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‘Click here’: the impact of new media on the encoding of persuasive messages in direct marketing

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ABSTRACT With the increasing popularity of the Internet, email marketing has become a convenient and dynamic mode of communication that enables business organizations and personal sellers to promote their products or services at a much lower cost and with a potentially more global reach. This article aims to examine the impact of new media on the encoding of persuasive messages in sales emails as a channel of direct marketing, and the extent to which the use of new media influences the overall interactional or social strategy of credibility enhancement and persuasion in the context of sales promotion. A genre analysis based on a modified move scheme proposed in this study was conducted on 160 sales letters (80 emails and 80 prints) randomly selected from a database of 10,972 sales letters collected from 36 categories of recipients in Hong Kong over a six-month period. Similarities and differences in discourse structures were found across the two corpora, and discussions were made with reference to a conceptual framework titled the Lingual-Belief Interaction Model proposed by the author. The model addresses the role of text, context, and interface in sales email study on the one hand, and the interplay of belief, interaction, and language in persuasive communication on the other. In-depth interviews were conducted with 16 specialist and corporate informants in the field of sales promotion communication to verify the results of analysis.

KEY WORDS: discourse strategy, discourse structure, emails, field interviews, genre analysis, message encoding, new media, persuasive communication, sales promotion

1. Introduction

Traditionally, sales messages are presented on prints which are then mailed to consumers. However, technological changes are now altering sales and marketing, and obviously, the Internet is accelerating that trend. Besides changing the way companies connect to their customers, the Internet also expands ‘the opportunities for branding, innovation, pricing, and selling’ (Hanson, 2000: 4). Electronic sales messages enable even the smallest companies to have a more
even footing with the larger companies in competing for business. It is expected that consumers will be receiving more electronic sales messages as e-business grows (Guffey, 2004).

In this information age, email has become an increasingly important and convenient mode of communication in the context of sales and marketing. In comparison with other modes of communication, such as prints and television commercials, sales emails enable business organizations and personal sellers to promote their products or services at a much lower cost and with a potentially more global reach. A survey conducted by DoubleClick (2004) indicates that consumers are increasingly likely to respond positively to permission-based (opt-in) sales emails, and to see them replacing direct mail communications through prints.

This knowledge-based and fast-changing global society where we are in is now posing unique challenges to genre studies. Taking advantage of the Internet, sales emails can now be presented in or supported by different kinds of new media such as digital graphics, animations, photos, videos, hypertexts, online games, etc. In a sales email from Carlsberg, a renowned beer company (see Appendix 1), new media are working as a supplement or as a complement to the text-based content which has been the dominant element in sales letters for long. With that email, the company aims to highlight and promote its music events, which serve to portray a brand image of freedom, passion, and sensation. Even though the email is not a lengthy one, the viewers have been prompted several times to click on the graphics or hyperlinks, which lead to various sections of the company’s website (the commands at (3), (5) and (7) are supported by graphical illustrations). The condensed video record of the ‘sensational concert’ mentioned in (2) is designed not only as an entertainment for the viewers, but also as a piece of hard evidence of the company’s credibility. By viewing the video record, the viewers will at once get a taste of whether the company’s self-description actually matches its social reality. In (4) and (5), the makers attempt to showcase the latest music events held by the company. The viewers are offered access to the music video section of the company’s website, through which they will be exposed to further and possibly wider evidence of the company’s identity and personality. In (6), the viewers are encouraged to send the online game to their friends and to see who will score the highest. In illocutionary force (Austin, 1975), this request serves to enhance the viewers’ motivation to participate in the offer. In perlocutionary force, it serves to boost the circulation of the brand. Obviously, the email is action-oriented. It attempts to activate the viewers’ audio and visual senses through various experiential appeals. New media are playing a significant role in the makers’ overall strategy to persuade the viewers to get involved in the company’s brand-building effort. The persuasion strategy deployed in this email seems to echo how Van Dijk (1997) metaphorically compares the strategy in discourse to that in a game of chess:

[C]hess players need to know the rules in order to play chess in the first place, but will use tactics, gambits, and special moves within an overall strategy to defend themselves or to win. (p. 31)
The deployment of new media in sales promotion communication raises two research questions for which this study attempts to answer: 1) what is the impact of new media on the encoding of persuasive messages in sales emails?; 2) how does the use of new media influence the overall interactional or social strategy of credibility enhancement and persuasion in the context of sales promotion? To answer these questions, 160 sales letters (80 emails and 80 prints) were randomly selected for detailed analysis from a database of 10,972 sales letters collected from 36 categories of recipients in Hong Kong over a six-month period. It is believed that the impact would stand out more prominently by contrasting sales emails with printed ones, as Enkvist (1973: 21) states, ‘The essence of variation . . . is difference, and differences cannot be analyzed and described without comparison’.

Based on a conceptual framework titled the Lingual-Belief Interaction Model proposed by the author, this study attempts to investigate the similarities and differences between the discourse structures of the two corpora. It further discusses how far these similarities in structural choices can be attributed to generic considerations, that is, to the contextual configuration of the field, mode, and tenor of the texts. It also examines how far the differences in structural choices can be attributed to the deployment of new media in the sales emails.

The present article will first discuss the conceptual framework of the research. It will then explain the research methodology and present the results of analysis in relation to the overall discourse structure of the sales emails as compared with that of the printed ones. Extracts will be quoted from the corpora to illustrate the similarities and the differences. This article will end with concluding remarks on how this study contributes to the fields of persuasive communication and genre analysis. Throughout the article, the terms makers and viewers instead of authors and readers are used. As the sales message in an email might be encoded through text, new media, or a combination of both, the email could probably be the production of not only author(s) but also new media producer(s). Here, the makers of sales emails refer to e-marketers as well as authors and producers of the emails. The email recipients will decode the sales message not only through reading the text but also through perceiving the new media. Here, the viewers refer to those people who receive and view the sales emails. They can be potential consumers of a product or service.

