire services and TV stations in every part of the country.

When we released the results of ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test, we had no idea we'd get such an overwhelming response.

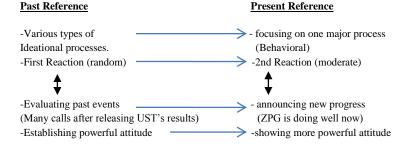
At first, the deluge of calls came mostly from reporters eager to tell the public about Urban Stress Test results and from outraged public officials who were furious that we had "blown the whistle" on conditions in their cities.

Now we <u>are hearing</u> from concerned citizens in all parts of the country who <u>want</u> to know what they <u>can</u> do to hold local officials accountable for tracking population-related problems that **threaten** public health and well-being.

Reading the first part of the letter, it can be noticed that there are two different types of tenses, which both refer ideationally to different reactions and situations. The past tense, setting the background information for various activities and states before now, is reflected in the material processes "started, jammed, stayed, came, released, and blown" the relational processes "had, and were" whose grammatical finite verbs indicate a certain kind of immediate action or fuzzy, messy reactions. Those various processes refer to the initial reactions from "public, reporters, outraged officials" when the results of ZPG concerning the problem of overpopulation were first released, and they show how the people reacted emotionally towards the problem. However, the present tense comes to highlight the generated second reaction, which is reflected mainly by the behavioral process "now we are hearing from concerned citizens"; it shows a different type of reaction which is less immediate and more moderate (though it is the most required one). It presents a thoughtful, serious reaction (whereas the first random reaction (past tense) is just showing the emotional aspect without introducing any kind of tangible interest of inquiring about how to help ZPG with problem). However, It seems that the first reaction has generated the second one i.e., the first feeds into the second; it is a mutual cause-effect relationship (where the emotional reaction has developed into a mindful reaction). Persuasively, the addresser here is creating some sort of interest, since by switching to the present tense, she is emphasizing (hearing from concerned citizens) the most required response as being different from earlier responses, i.e., introducing a sort of motivation to the reader (i.e., ZPG is doing well now as it is hearing from concerned citizen who are thinking about how to help "you" i.e. ZPG). Hence the switching from material processes (past) to the behavioral process (present) reflects a change in the situation as if the past processes produced the present required reaction. It is a matter of shifting from emotions to mind, i.e., shifting from showing emotional solidarity with ZPG (past) to introducing profound reasonable thinking about how to help (*present*).

By shifting from past to present, this part shows how the ideational metafunction is matched with the changing feeling and attitude of the letter's author; *interpersonally* it shows a changing mood of declarative address. In both forms, past and present, she is presenting the situation of ZPG; however, the only difference between them is related to power. Hence, declaration/presentation is moving from a less powerful to a more powerful attitude. Employing the past tense, she was trying to establish the worthiness of ZPG, whereas by employing the present tense, she is trying to enhance and extend that worthiness by what is taking place now. In other words, she is trying to communicate to the reader that ZPG is getting better than before, since *we are hearing* from concerned people who are interested in putting an end to the problem. That process of a changing mood pushes the motivation ahead persuasively.

Furthermore, that attitude is modeled and supported textually by using two different modes. Tense switching refers to a changing mode, which moves mainly from narrating events to concluding statements. Hence, the two are contrasted by an implicit but, which indicates an art of evaluating past events and praising present results. Moreover, thematically, the themes of the past reference are *phones*, calls, staffers, and the deluge of calls, whereas the major theme of the present reference is "we" are hearing, where the thematic switching represents the shifting from the realized third person "they"-staffers, calls- and "it"-the deluge- to the first person "we" (from less personal/ neutral to more personal or from generic to specific). Hence these different kinds of themes determine the degree of physical distance between the addresser and her addressees i.e. whenever any person tries to announce good news s/he feels happy to do so since s/he feels attitudinally and spiritually closer to his/her listener or reader as they both share the same interest). The past tense indicates that the addresser is a little remote, but by moving to the present tense, the addresser is getting closer and closer to the reader by announcing a new development (we are hearing from concerned citizens). Again, it seems that her voice was subdued, but it is getting higher now. This in turn persuasively motivates the reader to observe more and more the writer's views and draws the reader's attention consciously to the text. Moreover, taking tense switching in this part can be viewed in terms of what speech acts are prominent here. The past tense refers to a state of affair which is already performed and completed. It is a kind of assertion ,i.e., a representative speech act, whereas the present tense refers to the current situation which emphasizes "we are hearing..." as a declarative speech act, although it can be also interpreted as an expressive one. These speech acts contribute greatly to the dynamism of the text, since we cannot assign only one illocutionary force to the sequences of switching, i.e., there is a combination of illocutionary forces. Moreover, shifting from past to present within a set of sequences constitutes a violation of some expected norm i.e. the reader expects the writer to maintain consistency in using tense sequences; therefore, according to Grice(1978), a set of sequences must comply with the maxim "be orderly" (cited in Hatim &Mason, 1990:62). In this regard, if there is a flouting, a conventional implicature should be realized. Thus an implicature could be phrased as: Oh, people, look! We are making noticeable progress now. That implicature naturally arouses the reader's interest in the subject matter and moves the persuasion process towards affecting the mind and heart. The following figure shows how the switch from past to present is matched with the cumulative process of persuasion in terms of getting the reader involved in the letter:



