

Figuration for Persuasion in CPG Sermons: The Example of a Gīkūyū Televangelist

Abstract

As a part of religious discourse, Christian sermons are a “...persuasive discourse par excellence,” (Adams 2019:7). This is more pronounced in the Christian Prosperity Gospel (CPG); a system of thought and belief in which preachers¹ attempt to convince audiences to donate to their churches with the expectation that God will reward them with health and wealth. Previous research shows that the use of metaphors and metonymies pervade CPG sermons but their role in persuasion in the sermons as well as the mechanisms through which they persuade is rarer. With this in mind and viewing CPG sermons from their persuasive angle; this paper sets out to investigate how metaphors and metonymies are used in exploiting the Christian faith for persuasion purposes in televised sermons presented in the Gīkūyū language. The data is drawn from authentic televised sermons. The findings indicate that metaphors and metonymies engender persuasion in sermons by affecting the perceived altruism and trustworthiness of a speaker in a sermon. This is done by means of manipulating various forms of distance suggested in the Media Proximization Approach (Kopytowska 2015). Metaphor is found to affect the axiological, epistemic, temporal and emotional distances while metonymy affects the axiological and spatial distances to activate certain pragmatic presuppositions which make them persuasive in a covert way.

Key words: Sermon, persuasion, proximization, altruism, trustworthiness

¹ The word preacher and speaker are used interchangeably in this paper.

1. Introduction

This paper concerns the use of figuration for persuasion in Christian Prosperity Gospel (CPG) sermons. Christian Prosperity Gospel² is a system of thought and belief within Christian Pentecostalism in which preachers attempt to convince audiences to donate to their churches with the expectation that God will reward them with health and wealth. It follows the dogma that "...financial blessing is the will of God for Christians, and that faith, positive speech, and donations to Christian ministries will always increase one's material wealth," (Asamoah 2013:198). Thus, this gospel teaches that though God wills to make the believers prosperous, "...he cannot bless them unless they first send money known as "seed faith" to their spiritual leader or pastor..." (Gbote et al. 2014:1). In advocating for this position, CPG preaching is persuasive. The growth of this doctrine in Africa has been phenomenon. Mwikamba et al. (2015) for example note that "...churches have been growing rapidly in many parts of Africa (for) the Prosperity Gospel has grown beyond its roots in America to the fertile ground in Africa (Mwikamba et al. 2015:138-139). Kenya has not been an exception since "the majority of the Kenyan population associates with Pentecostal and charismatic movements," (Alwala 2020:15). Noting that CPG uses language to establish its ideology, then the field calls for linguistic attention.

Figuration "refers to a meaning that is dependent on (an)... extension from another meaning," (Diaz-Vera 2015:3). For this to result the conventional constraints on the word meaning are violated, that is, the inherent word meaning is used to access another construal. According to Croft et al (2004:193), the common figures of speech are metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor is "...understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (Kövecses 2010:4). For example, when a preacher requests an audience to "plant a seed" while asking for donations, the seed becomes a metaphor referring to the donations. This way, the MONEY IS A PLANT metaphor is activated as a conceptual metaphor from which other linguistic metaphors such as donations are SEEDS and wealth is HARVEST can be derived. Metonymy, on the other hand, denotes "a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model³..." (Kövecses 2006: 99). The key difference with metaphor is that metonymy lacks cross domain mapping. To illustrate, consider the metonymy of the BLOOD of Jesus usually used by the Pentecostals to invoke the perceived power in Jesus to their service. Observing that blood is an automatic result of the slaying of a living animal or human being, then the blood of Jesus is reflective of His killing on the cross to save believers as per the Christian faith. However, that could not possibly be what the Pentecostals mean when they for instance "cover themselves" with the blood of Jesus. Instead, they target the result of Jesus' sacrifice, which is, the power that He received through this sacrifice;⁴ power which has the ability to protect them. The blood is thus used for the power hence a PRODUCT FOR RESULT⁵ metonymy. According to Kövecses (2002), conceptual metonymy is realized as "...1) a part standing for a whole; 2) a whole standing for a part, and 3) a part standing for a part," (2002:150). This is adopted in this work.