2. Conceptual framework

Sharing communicative purposes has been the principal criterion that characterizes a class of communicative events as a genre; exemplars of a particular genre share similarities in ‘structure, style, content and intended audience’ (Swales, 1990: 58). Bazerman (1988: 62) has a similar view: ‘a genre is a socially recognized, repeated strategy for achieving similar goals in situations socially perceived as being similar’. Bhatia (1993: 13) also stresses the essential role of communicative purposes in genre identification: ‘Although there are a number of other factors, like content, form, intended audience, medium or channel, that influence the nature and construction of a genre, it is primarily characterized
by the communicative purpose(s) that it is intended to fulfil’. Relating the above discussions to this study, a sales letter can be viewed as a ‘communicative vehicle’ (Swales, 1990: 46) that opens up a world of business opportunities so that the ‘common goals’ (p. 26) of the business community, winning renown and generating profit, can be attained. It is the communicative purpose of exchanging goods, services and information, and the social function of informing and persuading that allow sales letters to be recognized by both makers and viewers as a genre distinct from other modes of communication found within the business community. It is also the communicative purpose that forms the key criterion for identifying data in this study.

Bhatia (2001) provides a clarification of the notions of super-genres, genres, and sub-genres. Under a promotional super-genre, there exist many genres like sales letters, advertisements, direct mailings, and so on. These genres are characterized by a ‘considerable overlap in terms of communicative purposes’ although they may appear different in terms of ‘other contextual parameters such as the medium, participant relationships, style, etc.’ (p. 83). Under a sales letter genre, there exist a range of sub-genres differentiated by languages, media, contents, etc. Due to the similarity in communicative purpose and social function of the event leading to the creation of sales emails and printed sales letters, the two sets of texts are considered representative of the same genre. It is the difference in media that differentiates them into two sub-genres.

The research questions this study proposed to address require a conceptual framework that looks at language as social interaction, that is, the way meaning is created in the text and in the context. Figure 1, titled the Lingual-Belief Interaction Model, integrating the theories of social discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1997) and genre analysis (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990), is original to this research. The theory of social discourse analysis emphasizes that the explanation of discourse needs to take into account not only the internal structures, social

![The Lingual-Belief Interaction Model](http://dis.sagepub.com)

**FIGURE 1.** The Lingual-Belief Interaction Model
actions, and cognitive operations in language use, but also the broader socio-cultural structures and processes (Van Dijk, 1997). It provides an ideological framework to look at discourse from a dynamic perspective. The theory of genre analysis helps reveal how the different structural choices interact to achieve the communicative purposes of a genre. Adopting a genre-based approach to text analysis, the researcher can find out how the social function of persuasion in sales letters is realized in discourse structure.

A conceptual framework as such will help look at sales email, as a kind of persuasive communication, from three dimensions. First, similar to a printed piece, a sales email is a communicative event through which the makers try to persuade the viewers to believe and to take action as they are told. Simons et al. (2001: 7) define persuasion as ‘human communication designed to influence the autonomous judgments and actions of others’. They stress that persuasion works on predisposition rather than imposition. It serves to affect the values and perhaps the ideology of the persuadees towards the targeted item, so that they will feel and react as the persuaders want them to and ultimately, respond and take action as they are told. Second, a sales email is an interface through which the maker and the viewer interact to make meanings. The availability of the Internet enhances sales promotion through direct, information-rich, and interactive contact with customers (Turban et al., 2006). In addition to being information transmitters, the makers of sales emails may bear a new role as technology guiders. The strategy through which new media are deployed in the discourse will influence the encoding and decoding of sales messages. Third, a sales email is a form of language use in which the discourse structure and organization influence how the beliefs and interactions are realized. If we view a printed sales letter as a two-dimensional discourse structure in which the viewers are expected to read from the top to the bottom, a sales email may be viewed as a multi-dimensional discourse structure in which the viewers are provided with opportunities to leave and come back to the email from time to time. This multi-dimensionality is created by a network of or networks of communicative events supported by various kinds of new media.

3. Corpus

3.1 DATA COLLECTION
This study is situated in Hong Kong, which has the position of an international gateway and portal for business in the Asian region (The Government of HKSAR, 2004). Scollon and Scollon (2001: 141) make a similar remark in referring to it as ‘a member of the most progressive leading edge of Asian internationalization’. Chinese and English are the two official languages of the region. In order to develop a representative corpus for data analysis, attention has been paid to ensure that the letters are collected from people of as wide a spread as possible. The criteria for identifying potential recipients of sales emails and printed sales letters, as outlined in Table 1, are derived from a correlation of four variables: age group, gender, educational background, and occupation. The selection of these four variables is based on two assumptions. First, in order to increase
business profitability, products and services are generally designed to fit the needs and demands of different consumer segments. Second, boundaries of consumer segments can be set by making correlation among the levels under each of the four variables.

The levels of the four variables demand either half or one-third of the total sample population. Based on Table 1, 36 categories of recipients are possible. The recipients were identified through personal contacts. They were asked to forward to the author of this article any sales emails and printed sales letters in Chinese and/or English that they received over a six-month period; the letters could come from Hong Kong, mainland China, or overseas, and, could aim at selling or promoting any brands, products, or services, for example, magazines, computers, cosmetics, training courses, etc. The six-month period for data collection covered various major festivals in Hong Kong, including the Mid-Autumn Festival in September, Christmas in December, New Year in January, and Lunar New Year and Valentine’s Day in February. As expected, the data collected are rich in variety.

### 3.2 CHOICE OF TEXTS

Out of a total of 10,972 sales letters collected, 160 texts (80 emails and 80 prints) were randomly selected for a qualitative analysis. The selected texts cover a wide range of products or services, including magazines, computers, cosmetics, medicines, insurance, fashions, financial services, and so on, and also come from a wide spectrum of organizations, such as British Royal Mint, HSBC, Lane Crawford, Manulife Insurance, McAfee, and so on.