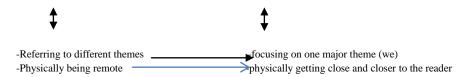


Figure (3):shows the simultaneous process of metafunctions in establishing and pushing the motivation ahead.

To conclude this introductory section, it is worth giving a summary of the relevant rhetorical functions, genres, and social processes regarding past-present switching and the persuasive process. One can easily notice how the first part of this letter shifts from narrating events to concluding statements, from presenting causes to showing the effects, and from evaluating past to praising the present. Therefore, all those functions are experienced by utilizing various genres that are actually connected to the different specific behaviors of people in particular contexts. Furthermore, the most remarkable social process of such shifting from one genre to another is the way people persuasively frame their requests. For example, if one wants something from his/her audience, one should establish a very strong ground for a prospective request, by presenting persuasively the logical reasons for one's cause and then praising one's work. Hence, the convincing demand commonly is initiated in such a strategy as a first step towards establishing the preliminary basis for upcoming expected indirect and then direct order, i.e., requesting money. Those types of order are thoroughly and subsequently explained in the reference switching of the following parts.

## **5.2 Part II: Pronominal Reference Switching (1)**

Shifting from past to present in the first section is just introducing the persuasive process in the text. The following mainly concerns reference switching from *It* (UST) to *We* (ZPG) and then to *you* (public people); these three participants will contribute greatly to setting up the ground or preparing the reader persuasively for an upcoming direct request. Let us consider the following part of the letter:

ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test, created after months of persistent and exhaustive research, is the nation's first survey of how population-linked pressures affect U.S. cities.

It ranks 184 urban areas on 11 different criteria ranging from crowding and birth rates to air quality and toxic wastes.

The Urban Stress Test translates complex, technical data into an easy-to-use action tool for concerned citizens, elected officials and opinion leaders.

But to use it well, / we urgently need / your help.

Our small staff is being swarmed with requests for more information and our modest resources are being stretched to the limit.

Your support now is critical.

ZPG's 1985 UST may be our best opportunity ever to get the population message heard.

With your contribution, ZPG can arm our growing network of local activities with the materials they need to warn community leaders about emerging population-linked stresses before they reach crisis stage.

Reading through the above sequences, we notice the relational process of identity in "UST ...is the nation's...," which defines what is meant by UST. UST's characteristics are further highlighted by the material processes "it translates" and "it ranks," which both specify its distinct functions. Hence, we can see here that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person inanimate singular is defending and describing the positive attributes of UST. In other words, the addresser is presenting UST's virtues as a potential solution to the case. However, that reference switches into the First person plural "we" as in the sequence "to use it well, we urgently need your help." In this context, the mental process need expresses how urgently ZPG is pleading for help, and the adverb urgently shows also how they are

bemoaning their inadequate resources. They (ZPG) have a very efficient tool, but unfortunately, they are desperate and unable to use it effectively at this moment. Furthermore, the pronominal reference continues to switch into the 2<sup>nd</sup> person in the possessive structures "your *help is now critical...your support...with your contribution*," where the readers can notice the first evidence for claiming some sort of assistance. But the matter is still unclear, since readers cannot determine what type of support is being requested here; therefore, curiosity motivates the reader to keep reading the letter till the end, so as to discover the required type of support, and so realizing that type of support constitutes the ultimate purpose of the whole letter. Therefore, this part moves ideationally from praising the tool of analysis to showing inability and then to seeking help; it moves from the material to the mental, then to the relational process.