Given the nature and aims of CPG mentioned above, CPG sermons are persuasive, and noting that metaphor and metonymy permeate CPG sermons, this study hypothesizes that metaphor and metonymy might have been deployed in the sermons for persuasion purposes. This is in consonance with previous literature that figures such as "metaphors characterize every persuasive context," (Macagno 2020:335). However, there is no consensus on

² Other terminologies include: prosperity theology, health and wealth gospel, gospel of success, prosperity gospel teaching and charismatic movement (see Asamoah 2013:198 and Ouma 2019:vii for a discussion)

³ To me, frames, domains and ICMs refer to the same concept of encyclopaedic knowledge networks but from different perspectives. ICMs though may not necessarily refer to the real world but rather to cultural knowledge as well which in essence facilitates the formation non-linguistic metonymies.

⁴ Matthew 28:18 records that Jesus was given all authority in heaven and on earth.

⁵ Blood is the product of Jesus crucifixion (sacrifice) which in turn resulted in Him gaining power.

how these figures persuade leading to various competing explanations. As a result, the mechanism of figurative persuasion remains an open and vibrant topic. This paper seeks to contribute to this debate by exploring how metaphor and metonymy with religious concepts as their source domains are used for persuasion purposes in sermons done by a CPG televangelist who uses the Gĩkũyũ language. With this in mind, the study addresses itself to two questions: a) how does metaphor and metonymy in CPG sermons persuade? b) how do these figures interact with various forms of the conceptual distance proposed in the Media Proximity Approach Theory (Kopytowska, 2015) to engender the persuasiveness of a sermon? Section 2 below deals with metaphor and metonymy in persuasion; section 3 with data and analysis, section 4 with the theory; section 5 with the discussion while section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Metaphor, Metonymy and Persuasion

Persuasion has been defined variously. This work adopts Tzur's (2001 as cited in Muchnik 2005) view that "...persuasion is the art of concentration, focus and adaptation of influential devices in order to create, strengthen, change or eradicate beliefs, opinions, aspirations or impulses and to use them to influence behaviour," (Muchnik 2005:3)⁶. Different scholars have confirmed the persuasiveness of metaphors in a discourse including (Sopory et al. 2002; Carston 2002; Musolff 2004; Gibbs 2006; Santibáñez 2010; Chartelis-Black 2011; Bowes et al. 2015; Burgers et al. 2016 and Ervas et al. 2018).

In terms of the mechanism of operation, Sopory et al. (2002) report six perspectives. The Pleasure-relief approach posits that resolving the tension created by the ostensive sematic falsity of metaphors is pleasurable which may in turn engender persuasion. This approach however overlooks the use of conventionalized metaphors whose solutions are already known. Do such also lead to relief? A second approach is the communicator credibility approach which postulates that use of a metaphor makes a communicator credible which in turn increases a speaker's persuasiveness. While this may be less contentious than the pleasure-relief approach, the mechanism via which metaphor generates speaker credibility is overlooked. A third approach contends that metaphors persuade by reducing counterarguments since they deplete cognitive resources which would be otherwise availed for counterarguments. While this might be true, it only appears to be supported by the use of novel metaphors. In CPG however, conventionalized metaphors such as the SEED, appear to be persuasive regardless of their repeated use. As such, there might be another way via which metaphor reduces counterarguments. For the resource-matching approach, metaphor processing involves cognitive elaboration in whose process the message carried via the metaphor is better integrated in the hearer's memory leading to better persuasion. The main challenge here is the equation of understanding to persuasion. The superior organization approach contends that metaphor is used to organize message claims in a better way than literal language. This leads to enhanced comprehension which in turn presupposes more persuasion. However, comprehension may not always lead to the persuasiveness of a message. Lastly, the stimulated elaboration approach argues that metaphors are thought provoking hence persuasive. The assumption here is that all metaphors are persuasive which may not be the case in real discourse for some might be used for other purposes such as aesthetic