Various criteria were at work in the process of text selection. First, no limit was set for the text length, since a text should not be defined by its size; it is a ‘semantic unit: a unit not of form but of meaning’ (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 2). Here, in accordance with Halliday (1970), text is taken as the ‘basic unit of language in use’ (p. 160) due to its function as ‘the verbal record of a communicative act’ (Brown and Yule, 1983: 6). In this sense, a text can be of whatever length. Second, the key consideration here is that a sales letter should contain information that is relevant to the recipient and the purpose of the letter.
exhibit the characteristics of ‘a unified whole’ (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 1). By a unified whole, it means that each letter should have its communicative purpose focusing only on sales promotion but not on other areas such as complaint. Third, among the letters collected, it was noted that the sales messages were presented through one of the three methods – 1) solely through written text; 2) mainly through written text with support of graphical illustrations; and 3) mainly through graphical illustrations. The third method was found to be especially popular among the sales emails, in which the graphical illustrations serve to grab the viewers and to arouse their interest to click the hyperlinks leading to further product or service information. Since the focus of this study is on the discourse structure of sales promotion, it was decided that only those presented through the first two methods would be considered in this study. In other words, those texts, which rely solely or mainly on graphical illustrations to transmit the sales messages, would be excluded from the corpus. For those texts presented through the second method, the graphics appeared thereon would only be considered if their non-existence would hinder the comprehension of the sales messages. That means those graphics and photos for decorative purposes would not be considered in the analysis. Fourth, to facilitate interpretation of sales messages with reference to context and viewer–maker relationship, instances of email spam were filtered from the collected texts. Spam, according to The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, refers to ‘unsolicited email, often of a commercial nature, sent indiscriminately to multiple mailing lists, individuals or newsgroups’. One of the major criteria at work for the filtering was that the email had to be sent by a credible source, having its company address formally traceable. Fifth, each sales letter might be the product of a single maker or of a number of makers. To minimize the effect of makers’ style on the validity of the results, it was decided that each letter should come from a different company as far as possible. The above criteria helped distil a pool of sales letters, from which a random selection was conducted.

4. Methodology

4.1 MOVE SCHEME
It is assumed that sales emails and printed sales letters belong to the same genre due to the perceived similarities in their communicative purpose and social function. It is also believed that the units that makers choose to include in a genre-specific text and the organizational pattern through which these units are deployed are based on the communicative purposes the makers wish to accomplish. Upton and Connor (2001) describe moves as semantic or functional units of texts, which can be identified through their communicative purposes and through the linguistic boundaries typical of the moves. Bhatia (2001: 84) defines moves as ‘rhetorical instruments that realize a sub-set of specific communicative purposes associated with a genre’; recurrence of particular moves and typicality of their appearance in genre-specific texts enable viewers to recognize these texts as exemplars of the same genre (Swales, 1990). Bhatia’s definition seems to be taking moves a step further, from solely semantic or functional units
of text to rhetorical units. Moves, if viewed as such, work on coherence rather than isolation in a text. They become ‘strategic elements in rhetorical games’ (Mauranen, 1992: 251):

It is recognizable as a unit by its internal coherence and constant relation to the rhetorical goal and by linguistic means which indicate its boundaries and function in the text. (p. 252)

Moves and steps, as defined in Bhatia (2001), form the units of analysis in this study. A move is taken in this study as a meaningful unit related to the communicative purpose of a social activity and contributing to the overall strategy of a text in relation to its context of situation. Following Zhu (2000), a move is a communicative event, which can be realized in one or more steps. Bhatia (1993) analyzes a printed sales letter from Standard Bank of Singapore in seven moves:

1) establishing credentials; 2) introducing the offer; 3) offering incentives; 4) enclosing documents; 5) soliciting response; 6) using pressure tactics; and 7) ending politely.

The move of introducing the offer is further realized in three steps, namely 2a) offering the product or service; 2b) essential detailing of the offer; and 2c) indicating value of the offer. It is not, according to Bhatia, obligatory to have all these moves in a text or to have them in the same order. In other words, the maker, taking into consideration the sales intention and context, has some kind of freedom in arranging the functional components of a sales letter.

It is further assumed here that if a genre is the result of constant and cumulative selections from structural choices governed by the communicative purposes, then it should be possible to quantify these selections. The two corpora were found to share similar moves and steps according to the following modified move scheme proposed by the author of this article and validated by five specialist informants who on average had been working in the field of sales text copywriting and editing for 10 years.

**Move A: Setting the scene**
- Step A1 Relating to a social issue
- Step A2 Relating to culture
- Step A3 Relating to the market situation
- Step A4 Relating to the viewer
- Step A5 Relating to the maker/character

**Move B: Establishing credentials**
- Step B1 Highlighting financial strengths
- Step B2 Highlighting leadership
- Step B3 Highlighting uniqueness
- Step B4 Highlighting recognition/status
- Step B5 Highlighting exclusiveness
- Step B6 Highlighting expertise
- Step B7 Highlighting track records

**Move C: Introducing the offer**
- Step C1 Identifying needs
- Step C2 Stating the intention
Step C3 Mentioning the product/service
Step C4 Describing services/functions
Step C5 Describing advantages
Step C6 Describing limitations/restrictions
Step C7 Showcasing latest developments
Step C8 Providing details
Step C9 Providing guidelines
Step C10 Pointing to further information
Step C11 Linking to/presenting evidence
Step C12 Offering guarantee

Move D: Building goodwill
  Step D1 Projecting foresight
  Step D2 Showing commitment
  Step D3 Anticipating feedback
  Step D4 Encouraging circulation

Move E: Offering incentives
  Step E1 Providing gifts/discounts
  Step E2 Providing free trials
  Step E3 Providing free tests/games
  Step E4 Providing value-adding services

Move F: Using pressure tactics

Move G: Triggering action

Move H: Soliciting response

Move I: Reinforcing the offer

Move J: Building rapport
  Step J1 Conferring blessings
  Step J2 Expressing eager anticipation
  Step J3 Expressing gratitude/appreciation
  Step J4 Expressing apology

In the process of data analysis, it had been considered whether the descriptions of move types found in studies of similar contexts were applicable to the data of this study and whether modifications of the move types would be necessary. It could, however, be dangerous to claim and justify the limited applicability of previous move schemes based solely on the judgement of one analyst. There might exist, for example, personal misinterpretation of text or inappropriate application of the schemes. Indeed, Swales (1981) did admit in his attempt to devise a move pattern for the introduction section of 48 research articles that he was open to being charged for having the result of his work being a ‘reflection of his perceptual predispositions’ (p. 14). He supported himself by a claim that ‘the charge is likely to be less serious in a genre-specific “bottom-up” applied study than in “top-down” discourse analysis aimed at developing our understanding of features common to all texts’ (p. 14). He, however, in one of his later publications,
acknowledged the necessity of consulting specialist informants in move analysis, and suggested, 'extra-textual excursions provide a valuable framework for situating particular texts with their environments' (Swales, 1993: 690). To avoid the potential charge of achieving results that were based on personal judgements (Crookes, 1986), the author of this article found it crucial to seek help from specialist informants to review the modifications she made to the previous move schemes and at a later stage, to test the validity of the data analysis; five specialist informants as mentioned above were consulted for such purposes based on 40 texts randomly selected from the two corpora.