To show how those three references and processes interact with each other, the interpersonal metafunction is required here. It seems that the interpersonal organization of the sequences of those references has something to do with a sort of persuasive technique. The organization in the given discourse shifts from one form of reference to another ( it-we-vou), and each reference depicts a particular emotional state of address, where the connection between "it" and "you" is mediated by "we." Hence, starting with "it," the addresser is trying to build a positive face of "UST" as an effective technique; she is defending, praising, and building the power of that tool (i.e. raising the reader's interest in UST as a powerful tool); however, she shifts to "we" as a way of relinquishing ZPG's power since here she is complaining about the inability to use that excellent tool (i.e. inviting the reader to consider the desperate state of ZPG); therefore, to find an outlet, she shifts into "you" as a reference to people of the USA who own that power, (i.e., implicitly it could be at this point of argumentation "money") to put that tool to use if they help ZPG. Thus the switching in "to use it well, we urgently need your help" contains the changing mood of address as it moves from building power to showing lack of power and to claiming people's power (support), and so it shows a kind of combination of power and solidarity; ZPG has a powerful tool, but it needs your help i.e. your solidarity. Therefore, persuading other people requires variability in projecting emotions by using various structures and references so as to exclude the dominant expression of either attitude.

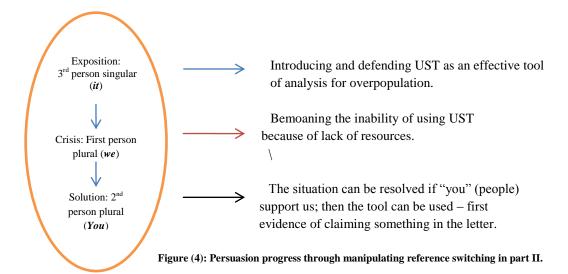
Moreover, that interpersonal persuasive dramatization is also enhanced by the textual resources of the letter to produce an "end-focus" (Baker,1992:145), being manipulated to draw the reader's attention, and to show a different physical distance of each reference. As the writer introduces "it" (UST) as an unmarked structure (e.g. ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test is,... It ranks... The Urban Stress Test translates...), the textual resource here seems to have neutral effect on the reader, since it depicts only UST's positive functions. But it gets a bit closer when it is used as a marked/thematized structure, starting the clause of reference "we" (unable to use it) in "but to use it well, we urgently need your help" as a way of getting the reader involved in the situation of ZPG by referring to the implicit contrast "but to use it well" and the infinitive of purpose "to use it well" i.e. using it well depends on your help. Therefore, that intermediacy of "we" sets the board for the other switching "your help is now critical" as an unmarked theme but thematized in the next sequence "with your contribution," as a technique for more persuasive involvement of the reader, and so the distance gets shorter than before, where the switching moves from the third party "it" to the second party "we" and then to the first party "you" (directly addressing the reader) as the core of the letter. It seems that the voice of the writer here is rising gradually from "it," "we" to "you" i.e. organizing these references has to do with something that is more or less specific; the addresser is moving form a neutral/less personal category "it" to a personal/ collective category "we" and then to a more specific targeted category "you." Thus, that triple switching constitutes a way of shortening the distance between ZPG and the reader, where s/he gets the feeling of being the main focus of this argument.

Furthermore, this triple switching manipulates pragmatically the inner psyche of people towards persuading them indirectly to adopt a particular perspective or to carry out an action. Thus by introducing UST "it," the addresser is inviting people to think and reason over the potential benefits of that tool, but she moves to arouse

people's sympathy towards ZPG "we" when she tries to prove its inability to use that tool at the moment. By switching, the writer is psychologically addressing those people while shifting from mind (UST's distinct Characteristics) to emotion (sympathy); then the switching in this part is crowned by referring to "you" as a potential rescuer here. In this case, the indirect request of the sequence "Your support now is critical" is gradually (moving from it to we) built on what precedes it. Hence, the representative speech act of the reference "it" asserts the true functions of UST as a tool, whereas the following second reference "we" shows the direct declarative speech act, reflected in a very descriptive statement "we need your help," and reveals clearly the miserable situation of ZPG. The manipulative interconnection between the first and the second references produces the intended mitigated directive speech act "your support now is critical"; it is a sort of "pious wish" (Mey,2001:120) in which people seem to be solicited indirectly. Therefore, shifting speech acts communicates various illocutionary forces and, absolutely, an implied persuading message to the readers, who might be able to perceive the implicature of that switching as the following: ZPG has the best tool for the problem, so what are you going to do regarding that?