Turning to metonymy, some works such as (Mulholland 1994; Meadows 2006; Brdar 2007; Moors 2015; Littlemore 2015; and Lenard et al. 2017) among a few others link the use of metonymy in discourse to the pursuit for persuasiveness. Littlemore (2015) sees the usefulness of metonymy for persuasion as resulting from the ability in metonymy "...to highlight some aspects of a given phenomenon while downplaying others..." (2015:99). In this manner, metonymy can affect the ethos of a speaker and the pathos of the audience by appealing "to negative emotions," (Littlemore 2015:100). Further, it has been argued that metonymy may be used for "the development of patterns of reasoning which are created by the speaker or writer with the express purpose of shaping the thinking patterns of the listener or reader," (Littlemore 2015:101). For instance, Leonard (2017) notes the use of metonymy in the 2007 Croatian presidential campaigns for creating a positive self-image

⁶ Thus, the higher the concentration of persuasive devices in a text, the more persuasive the text is assumed to be.

for the speaker and his supporters. This way, metonymy is deemed useful in provoking certain emotions which aid in setting up the speaker-hearer camp. In religious discourse however, there exists metonymies which may not provoke emotions but may still affect persuasion. The mechanism which makes such metonymies persuasive calls for some attention. This is why this paper focuses on the manipulation of conceptual distance as a possible mechanism accounting for figuratively mediated persuasion.

3. The Data Set and Analysis

This paper is a part of a wider project which analyses the use of syntax and pragmatics for persuasion in sermons. Sermons done in the Gĩkũyũ language by preachers who preach to a sit-in audience and a remote audience accessed either through the television or video on demand platforms are considered for inclusion in the sample. Using these parameters, three CPG preachers were purposefully sampled and given the arbitrary labels KenG1⁷, KenG2 and KenG3. KenG1 and KenG2 preach in Nairobi (the capital city of Kenya) while KenG3 is from Kiambu County just adjacent to the capital. All the preachers have churches under them where they regularly preach and record their videos from. Their recorded or televised sermons done between June 2017 and December 2017 are either bought from the church outlets or downloaded from their YouTube channels, labelled and five sermons per speaker picked via a stratified sampling procedure for analysis⁸. The selected sermons were manually analysed for conceptual metaphors and metonymies and categorized according to their source domains. The results show that among the metaphors, personification, human body, food and religious concepts form the most common sources at 19.5%, 16.8%, 10.1% and 8.1% of the total respectively while among the metonymies, human body at 31.1%, paragons at 26.6% and religious concepts at 24.4% of the total make the commonest sources. For the purposes of this paper, only two examples from KenG1 are considered. Their interplay with the persuasive variable of speaker trustworthiness is investigated in the light of the Media Proximity Approach (Kopytowska 2015).

4. The Media Proximity Approach Theory

The Media Proximity Approach Theory here after MPA (Kopytowska, 2015 a,b) is a member of a set of recent pragma-cognitive theories which involve “a deictic construal operation realizing positioning strategies [within a text],” Hart (2014). The theories can be traced to Chilton’s (2004) Discourse Space Theory concepts of spatial, modal and temporal distances which Cap (2005, 2006) embraced and developed into Proximity Theory. Whereas the term proximize means “...bringing [conceptually] closer...” (Cap 2013a:294), the term proximization, Cap (2006) identifies the deliberate and systematized use of pragma-cognitive interpretation in public discourse. Initially, the theory targeted political discourse but efforts to account for other types of discourse has caused mutations as in Hart (2010, 2014) and Kopytowska (2014, 2015 a & b).

A central claim in Proximity Theory is the existence of a Discourse Space (DS) - a symbolic area in which discourse takes place. Within the DS are two kinds of deictic centres: the Inside Deictic Centre (IDC) comprising of the speaker and the hearer which is conceptually the centre of the discourse and an Outside the Deictic Centre (ODC) seen as a periphery and antagonistic to the IDC. For Cap (2013b), between the two DS centres are the (S)patial, (T)emporal and (A)xiological distances which are manipulated in the process of proximization. Spatial proximization portrays the physical encroachment of the IDC by the ODC, that is, events are presented as physically close to the IDC. According to Wiczorek (2008), spatial proximization may either be positive in which case events are construed as “...beneficial and promising,” (Wiczorek 2008:33) or

⁷ The label expands thus: Ken is the shorted form for Kenya showing that the speakers come from Kenya, G is for Gĩkũyũ which points to the language the speaker uses and 1 is identifier for the individual speaker. The label is arbitrary in that save for convenience; there is no other consideration which informed its assignment.