In association with the modified move scheme, a move is identified in a sales letter as a genre-specific text in terms of four criteria: 1) the propositional content of the letter; 2) the relationship between the letter and the co-text; 3) the context of situation in which the letter emerges; and 4) the linguistic indicators typical of a particular move type in the letter. Taken as a communicative event, a move can be realized in one or more steps. It was observed from the corpora that a particular move or step might appear more than once in a text. It is believed that a look into the frequency of occurrence of each move or step might shed light on how it functions within the overall discourse strategy of sales promotion. The frequency was therefore counted out of the total number of analyzed units, and presented as percentages for the two corpora (see Figure 2 for the results of analysis).

4.2 SPECIALIST AND CORPORATE INFORMANTS

In order to gain a better understanding of why the texts examined in this study are written and presented in the way they are, further information about the real-life context and viewer–maker relationship of sales promotion communication is necessary. The five specialist informants were later invited for in-depth interviews. Moreover, since the texts examined in this study come from 117 companies in Hong Kong, mainland China, and overseas countries, it is reasonable to contact these companies to see if they could offer help in verifying the findings. Eventually, 11 corporate informants from 10 companies (Communication Management, Credit Base, Hong Kong Productivity Council, HSBC, Manulife Insurance, National Geographic, Reader’s Digest, South Smart, Standard Chartered Bank, and Zacks) agreed to be interviewed. All of these informants were responsible for sales and marketing communication in their companies. Almost all of them were directors or managers of sales and marketing. Although they might not be the ones who produced the sales texts examined in this study, they could share, from an insider perspective, their views and experience of working in their companies and their knowledge about the target viewers of their sales texts. All the interviews were conducted at the end of 2005. A list of questions was prepared to guide the semi-structured one-on-one interviews, and the informants had every freedom to share their opinions on any other aspects they deemed appropriate. Each interview lasted for around 45 minutes to two hours, and was audio-recorded for coding analysis, except the two interviews with National Geographic and Zacks, which were conducted using text messaging. Below are some of the questions served to draw their comments on the discourse strategy, discourse structure, and readership consideration of sales texts:
a) What do they find to be the key elements in a sales letter? What are their criteria for selecting and organizing the content of a letter?
b) What is/are the critical success factor(s) of a sales proposition?
c) What are the factors they will take into consideration when they produce and communicate electronic sales messages?
d) How are the discourse strategy and discourse structure of sales emails similar to or different from those of printed sales letters?
e) How does the concern of readership influence the presentation methods of sales emails?

4.3 AN ILLUSTRATION OF DATA ANALYSIS

Before moving on to discuss the results, it is deemed necessary to illustrate how the move types are identified in the texts. A sales email from Blue Dolphin, promoting the women’s magazine, Marie Claire, serves this purpose of illustration (see Appendix 2). In (1), the subject line of the email appears as a question ‘Are you a complex woman, and proud of it?’ It serves to set the scene for the sales proposition through Move A: Setting the scene; Step A4: Relating to the viewer. This question addresses the viewers directly and prompts them to give an instant response through clicking a hyperlink in (2): ‘Try it for FREE today! Click Here’. The invitation is signaled by the imperatives ‘Try’ and ‘Click’, and is labeled as Move G: Triggering action. In (3), the viewers are offered two incentives. They are urged to act quickly to get a risk-free trial subscription to Marie Claire and a free gift certificate. A hyperlink is provided for them to click and to access a web page. What follows is an eye-catching digital image featuring Nicole Kidman on the magazine cover and a slogan ‘A $100 J. Jill Gift Certificate could be yours FREE, if you respond now!’ Again, the viewers can click the image to access a web page. These together are identified as Move E: Offering incentives; Steps E2, E1: Providing free trials/gifts. Up to here, the makers have not explicitly introduced the offer yet, but have been putting forward the free trial subscription and gift certificate several times to tempt the viewers to perform the act of clicking. Indeed, all the buttons signaled by ‘Click Here’, the hyperlink, and the digital image lead to the same web page which provides further information about the magazine.

In (4) and (5), the makers portray women today as complex creatures, who care about both career and private lives, who care about their appearance as well as world peace. Apparently, the makers are providing a model answer on the expectations of women today. They relate this portrayal to the viewers by using the pronoun ‘you’ throughout the email. Against this background labeled as Move A: Setting the scene; Step A4: Relating to the viewer, Marie Claire is introduced as a magazine with unique quality in (6), signaled by a lexical phrase ‘the only magazine that recognizes the depth and complexity of women today’ and contrasted with other magazines through ‘Not just another shallow fashion magazine’ and ‘no women’s magazine could understand you’. This contrastive effect helps achieve the function of Move B: Establishing credentials; Step B3: Highlighting uniqueness. In (8) and (9), the coverage of Marie Claire is described through Move C: Introducing the offer; Step C8: Providing details. From time to time as in (7) and (10) labeled as Move E; Step E1, the makers keep repeating the
incentives with a hope to motivate the viewers to click the hyperlinks leading to further information about the magazine. Finally, the makers of this email emphasize in capital letters in (13) that it is a completely RISK-FREE offer, and that the viewers’ benefit and satisfaction are always guaranteed. This is identified as Move C: Introducing the offer; Step C12: Offering guarantee. The email is closed by a restatement of the incentives in (14) through Move E; Step E2.

This sales email is action-oriented and is built on a dynamic viewer–maker relationship. The makers prompt the viewers from time to time to click the graphical buttons and hyperlinks to get a free trial subscription to the magazine and a free gift certificate. Responses from the viewers are invited through imperatives, such as ‘try’, ‘click’, ‘act’, ‘discover’, and ‘get’. The viewers play a more active role in deciding whether to initiate an interaction with the screen interface.

5. Results and discussion

Figure 2 below presents the results of move analysis of the two corpora. The total number of analyzed units of the email corpus is 861 and that of the print corpus is 670. Move G Triggering action of the email corpus, for example, has a frequency of occurrence of 92, which contributes to 10.69 percent of the total number of analyzed units in that corpus. All percentages are approximated to two decimal places.

An interpretation of the results of the move analysis will follow. Each of the moves will be dealt with individually, and discussed, where necessary, with examples extracted from the data examined in this study. Comments provided...
by the specialist informants and corporate informants will be included, where appropriate, to support the explanation.