These different references of different speech acts are intended to reflect a certain kind of dynamism in the text so as to produce a desired effect on the reader. They collaborate sequentially and simultaneously to represent a well-known dramatic genre, where the scenario is spun in a very tactical way. It is actually a kind of persuasion technique in which the readers are being injected sequentially by three different modes of address after which they have to do the necessary simultaneous combination among them. Describing UST as "it", the writer is calling upon the readers to think about and contemplate its virtues as a tool and the possible good analyses that it can produce, whereas referring to ZPG as "we", the writer is seeking the sympathy of the people. Hence, the writer seems to be playing dynamically with the minds and the hearts of people before switching to the desired request for support: "you."

Therefore, the unexpected norm of switching of these three pronominal references dramatizes the expected norm of a narrative text where the sequential development is organized by moving from the descriptive exposition represented by "it" (introducing UST), to the climax as represented by "we" (ZPG's whining over its inability) and then to "you" (claiming people's support) as the only available solution to this difficult situation. The following figure summarizes the whole persuasive process of part II.



That kind of genre is commonly utilized by various arguers whenever they try to influence people's perspectives. Arguers try to present first the expertise, knowledge, ability, etc. that they have on the purpose of

creating a kind of interest in their person/organization. In other words, they praise and glorify what they have; it is a matter of setting up the ground for their cause before switching to the next step where they present a new dramatic development showing that their expertise ( *UST as a tool of analysis*) won't be used efficiently because of lack of resources ( *the situation is similar to the story of a very smart and successful student who can't find enough money to help him enroll in some university*). Then the arguer shifts to address directly the reader/listener to claim their support as the only solution to this problem. After that the choice is left to the reader/listen to ignore or consider the situation, but in most cases people as humanitarian in nature won't stand empty-handed. By analogy, arguers may move from *exposition* to *crisis* and then to *solution* in order to teach people something new or persuade them to adopt a particular idea, ideology, belief, convention, etc. For instance, one special event or story may drastically change a person to become a liberal, religious, secular, atheist, etc.

Therefore, each of these three references contains an embedded type of genre, where the intention is dramatized to exclude the dominant form of one particular genre, to move the mind and the emotions of the reader, and to remove the stability of the text. In this case, the addresser is shifting from a descriptive, defensive genre (distinct characteristics of UST), to a bemoaning, complaining genre (whining over the desperate situation of ZPG "we are urgently in need"), and then to a beseeching, pleading genre (claiming people's support "help us"), where the ultimate cumulative effect of such process of shifting is to persuade the readers and to make them adopt the writer's message about helping ZPG, though the nature of that claimed help is not clear yet at this point.

All in all, this leads us to match this dramatic scenario to what actually is taking place in reality. It seems that the whole process of this part refers to a very common social process that implicates the strategy of asking others to do someone a favor; in this context, getting a person to do somebody a favor depends mainly on the extent of being acquainted with that person, e.g., how familiar one is with someone, since this determines how formal or informal one should be in planning one's request. For example, if the addressee is too close to the addresser, it may not take much effort to persuade the latter since s/he may not question the motives of the addressee because of that strong familiarity or closeness, whereas if the addressee is a complete stranger to the addresser, the latter has to follow a very formal organized behavior to convince the addressee of the addresser's motives. Therefore, one has to maneuver before lodging the final order; for example, if a particular institution starts asking the public for help and presenting the reasons afterwards, people may question the motives of that institution, since they are not yet emotionally and spiritually ready to accept that order. An institution which wants the public's help should first seek the approval of people by defending its tools and motives so as not to let those people doubt its credibility; people, in general, need to be prepared, motivated, and convinced before asking them to give their support.

### 5.3 Part III: Pronominal Reference Switching (2)

The persuasive goal of the letter is clearly realized while reference switching is moving from establishing a lesser motivation in part I to giving a greater motivation in part II. That procedure leads sequentially to carrying out a direct order in part III, but it is done by employing a new maneuvering kind of switching. Let us consider the following:

Even though our **national government continues to ignore** the consequences of uncontrolled population growth, we can act to take positive action at the local level.

Every day decisions are being **made** by **local officials** in our communities that could drastically affect the quality of our lives.