⁸ The sermon topic was not a consideration here in the sampling hence the sample has sermons of varied topics.

negative when “...consequential and threatening to the addressee,” (ibid 2008:33). Temporal proximization involves a construal focusing on a speaker’s “now” as the centre of time in the discourse; expressed by “... the momentousness of the present defined...by known events of the past, and ... by envisaged events of ... especially the near future,” (Cap 2013:85). Wieczorek (2008) views the past as negative since it involves “interpreting the aftermaths of past events,” (Wieczorek 2008:33) and the future in, “...suiting the addressee’s expectations, wishes, and desires,” (Wieczorek 2008:33) as positive. Axiological proximization involves narrowing the distance between the “home values ...and the alien and antagonistic ODC values,” Cap (2014:19). Following Wieczorek (2008), this can also be negative or positive. Cap’s model of proximization is known as the STA model.

Working on media discourse, Kopytowska (2015) views proximization as inherent in discourse and not necessarily for legitimization purposes. Consequently, she extends the S.T.A model by expounding on the axiological axis and adding the Epistemic and Emotional distances. Thus, proximization involves manipulating distance along these five axes. It is this approach which is known as the Media Proximization Approach. In this model, axiological proximization is clarified as useful in “(1) establishing axiological status: “our” values/norms; (2) delineating axiological conflict: incompatibility of “our” values/norms with “their” values/norms; and (3) conveying axiological urgency: responding to a threat posed (often by “their” actions) to “our” values/norms...” (Kopytowska 2015:143). Epistemic proximization involves audience knowledge concerning current affairs and involves a reduction “of the cognitive effort of the audience in their interpretation process,” Kopytowska (2015c:143). Emotional proximization involves the audience in an emotional engagement which makes some facets of reality more prominent or relevant than others. When not openly triggered for example through negative words, emotional proximization results as a product of proximization at the other axes.

5. The Findings and Discussion

The most common religious concepts identified in the data include sacrifice, the devil, heaven, priest, altar, voice (of God), movement (of God) and the Bible all of which are used as sources either for the metaphors or metonymies. The most attested targets include God, the pastor (preacher), people, donations, as well as free services to a church. This section works out a possible mechanism via which metaphors and metonymies with these concepts as their source domains may affect a variable of persuasion. According to McGuire’s (2001) Input-Output model of persuasion, five variables namely the message source, the message itself, the channel used; the target audience and the destination of the message are significant as inputs in a persuasive endeavour. This paper focuses on message source features, that is, characteristics carried by the deliverer of the persuasive message mainly involving “...credibility, attractiveness, and power...” (McGuire 2001:238). It concentrates on source credibility which results from “...the source’s perceived expertise and trustworthiness,” (McGuire 2001:238) to which Perloff (2003:162) adds goodwill (altruism). Specifically, this study pays attention to the possible role of metaphor and metonymy in generating the perceived speaker altruism and trustworthiness in CPG sermons. However, noting that the variables may not be manipulated in isolation, the study also theorizes on the possible ways through which the audience interprets these figures as well as how the figures may influence the audience to evaluate the speaker as trustworthy.

5.1. Metaphor for Speaker Altruism and Trustworthiness

The interest in this section is to establish the role of metaphor as an atom in constructing a speaker’s altruism as well as trustworthiness. Altruism is the perceived concern for the welfare of others. It implies that speakers “have listeners’ interests at heart, show understanding of others’ ideas, and are empathic toward their audiences’ problems,” (Perloff 2003:161). Trustworthiness, on the other hand, is a judgment on the believability of a speaker based on “an assessment of whether the communicator will likely be inclined to tell the truth as he or she sees it,” (O’Keefe 2016:293). Previous literature avers that trustworthy sources are more persuasive as are

speakers who portray good-will to their audiences.⁹ The objective in this section is twofold: one, it aims to demonstrate that metaphors may affect the altruism and trustworthiness of a speaker and secondly, to show how metaphors may be used to manipulate conceptual distance covertly leading to a speaker's altruism and trustworthiness which in turn engender a speaker's persuasiveness. With this in mind, the metaphor of a “burnt sacrifice” is examined for its role in covertly presenting a speaker as altruistic and trustworthy. Before this however, the possible process of interpreting the metaphor is briefly considered.