5.1 MOVE A: SETTING THE SCENE
Move A Setting the scene is the fifth most frequent move in the email corpus, with a percentage of 9.41 percent. It is the fourth most frequent move in the print corpus, with a percentage of 9.55 percent (see Figure 2 for a visual representation). The percentages are nearly the same across the two corpora. This finding may imply that the frequency of occurrence of this move in general is not affected by the type of medium through which a sales message is transmitted. However, differences can be identified in the use of two steps across the two corpora. Figure 3 shows the results of the five steps under Move A.

Step A1 Relating to a social issue is more evident in the print corpus. It is found from the data examined in this study that 63 out of the 80 printed sales letters are directly addressing the Hong Kong viewers while only 27 out of the 80 sales emails are doing the same. It may be argued that with a more focused group of target viewers, it can be easier for makers of the printed letters to set the scene of a sales proposition by identifying some social issues which are of specific concern to the potential viewers and which can more readily arouse resonance in the viewers. Example (a) which follows is identified as Step A1. This example is extracted from a printed Chinese sales letter in which the makers attempt to promote a Camel paint that does not carry VOC, a substance that may cause air pollution. To set the scene for the sales proposition, the makers highlight the worsening air pollution problem in Hong Kong and make reference to professional opinions from pediatrics specialists and a local authoritative centre on indoor air quality. This example illustrates that given a more focused group of potential viewers, the

![Figure 3. Results of Move A Setting the scene across the email and print corpora](http://dis.sagepub.com)
makers are able to take advantage of the social issues which stand in the shared knowledge of the viewers in an attempt to draw their attention. This strategy helps create a stronger sense of readership, on which the sales proposition will be grounded with better justifications.

(b) Our database indicates that you are a long-time user of Copernic Basic.

By claiming that the company’s database indicates the viewer as a long-time user of the product, the makers intend to achieve three communicative purposes. First, a positive rapport is built up by highlighting the ‘long-time’ relationship between the viewer and the product. Second, the credibility of Copernic as a software solution provider is enhanced by portraying itself as being able to keep track of the viewer’s usage rate with its database. Third, the long-time usage of the basic version of the product implies that it is now time to do an upgrade to a more advanced version, which forms the focus of the whole sales proposition. By making reference to the company’s database, the makers make use of personalization, which ‘reflects the fundamental idea in marketing that customers want a product or service that best matches their needs’ (Hanson, 2000: 185). Such an act of personalization helps boost the confidence of the viewer toward the brand and the product.

Move A appears in more than half of the 160 sales texts (95/160). This indicates that this move is quasi-obligatory. Makers have a choice as to whether they want to set the scene for a sales proposition by referring to the socio-cultural context and viewer–maker relationship. In the majority of the texts in which this move
appears, the makers only use either one of the five steps to set the scene for their sales proposition. This implies that the five steps are independent of each other.

5.2 MOVE B: ESTABLISHING CREDENTIALS
Move B Establishing credentials is the second most frequent move in both corpora (11.15% in the email corpus and 12.99% in the print corpus; see also Figure 2 for a visual representation). Figure 4 shows the results of the seven steps under this move. Although there is a difference between the frequencies of occurrence of the move and of each step across the two corpora, it must be acknowledged that the difference is in fact very small – less than two percent for the move, not to mention the slight difference for individual steps. This finding indicates that the use of this move in sales letters is not influenced by the difference in the media of transmission.

Move B can be regarded as quasi-obligatory in the move scheme, since it appears in more than half of the sales texts (94/160). It is also observed from the data examined in this study that there is no definite pattern of having the seven steps co-existed with each other in the texts. In other words, each of the seven steps can stand on its own in makers’ attempt to establish credentials for a company.

5.3 MOVE C: INTRODUCING THE OFFER
Move C Introducing the offer is the most frequent move in both corpora (39.02% in the email corpus and 35.52% in the print corpus; see also Figure 2 for a visual representation). This move appears in 153 out of the 160 sales texts, and thus may be regarded as an obligatory move in the move scheme. These
results can be attributed to the fact that a product or service is the heart of each sales text, and this move serves to ‘realize the propositional content of the sales promotion’ (Vergaro, 2004: 195). Figure 5 displays results of the 12 steps under this move.

Step C1 Identifying needs, Step C5 Describing advantages, Step C8 Providing details, and Step C10 Pointing to further information are among the most frequent steps in the email corpus and in the print corpus. Their high frequencies of occurrence in both corpora convincingly suggest that the social functions of informing and persuading are generic to the nature of any sales propositions, regardless of any constraints across the two media. All the 11 corporate informants also clearly identified these steps as the key elements in the sales letters produced by their companies. They stressed the importance of describing a product or a service in terms of its benefits and what problems it will solve. Only after the benefits have been outlined would they begin to list the product attributes.

Marked difference can be found between the percentage of occurrence of Step C10 Pointing to further information in the email corpus (8.01%) and that in the print corpus (3.73%). Example (c) is extracted from a sales email, in which the makers mention a software program offered by Dialog Strategy and then point the viewers to further information through a hyperlink. The availability of a digital interface gives more space for the makers to satisfy the viewers’ ‘need for information’, which is vital in the process of making reasoned choices in a purchase (Blackwell et al., 2001: 245).

(c) DSI allows you to import data from virtually any system (through semicolon separated files) to Dialog Strategy at SCHEDULED intervals. Find out more on this page: http://www.dialogsoftware.com/product_page_dsi.htm

![Figure 5. Results of Move C Introducing the offer across the email and print corpora](http://dis.sagepub.com)
Indeed, six out of the 11 corporate informants stated that their companies sent out both sales emails and printed sales letters, and the corporate informant from Zacks mentioned that her company used only sales emails. These informants identified the ability to draw and maintain consumers’ attention on a sales email as a critical success factor of email marketing, and they described various criteria in the production of sales emails. First, a sales email is usually shorter and briefer than a printed letter, so that it can fit the computer screen size to cater for reading comfort. Second, viewers of sales emails tend to have a bigger requirement on efficiency. They would expect an electronic sales message to be very concise and direct, so that they can get the meaning within a few seconds. Third, viewers of sales emails would expect more interactivity with the screen interface, due to the nature of the electronic medium. Text content is gradually giving way to visuals and new media in the encoding and presentation of persuasive messages in direct marketing. These comments add to the explanation of the more frequent use of the said step in the email corpus.