To make sound choices in planning for people, both elected officials and the American public need the populationstress data revealed by our study. Please make a special contribution to Zero Population Growth today.

Whatever **you give**--\$25, \$50, \$100 or as much as you can—will be used immediately to put the Urban Stress Test in the hands of those who need it most.

Tracking reference switching, one can notice how it moves ideationally from the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural "they" to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural "you," which is enhanced by different processes and participants. The reference "they" is brilliantly manipulated by using it in various processes, where the addresser justifies the need for money. Officials continue to ignore as a behavioral process, so they need data (e.g. UST's results) as a mental process to change that behavior and to make decisions as a material process regarding the problem; in other words, to change the behavior of individuals, one needs to provide them with some convincing evidence, so they will accept and adopt the perspective and take action accordingly. That argument justifies the necessity to update continuously those officials so that they can put an end to "overpopulation" problem. Hence, it seems that the writer is implying the obligation of getting those officials informed. This way of manipulation arouses persuasively the instinct of responsibility of the expected readers of this letter.

Therefore, part II and part III interplay in influencing the readers indirectly to get them to carry out the overt appeal made in the final pronominal reference. As mentioned earlier in part II, an efficient use of UST "it" requires "your support" (but not explicitly here identified yet what type of that support is) since "we" (ZPG) don't have enough resources (here the addresser is a little bit hinting to money implicitly by complaining over the lack of resources), but we have a good tool which, if it is used well (again the addresser is conditionally but implicitly linking the efficient use of UST with the availability of resources), it can provide senior government officials (they) with adequate information (here in part III, the addresser is justifying the need for support). This switching from it to we and then to they constitutes an indirect kind of claiming contribution. Thus after giving such rationales, it is safe and natural to switch into a different sequence, whose main actor is every single person in USA. It is represented by the reference "you" in "please make your contribution...whatever you give -- \$25, \$50, \$100...," and it constitutes the first literal request for money. It is further enhanced by the material processes "make & give," which both require every person to perform that activity (i.e., donating money). Moreover, this kind of shifting from indirect (presenting the reasons for support) to direct request (asking people to give money) is supported by other interpersonal and textual resources.

The interpersonal meaning of this type of switching is related to the interpretation of the concept of power. What is power? Who has power? Are government officials more powerful than public people or not? Clearly, the general understanding is that important officials are the ones who have power; however, the matter is not like that, since even though those officials make and carry out important decisions, they are in truth influenced to some extent by what the public people want or need. Hence, the public can contribute to the way those decisions are made and carried out through their support to some organization to negotiate and act on behalf of those people. Therefore, the addresser here is approaching a very sensitive area while arguing over the rationales expressed in shifting from "decisions are made by the officials" to "officials need data", but "your contribution" makes that data available, and then these decisions will be made soundly. In other words, the addresser is implicitly motivating the readers by driving them to accept and adopt the notion of what is meant by true power. True power is not in the hands of those officials but in "your" hands (the public). More specifically, "with your contribution," you can make a difference, influence those officials and change the situation.

Moreover the persuasive process of this switching that is developing textually towards achieving the goal is moving with reference switching to influence the reader gradually. Hence, the shifting in this part is different from the shifting in the second part in terms of presenting more specification of the reason for requesting donation. In the second part, support is claimed for helping ZPG- "we urgently need your help"- whereas in this part donation is justified specifically by confirming and assuring that money is required so that American

officials can be informed adequately, and then they become ready "to make sound choices," based on ZPG's work. This is textually specifically highlighted by the marked structure of switched sequences. Thus foregrounding "to make sound choices...," assures people that their donated money is going to be spent on making the data available for concerned officials, but deleting the actor in "please make your contribution" highlights the material process "make" so as to emphasize that the end of this problem of overpopulation can only be resolved by your immediate action (giving money).

That planned organization of sequences of shifting is enhanced by using different speech acts. Both the declarative speech act of an implicit request in "they (officials) need data" and the directive one (an explicit polite order) in "please make your contribution" have special degrees of impositions. Not only the first one is not peremptory, but also the second one is softened by "please;" thus the two forms move skillfully from the non-imperative request to the polite ordering; in other words, it shifts from a non-threatening face of implicit request (i.e., they need data) to a face-to-face direct request (please make...).