The “burnt sacrifice” metaphor is used in sermon KenG1-Y2¹⁰ a sermon presented during a Sunday service to a sit-in audience comprising of the regular members of the church in the sermon. The main message in the sermon is that the audience must learn to give “free will offerings” in order to attract God into their lives with the benefit of getting their prosperity prayers answered by God. Free will offerings are equated to some forms of donations, three of which are explicitly mentioned namely money (¹³⁶ mūgaita mbia cianyu, “you pour your money”), foodstuffs (¹⁴⁴ matega ta macio... “such foodstuff”) and free service (¹⁷⁵ kwĩ neana ¹⁷⁶ we mwene...ũhũthĩkĩre hau, “offering yourself to be spent there...”). The speaker starts by explaining his conceptualization of a burnt sacrifice as “¹¹² ...igongona rĩrĩa rĩcinagwo rĩgathirĩra kĩgongona-ini,” (¹¹²...a sacrifice that is burnt and fully consumed by the fire at the altar). In so doing, the speaker also suggests the context¹¹ in which he understands the burnt sacrifice: the Old Testament (OT) context where an animal was slaughtered and its meat completely burnt on a physical altar. After the explanation, he says:

(1)¹³³ Rĩrĩa waigua Ngai nĩ etia mündũ **igongona rĩa njino**, ti mbũrĩ¹¹⁸ icio arĩaga, Ngai ¹³⁴ ndarĩaga, **nĩ mūrukĩ** athikagĩrĩra. ¹³⁵ Can I tell you something, **mĩhothi ya kwĩendera-** rĩrĩa ¹³⁶ mwaigua he mündũ mūrũaru¹²³ mūgoka **mūgaita mbia cianyu** haha, **ka-mūrukĩ**¹² ¹²⁴ kau ka mbia icio ¹³⁷ mwaita, tondũ **tūtiraruta mbia**, ¹²⁵ **igongona rĩu** rĩkoragwo rĩ kĩndũ ¹³⁸ giacimirwo Ngai **akaigua** ...¹⁴⁴ **Matega** ta mau mūtumia ũcio ¹⁴⁵ oka namo haha, akorwo kũri **igongona special** gũkira maria mangi moothe ,nĩ rĩu.

[¹³³ When you hear that God asks a person for a **burnt sacrifice**¹³, it is not the ram He eats, God ¹³⁴ does not eat, He waits for **the scent**. ¹³⁵ Can I tell you something, **free will offering** as in when ¹³⁶ you get the report that there is an ailing person and you come and **pour your money** here, **the sweet aroma** from that money ¹³⁷ because **we are not giving money-** that sacrifice is something ¹³⁸ **burnt for God** and He detects its **aroma**...¹⁴⁴ **Offerings**¹⁴ like those that lady has come with here; if there is a **special kind of a sacrifice** beyond all others, it is that one]. KenG1-Y2:133-144

In this extract, the speaker equates the OT concept of a burnt sacrifice to the CPG concept of a donation. For instance, he contends that the money previously donated to an ailing person is “¹³⁸ something burnt for God...” which narrows the sense in the word donation to a BURNT SACRIFICE.¹⁵ This in turn provides access to a list of encyclopaedic entries for a burnt sacrifice which may include:

⁹ See O’Keefe 2016:219ff and Dilbeck 2017: 508ff for the discussion.

¹⁰ The sermon is downloaded from YouTube as two videos: part A (42.20 minutes) and part B (23.24 minutes).

¹¹ Implying this context is important since sacrifice is a common term in contemporary discourse. Watts (2011) notes its use in politics, religion, pop culture and research.

¹² In Gĩkũyũ, the use of the diminutive morpheme ka/ga with a noun generally signals a speaker’s warm attitude towards the referent of the noun to which it is affixed.