Step C8 Providing details shows a higher frequency of occurrence in the print corpus (8.66%) than in the email corpus (5.57%; see Figure 5 for a visual representation). A possible explanation is that the medium of printed letters compels the makers to put details of their offers in the letters. Although it may be argued that the details can be presented in leaflets or other enclosures to a letter, it would mean additional production and postage fees for a company. Indeed, various corporate informants mentioned the cost of producing printed sales packages as a concern for their companies. For example, the corporate informant from Zacks stated in her written response:

We have always used emails as we have not been able to justify the extra cost of printing and postage of letters.

5.4 MOVE D: BUILDING GOODWILL
The two corpora display very close overall percentages of occurrence of Move D Building goodwill (5.69% in the email corpus and 5.82% in the print corpus; see Figure 2 for a visual representation). The fairly equal spread of this move across the two corpora may imply that building goodwill is generic to the event of sales promotion, regardless of any constraints across the two media. The fact that this move appears in fewer than half of the sales texts examined in this study (68/160) means it is an optional move in the move scheme. This move is the sixth most frequent move in the email corpus and the seventh most frequent move in the print corpus. Figure 6 shows the results of the four steps in this move.

Among the four steps, Step D2 Showing commitment scores the highest percentage of occurrence across both corpora. This finding may indicate that this step is the most commonly used method for building goodwill for a company. It is also found that this step scores a slightly higher percentage use in the print corpus (3.83% in the email corpus and 5.07% in the print corpus). Example (d) is extracted from a printed sales letter, in which the makers attempt to boost the viewers’ confidence toward the company by providing a verbal assurance of the company’s commitment to service. This act is sometimes taken care of by the provision of web-based evidence of achievements in the sales emails.
In example (e) extracted from a sales email, the viewer is provided with a login name and password to directly experience the service developed by the company. The electronic medium empowers the experiential appeal, which helps strengthen the viewers’ belief in the commitment of a company through human–computer interaction.

(d) In general, CIFIT ensures the ideal platform for overseas business people to tap into the massive market in China and to develop multilateral investment and trade cooperation.

(e) Being an invited VIP, you need not register to obtain your login name and password. Just use this login name and password and select ‘Live Demo’ and enter the Workflow Office directly:

Your login name*: S0001
Your login password*: 123

5.5 MOVE E: OFFERING INCENTIVES

Move E Offering incentives is the fourth most frequent move in the email corpus, with a percentage of 10.22 percent. It is the fifth most frequent move in the print corpus, with a percentage of 8.81 percent (see Figure 2 for a visual representation). The slightly higher percentage use of this move in the email corpus stems from the higher frequency of occurrence of Step E1 Providing gifts/discounts in that corpus (see Figure 7 for details).

It is observed from the email corpus that the availability of new media makes the provision of incentives more accessible to viewers. Example (f) is extracted from a sales email from McAfee, and is accompanied by a graphical button titled ‘Download Security Center’. Viewers can click the button or click ‘Learn more’ to gain real-time access to the free incentives. Indeed, six out of the ten analyzed units identified in that letter are related to the instant offer of incentives through the screen interface.

(f) Get free security tools from McAfee.com. Learn more.
A sales email from now.com.hk, a service provider of new media (see Appendix 3), further illustrates that the interactive dynamics offered by an electronic medium can shape the production and communication of sales messages to consumers. It also demonstrates, for example, that generic pressures and linguistic resources for organizing text might differ due to the influence of medium in the process of communication. The sales message originally presented in Chinese is translated into English in Appendix 3 for ease of reference (see Appendix 4 for the original Chinese text).

Although that sales email is designed to promote products or services from now.com.hk, the makers of this message have not mentioned anything about the offer in the email. Instead, an emotional appeal is used. In (1), the makers draw the viewers’ attention to the theme of the message through a question: ‘You smile more NOW, don’t you?’ The capitalized word ‘NOW’ echoes the company’s name. In (2) to (6), the makers share a story about aspirations and struggles in society. The makers seem to be in conversation with the viewers, and attempt to move the viewers by recalling similar experience and emotion in the viewers’ mind. In (7), they offer the viewers a song, ‘You are so beautiful to me!’ by prompting the viewers to click a hyperlink at ‘Click here!’ In fact, this hyperlink will lead the viewers to a web page with product offer in addition to hearing the song. With the availability of the Internet and new media, the makers are able to ‘embed’ the product offer in the act of offering an incentive. In (8), they wish the viewers a cheerful smile and encourage the viewers to forward the message to other people. This indeed helps boost the circulation of the ‘hidden’ sales proposition. As informed by two specialist informants and by various corporate informants, the emotional appeal is becoming an increasingly important and
effective sales promotion strategy nowadays, especially in online direct marketing. One of the specialist informants said:

I see it (the emotional appeal) as a trend. You just won’t see the product in the sales message. But through the story or through the presentation, you can feel it. If your viewers want to get the feel, they will have to buy your product! [Translation from Cantonese]

The appearance of Move E in fewer than half of the sales texts examined in this study (65/160) indicates that it is an optional move in the move scheme. In the interviews with the 11 corporate informants, eight of them mentioned that the chief factor determining whether incentives would be made available and where they would be placed in a sales letter was a budget consideration of their companies. Furthermore, the corporate informant from Standard Chartered Bank said:

If budget allows, we will offer incentives. The usual case is that the more attractive or valuable an incentive is, the higher the possibility my company will put it at the beginning of a sales letter. For small gifts, we indeed prefer to put them later in the letter. [Translation from Cantonese]

5.6 MOVE F: USING PRESSURE TACTICS

Move F Using pressure tactics is the eighth most frequent move in the email corpus (3.95%) and the least frequent move in the print corpus (1.49%; see Figure 2 for a visual representation). It only appears in 24 out of the 160 sales texts examined in this study. Thus, it can be regarded as an optional move in the move scheme. There is a higher percentage use of this move in the email corpus, and this finding can be explained by the short turnaround time of online communication. Example (g) is extracted from a sales email promoting Self Test software. This letter arrived at the recipient’s mailbox on a day, and warned the recipient/viewer that prices would return to full price after midnight the following day. This example illustrates that the availability of the Internet enables the makers to exercise just-in-time pressure tactics.