Moreover, those speech acts containing reference switching contain different illocutionary forces since they defy easy categorization. For example, the sequence "they need data" can be not only an indirect speech act but also a declarative, representative or even expressive one. Thus moving from one sequence of speech act to another defies the maxim "be orderly;" however, that unexpected structure must be usually intended to communicate a particular persuasive message, i.e., an implicature to the reader, which could be realized as follows: our country will be in a critical situation if you don't take immediate action today. The following diagram shows how the three metafunctions interact simultaneously together to generate the desired persuasive implicature of this kind of reference switching:

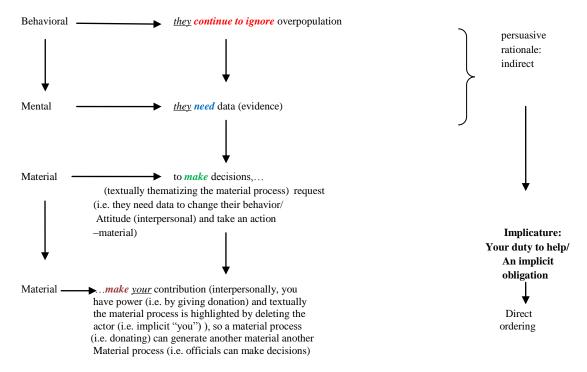


Figure (5) portrays the maneuvering process of persuasion.

Consequently, that shifting from one speech act to another is a matter similar to moving from one social context to another, i.e., from one genre to another. It is shifting from describing a necessity to requesting a contribution, from presenting urgency to seeking help, from expressing an inability to pleading for relief, from vocalizing a call for rescue to knocking at the doors of people's minds and hearts, and from indirect to direct ordering.

However, one might ask why these references are organized the way they are in the text. What does that have to do with the question of persuasion? What if "your support" and "make your contribution" were mentioned textually before "we urgently need" and "they need data," would that have changed the expected effect of persuasion in the letter? Actually, the original organization of references has a very dramatic persuasive effect on the part of the reader, because in any context, the social process for a successful result of persuasion involves putting first all the reasons, causes, pretexts, rationales on the table, before projecting a final request. Therefore, starting by "we" (ZPG's lack of resources is targeting the emotions of people to show solidarity) and "they" (Government officials need data to work on the problem) before "you" (your support is required here) constitutes a special tactic towards opening an overt appeal or requesting a special favor. In other words, to guarantee good results, one has to present an indirect argument first for one's purpose before revealing it all, since people in general need first to conceptualize, premeditate, digest, and internalize mentally and emotionally what is being argued or discussed before receiving the final order; they need time to understand and accept a particular perspective. They need to be constantly motivated to continue reading the letter by switching from one context into another, since if the writer started from the beginning ordering them to contribute to ZPG, they would not consider the matter further the first moment they noticed a request for money. Hence, people need to be prepared, or to use a more technical word, they need to be hypnotized so as to be completely guided toward carrying out what is instructed by the author of the text. This is actually the ultimate purpose of any communicative text where the reader realizes the goal, adopts the perspective, and acts accordingly.

#### 6. Summary

It has been argued that people can use different linguistic styles/ variables of language as tools of persuasive communication (Blankenship & Craig, 2011). Very few of those variables have been explained briefly in this paper, but there are many others; on the other hand, the focus has been throughout this paper on explaining how reference switching, as a linguistic variable, is related to persuasion in a fundraising letter as well as on tracking the development of cumulative persuasion by explaining in details different types of references inside the text. The process of analysis is done by investigating the three dimensions of context which are examined both sequentially and simultaneously so as to find that persuasive effect of reference switching. As explained above, the letter is divided into three parts, where each is analyzed separately but sequentially. Hence, this section tries to summarize these three parts into one form of a cohesive framework representing the whole social process of persuasion in this appeal letter, based on the interconnective characteristics between its types of reference switching and the rhetorical elements of the Aristotelian model (explained briefly above in the introduction); for example, switching from narrating positive reactions of the public to presenting the efficient characteristics of the UST matches the element of establishing credibility. Therefore, the writer of this letter moves from seeking approval to arousing emotions, and then to addressing the minds of people with a particular rationale; this matches the overall pattern of reference switching (explained thoroughly above in the three parts).

Switching from past to present tense (then & now) shows the different types of reactions (random & moderate) of people when ZPG published the results of UST. The first past reaction has translated the interest of public people in the problem, but the second present reaction has showed how concerned citizens are interested to give their support. This in general portrays ZPG as a very important organization. Moreover, that process of self-praising is later enhanced when the writer switches to defend the distinct characteristics of UST as an attempt of telling the public that ZPG can be trusted, since it has the best tool of analysis. This dramatized introduction must contribute to enhance the *credibility* of ZPG.