¹³ Having situated the burnt offerings among the sacrifices, the speaker uses the phrase burnt offering and the noun sacrifice interchangeably, that is, to him a burnt offering is a sacrifice, and a sacrifice can be a burnt offering.

¹⁴ The Gĩkũyũ word used for this word refers to farm products such as cereals, milk and potatoes.

¹⁵ It is here presupposed that the audience already has the concept of a burnt offering in its background knowledge.

- a) The recipient of the burnt sacrifice is God
- b) There is a person who voluntarily offers
- c) The offering has a predetermined purpose
- d) An animal is slaughtered and its meat roasted on an altar
- e) The roasted meat produces an aroma/scent deemed attractive to God
- f) The meat from the animal is fully consumed by the fire on the altar
- g) A burnt offering has a prescribed procedure

Equating burnt sacrifices to free will offerings in the sermon motivates a transfer of some of these features to the free will offerings (here after donations). Even then, some transferred features undergo further contextual adjustments in order to fit in the context of a Christian¹⁶ sermon. Looking at the list above, it is noted that entries (a) – (c) will be transferred to donations since donations like burnt offerings will be done to someone by a willing donor. Indeed, the belief that burnt sacrifices are taken to God as recorded in Leviticus 1:2 that, “If any man of you bring an offering unto the Lord...” is sustained in the reasoning followed in this sermon since the speaker contends that donations are “¹³⁸ burnt for God.” It is also valid to assume that the donor had some motivations for making such a donation which in the (OT) was the atonement of sin (see Leviticus 1:4). In the sermon, the main purpose of a burnt sacrifice is to “¹⁴³ provoke God...to ¹⁴⁴ come to you...” that is to attract God in the offerer’s life since “¹⁶⁹ God is...attracted through the sacrifices.” Features (d)-(e) however are unlikely to be activated in the context of this sermon, because they affirm that a burnt offering requires an animal¹⁷ which is slaughtered and its meat is roasted to generate some aroma. To illuminate the inaptness of these features here, consider the use of money as a free will donation hence a burnt sacrifice for an example. It is discovered that the money thus donated cannot be slaughtered, nor can it be literally roasted to produce an aroma hence the equation of money to a burnt sacrifice is figurative. Accordingly, the correct interpretation is reached by conceptually transferring the aroma of roasting meat feature to the imagined aroma of donations. Similarly, entry (g) will undergo some meaning extension in that, since no burning takes place in donations, then total consumption by fire cannot occur. In the case of entry (h), the audience may derive an idea such as that their donations must be offered in a particular manner (for example in the church only) just like burnt sacrifices followed some predetermined steps. (See Leviticus 1:1-17 for the procedure).

In short, by transferring some encyclopaedic features of a burnt sacrifice to donations, the audience reaches the right interpretation of a burnt offering as a metaphor for donations. Through this transfer, donations are understood as done to God by a willing donor who hopes to attract God into his/her life, as advised by the speaker, thereby attracting the benefits such an attraction carries.

By transferring the feature that burnt sacrifices are offered to God to the audience donations, the speaker insinuates that such donations are offered to God as well. Actually, it is God who asks for the burnt sacrifice as the speaker asserts at the opening of extract (1) above by saying “...¹³³ when God asks a person for a burnt sacrifice...” As such, the speaker does not ask for the donations to benefit himself but he asks for them and receives them on behalf of God. This provokes the entailment that God trusts the speaker with His sacrifices which in turn prompts the audience to also rate the speaker as trustworthy, that is, the audience reasons that since God who is all knowing trusts the speaker with His sacrifices; they can as well trust the speaker with their sacrifices (donations). A further assumption is that since God trusts the speaker, then the speaker is an honest person hence worth of the audience trust. Conversely, this trust makes the speaker believable which reduces arguments opposed to his stand hence the persuasiveness. From another angle, asking donations on behalf of

¹⁶ Christianity does not support the use of animal sacrifices. It is recorded in the bible that Jesus offered himself as the ultimate sacrifice to sanctify all with his own blood (see Hebrews 13:12) for it was not possible for animal blood to forgive as in Hebrews (10:4).

¹⁷ Leviticus 1:2-14 lists bullocks, sheep, goats, turtledoves and young pigeons as animals preferred for sacrifices.