(g) ****Fair Warning****Prices will return to full price after midnight TOMORROW. http://www.selftestsoftware.com/shop/

5.7 MOVE G: TRIGGERING ACTION

Move G Triggering action is the third most frequent move in both corpora (10.69% in the email corpus and 10.45% in the print corpus; see Figure 2 for a visual representation). The results are indeed very consistent, and may suggest that calling for action is generic to the nature of any sales propositions, regardless of the type of medium through which a sales message is communicated. This finding is in agreement with comments from the 11 corporate informants that calling for action is another key element in a sales letter in addition to describing offer benefits. The corporate informant from National Geographic stated in her written response:

At several points in the letter we place a call for action – to order the product. That is when we try to reduce any resistance in the reader’s mind about making the purchase.
This is where we mention the money-back guarantee and our assurance that the order is risk-free.

Move G appears in more than half of the sales texts examined in this study (90/160), and thus may be regarded as a quasi-obligatory move in the move scheme.

5.8 MOVE H: SOLICITING RESPONSE

The print corpus shows a slightly higher percentage use of Move H Soliciting response than the email corpus (3.25% in the email corpus and 4.33% in the print corpus; see Figure 2 for a visual representation). This move is the ninth most frequent move in the email corpus and the eighth most frequent move in the print corpus. It, appearing in fewer than half of the sales texts examined in this study (57/160), can be regarded as an optional move in the move scheme.

It is noted from the data examined in this study that an attempt to solicit response from viewers as in example (h) extracted from a printed sales letter has sometimes been achieved through the provision of a hyperlink to a company’s website in a sales email. In other words, the availability of digital media in the sales email makes the interaction between the viewers and the company more instant and direct.

(h) Just visit any HSBC branch today, call our financial planning hotline on 2996 6333 or visit www.hsbc.com.hk to arrange a time and place that’s convenient for you.

5.9 MOVE I: REINFORCING THE OFFER

Move I Reinforcing the offer is the least frequent move in the email corpus, with a percentage of 0.93%. It is the ninth most frequent move in the print corpus, with a percentage of 3.58% (see Figure 2 for a visual representation). It only appears in 30 out of the 160 sales texts examined in this study, and thus can be regarded as an optional move in the move scheme. In most cases in which this move appears, it is in the form of a postscript, as in example (i) extracted from a printed sales letter from National Geographic.

(i) P.S. Don’t forget, when you join today you’ll receive our FREE WORLD MAP as an added benefit of your paid membership.

The corporate informant from National Geographic described postscript as the second most-looked-at section of the letter. She stated in her written response:

It is our last chance to compel a reader to buy. Our premium mention is usually in the PS or if no premium we will restate the offer in its most attractive form.

The slight presence of this move in the email corpus is mainly due to the fact that the viewers are often invited to access an offer or an incentive through various visuals and hyperlinks somewhere in a sales email. There is no such need for the makers to reinforce the offer or incentive through a postscript.

5.10 MOVE J: BUILDING RAPPORT

Move J Building rapport appears in fewer than half of the 160 sales texts examined in this study (57/160), indicating that it is an optional move in the move scheme.
It is the seventh most frequent move in the email corpus, with a percentage of 5.69 percent. It is the sixth most frequent move in the print corpus, with a percentage of 7.46 percent (see Figure 2 for a visual representation). There is a higher percentage use of this move in the print corpus than in the email corpus. Figure 8 shows that the higher percentage of occurrence of Step J2 Expressing eager anticipation in the print corpus contributes to the difference.

It is observed from the email corpus that the availability of a digital interface may shorten the time to establish the first instance of rapport between the viewers and the company. The viewers can simply click the hyperlinks in a sales email to fill out an online registration form, to enter a lucky draw, and so on. However, the print medium lacks the provision of a similar kind of real-time interaction. Thus, the makers of the printed sales letters may need to express their eager anticipation for response in explicit terms, as in example (j) below:

(j) I look forward to welcoming you as a new Federation member very soon.

6. Conclusions

Results of the above analysis reveal that similarities prevail in the frequencies of occurrence of all the move types across the two corpora. The results seem to confirm a genre-based hypothesis which predicts that texts written for similar communicative purpose will display similarities in discourse structure, setting aside grammatical constraints. However, some differences are identified, and they can be attributed to the impact of new media on the encoding of persuasive messages as realized in the discourse structure of sales emails and can be explained by the Lingual-Belief Interaction Model for studying persuasive communication as proposed in Figure 1. The use of new media also
appears to influence the overall interactional or social strategy of credibility enhancement and persuasion in the context of sales promotion in three major aspects.

First, the act of persuasion involves notions of belief, text, and context (see Figure 1). If the ultimate goal of a sales email is to persuade the viewers to buy a product or service and to build goodwill on a brand, then a positive interplay of text and context will be vital to the social strategy of credibility enhancement and persuasion. If the viewers can make a favourable correlation between what is mentioned in text and what is true in context, it can be easier for them to believe in the benefits that the product or service will bring. A brand, which has the fame of being accurate in its offerings, can more readily build up its ‘reputational capital’ (O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy, 2004: 6). However, if the viewers find a mismatch between text and context, they may find the brand deceivable. New media seem to provide more channels and space for the makers to support their sales proposition in text with ‘social proof’ in context (Shimp, 2003: 144), as evident in the sales email from Carlsberg discussed in Section 1 and in the more frequent use of Step C10 Pointing to further information in the sales emails.

Second, new media are posing challenges to the structure and presentation method of the sales discourse, which tends to be viewed in the existing literature as a highly ‘standardized, ritual or even formulaic’ genre (Vergaro, 2004: 182). Success in encouraging interaction and autonomous responses from the viewers depends on having the relevant conditions provided in the interface of a sales email and in the context from which a sales email emerges (see Figure 1). For example, in the sales email from now.com.hk discussed in Section 5.5, the new media interface enables the embedding of a sales proposition in Move E Offering incentives. The explicit AIDA (Attention, Interest, Desire, and Action) model commonly suggested in textbooks on sales letter writing (for example, Guffey, 2004; Kramer, 2001; Thill and Bovée, 2004) is no longer followed. It is foreseeable that the range of new media appeared in the interface would be enhanced and enlightened, with the advancement in converging and synchronizing various information sources, such as animations, videos, audios, texts, graphics, and other media. The effectiveness of achieving credibility enhancement and persuasion through the interface also depends on the reach of technologies in the context. For example, the short turnaround time of online communication can be a probable explanation for the more frequent use of Move F Using pressure tactics in sales emails as discussed in Section 5.6. It is anticipated that the reach in terms of popularity and acceptance would be increased, with the divergence of media types, advancement in bandwidth, enhancement of broadband network services, greater penetration of personal computers, higher compression efficiency, and fall in connection price.