After building the positive image of ZPG, the writer switches to seek people's solidarity with ZPG, whose desperate lack of resources prevents it from using that tool effectively. Hence, the writer, dramatically and

persuasively, arouses the sincere *emotions* of the public for helping ZPG by connecting conditionally the efficient use of UST with some expected support of people.

Finally, the writer switches to address the logical intellect of people by justifying that ZPG needs "your contribution" so that the organization can update the government officials continuously, concerning overpopulation. Hence, that kind of discourse not only moves the concept of affiliation inside the readers but addresses the *minds* of people to take a look at the future of their country. Thus by presenting that kind of discourse, the writer feels that it is now appropriate to lodge overtly the direct request for money. That whole process of persuasion is summarized in the following diagram:

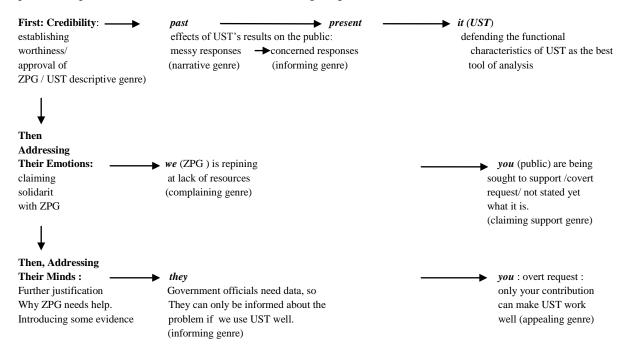


Figure (6) explains the interrelationship between reference switching and the elements of Aristotelian model of persuasion.

My final word in this paper is to highlight the notion of how the social process of persuasion is enhanced by various genres represented by the contextual switching from one reference pattern to another. This seems very clear in a fundraising letter, but how can this study be applied to other kinds of genres? Therefore, this may again open the way for further research and investigation in areas where reference switching plays a significant role in contributing to the development of cumulative effect of persuasion, especially in poetry, advertisements, political speeches, etc.

Appendix

# ZERO POPULATION GROWTH November 22,1985

Dear Friend of ZPG:

At 7:00 a.m. on October 25, our phones started to ring.

Calls jammed our switchboard all day.

Staffers stayed late into the night, answering questions and talking with reporters from newspapers, radio stations, wire services and TV stations in every part of the country.

When we released the results of ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test, we had no idea we'd get such an overwhelming response.

At first, the deluge of calls came mostly from reporters eager to tell the public about Urban Stress Test results and from outraged public officials who were furious that we had "blown the whistle" on conditions in their cities.

Now we are hearing from concerned citizens in all parts of the country who want to know what they can do to hold local officials accountable for tracking population-related problems that threaten public health and well-being.

ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test, created after months of persistent and exhaustive research, is the nation's first survey of how population-linked pressures affect U.S. cities.

It ranks 184 urban areas on 11 different criteria ranging from crowding and birth rates to air quality and toxic wastes.

The Urban Stress Test translates complex, technical data into an easy-to-use action tool for concerned citizens, elected officials, and opinion leaders.

But to use it well, we urgently need your help.

Our small staff is being swarmed with requests for more information and our modest resources are being stretched to the limit. Your support now is critical.

ZPG's 1985 UST may be our best opportunity ever to get the population message heard.

With your contribution, ZPG can arm our growing network of local activities with the materials they need to warn community leaders about emerging population-linked stresses before they reach crisis stage.

Even though our national government continues to ignore the consequences of uncontrolled population growth, we can act to take positive action at the local level.

Every day decisions are being made by local officials in our communities that could drastically affect the quality of our lives.

To make sound choices in planning for people, both elected officials and the American public need the population-stress data revealed by our study.

Please make a special contribution to Zero Population Growth today.

Whatever you give--\$25, \$50, \$100 or as much as you can—will be used immediately to put the Urban Stress Test in the hands of those who need it most.

Sincerely, Suzan Weber Executive Director

#### P.S.

The results of ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test were reported as a top news story by hundreds of newspapers and TV and radio stations from coast to coast

I hope you will help us monitor this remarkable media coverage by completing the enclosed reply form.

(Mann, Thompson, 1992: iii)

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