Third, whilst new media allow the makers to provide more information on brand, product or service to the viewers, the use of these media is putting extra requirements on the makers’ persuasive strategy. In the sales email from Blue Dolphin discussed in Section 4.3, the text content is seemingly divided into various sections, each leading to a digital interface. In order to persuade the viewers to click a hyperlink to view further information, the description preceding the hyperlink will need to be effective in arousing the viewers’ interest and in triggering their desire to do the act of clicking. Once the viewers click to...
view the hypertext, they may not return to the email itself. This possibility requires the makers to orchestrate the content of a sales email in a way that the viewers can leave reading the email without losing sight of the key information. In other words, *language*, *text*, and *interface* (see Figure 1) need to be reconciled to facilitate a more user-driven and flexible presentation of sales messages.

While generic choices are made based on conformity to expectations of the purpose and conventional forms of the social activity, it seems that the ritual of the sales discourse can be challenged by taking into account the impact of new media on the communication of persuasive messages in this information age. A sales discourse is still a sales discourse; the evolution of new media has however offered the makers of persuasive communication a variety of means to make dynamism and interactivity an integral part of their discourse strategy.

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**APPENDIX 1. A sales email from Carlsberg**

(1) Turns On the Music

Dear Carlsberg music fans,

(2) If you have missed any slice of the music impact at Carlsberg Turns On the Music Festival, here is your last chance. Click in www.carlsberg.com.hk to view the condensed video record of the sensational concert.

(3) To view the video record

(4) And are you ready for the next impact? Yes, Carlsberg music never stops. CARLSBERG MUSIC SPECIAL at Carlsberg MV Section is bringing you chic video clips on various music topics:

**OCTOBER:**

HIP HOP Gurus  
Dance Mania

**DECEMBER:**

Christmas RockNRoll  
Japan Pop

(5) To view MV section

(Appendix 1 continued)
(Appendix 1 continued)

(6) While you are enjoying the marvelous music, don’t forget to download this latest Carlsberg online game [Delivery Boy] to have some fun! You would also send this to your friends. Let’s see who will score the highest!

(7) To download this game

APPENDIX 2. A sales email from Blue Dolphin

(1) Subject: Are you a complex woman, and proud of it?

(2) Try it for FREE Today! Click Here

(3) Act quickly to get a RISK-FREE trial subscription to Marie Claire magazine and a FREE $100 J. Jill Gift Certificate, just by clicking: http://www.bluedolphin.com/order/special.vm

Dear Blue Dolphin Member,

(4) Women today are more complex than ever. You, for instance, probably care deeply about women’s abuse issues, while simultaneously worrying constantly about whether you’ll find the perfect black dress in time for your big date. You’re a driven career woman, who also looks forward to meeting Mr. Right and having a family.

(5) Perfect skin, hair and nails are important to you. So is world peace.

(6) Marie Claire understands - it’s the only magazine that recognizes the depth and complexity of women today. Not just another shallow fashion magazine, Marie Claire is aimed at women with independent minds and hearts, who never follow the crowd and who have their own unique sense of style. Discover the magazine you’ll love, just when you thought no women’s magazine could understand you –

(7) get a completely FREE trial to Marie Claire magazine, and you may also receive a FREE $100 J. Jill Gift Certificate, if you act quickly at: http://www.bluedolphin.com/order/special.vm

(Appendix 2 continued)
Marie Claire is one of the most sophisticated style magazines available today. With expert fashion tips, the latest runway sensations, business attire ideas to enhance your career, secrets for enjoying great sex, the perfect French manicure, results-oriented fitness routines and much more, Marie Claire covers it all.

But Marie Claire never underestimates you, and never talks down to you. This is where you learn about the issues that concern you – women’s health, domestic violence, education for Third World women, and so much more. There’s more to you than just makeup and perfume – you can make a difference in this world.

To appeal to your aesthetic side, we know you’ll love a FREE $100 J. Jill Gift Certificate, the online outfitter of stylish women everywhere. How about a washable microsuede skirt for just $79, an Impressionist jacket for $99, scalloped hem linen pants, a reversible silk tank dress or any other fantastic J. Jill fashion that takes your fancy! The $100 gift certificate could be yours absolutely FREE, if you act quickly at: http://www.bluedolphin.com/order/special.vm

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Sincerely,
Sam Jackson
Editor-in-Chief,
The Blue Dolphin Updates
APPENDIX 3. A sales email from now.com.hk (translated version)

(1) Subject: You smile more NOW. don’t you?

(2) Still remember the first time we discussed our aspirations. With a smile on your faces, you said you would like to earn your first one million before thirty!

(3) Whenever you talked about your future, you were always full of hope, like the bright and cheerful you in your graduation photos.

(4) But as soon as you started working in the society, you have never smiled again.

To strive for a living, you said you needed to give up your naive thinking . . .

In fact, I really want to let you know: Your smile is worth more than one million!

(5) Please don’t give up! Look at your graduation photos. You were not sure about your future at that time, but you had the courage and confidence!

(6) Now, do you smile a little more?

(7) Send you a song: You are so beautiful to me! Click here!

Hope that you will not lose your smile because of money.

(8) If you are smiling a little more now, please spread this message around. I guarantee you will smile even more.

Move A: Setting the scene;
Step A4: Relating to the viewer

Move E: Offering incentives;
Step E1: Providing gifts

Move D: Building goodwill;
Step D4: Encouraging circulation

APPENDIX 4. A sales email from now.com.hk (original Chinese version)

Subject: 現在，你笑多了嗎？

第一次跟你談理想，你笑著說，要在三十歲前賺第一個一百萬！

那時候，一談到將來，你總是充滿希望的笑著，
就像畢業照片中的你一樣明朗。

出來社會做事之後，你不再笑了，
說是為了生活，不得不放棄幼稚的想法...

其實，我一直想告訴你：你笑的時候，何止值一百萬呢？

請不要放棄選擇！翻看畢業時的照片，
那時雖然出路未明，
你還是拍拍心口，勇字當頭的向前衝！

現在，你會笑多一點嗎？

送你一闋歌： You are so beautiful to me! Click here!

願你不必輸掉笑容去賺取金錢。

如果你現在真的會笑多一點，請選擇將這句話傳開去，
我保證，你會笑得更多。
REFERENCES


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