God demands audience compliance with the speaker for God has power to reward such compliance or punish noncompliance. For this to work God must be taken as having an existence (ontology) and also in need of human sacrifices.

Moreover, the use of this metaphor showcases the speaker as an expert in matters concerning religion. This is evidenced by the speaker's efforts to educate his audience on the features of a burnt sacrifice according to the Old Testament. For example, he says that a "¹¹¹burnt offering nĩ igongona rĩrĩa rĩcinagwo rĩgathirĩa kĩgongonaini hatarĩ mũndũ ũkũria" (a burnt offering is the sacrifice which is burnt completely at the altar and no one eats of it). In turn, this portrays him as one well versed with the features of burnt sacrifices. This may implore the audience to rate the speaker as an expert source whereas expertise is a contributing factor to trustworthiness for the speaker is viewed as a reliable source of information. In sum, the speaker is portrayed as trustworthy, as somebody one can believe in which contributes to the persuasiveness of his message. For instance, when he advises his audience "²²⁵tuĩkai andũ mena mentality ya ũheani tondũ kũheana free will offering nĩyo ²²⁶ĩgucagarĩria Ngai maniũrũ," (²²⁵become people with the mentality of giving because giving free will offerings is what ²²⁶attracts God's nose), the audience appears persuaded to do what the preacher tells them as evidenced by their jovial 'amens.' Thus, the individual desire to attract God makes it believe that the speaker's claim here is true thereby trusts him. In turn, believing in the truth of the claims encourages the audience to compel itself into donating for the role to attract God, an attraction which gives them success,¹⁸ lies in their hands, that is, the audience is given agency in its own success. This agency may also persuades negatively by heaping the burden of failure on the audience by suggesting that if the audience does not succeed, it blames itself, re-considers its donating habits and compels itself to donate so as to succeed in the "next future." Either way, a case of self-persuasion¹⁹ is evident, that is, a form of persuasion in which the audience is "...convinced that the motivation for change comes from within," (Aronson 1999:875). In reality though, the motivation is from without as notes Sornig (1989) that persuasion is "an attempt to get people do things as if of their own impulse but really upon instigation from outside," (1989:27).

Related to this, the burnt offering was offered by a willing sacrificer with the hope of achieving something from God in return. This way, God is portrayed as manipulable through sacrifices hence a sacrificer offers a sacrifice to his/her own benefits. By extension, in making donations to the church or to those in need, the audience benefits here by attracting God. Therefore, the speaker's requests for donations for example when he advises "...²²⁵ tuĩkai andũ mena mentality ya uheani," (become people with the mentality of giving) is altruistic. It demonstrates that the speaker cares for his audience by wishing that they achieve wealth and health through giving them an opportunity to attract a benevolent God via sacrificing to Him. The speaker validates this altruistic nature when he says:

(2) ²⁶⁵ Riria ũrokĩra haria thutha unyitĩte ka 50 ũguo ²⁶⁶ ũmenyage **ti mũhunjia ũrahothera atonge**. Mũndũ woothe ũhothaga anyitite kindũ ũguo ... ²⁶⁷ atĩ ndathiĩ pastor atonge, na arĩa maroraga njuĩrĩ cia atumia a pastor "**ũ? hothe igana macenjje** ²⁶⁸ **njuĩrĩ?**" let me tell you, you are the **loser yourself**.

[²⁶⁵ when you stand from the back holding your fifty shillings like this, ²⁶⁶ know that it is not the **preacher you are giving so that he becomes rich**. Everyone who offers holding something like this... ²⁶⁷ that I go offer so that the pastor will become rich, and those who check on the hair style of the pastor's wives and say "who? **I offer so that they can change their** ²⁶⁸ **hair style,**" let me tell you, you are the **loser yourself**]. KenG1-Y2:265-268.

¹⁸ In PG preaching, success is equal to wealth, health, good fame and a nice family among others.

¹⁹ It is the same concept that Clerk et al. (2014) calls self-validation.

Above, the speaker advises his audience against having the wrong attitude towards giving in the church. He opines that the audience should know that when they donate, they do not do that so that the pastor will grow rich (line 266) or for the pastor's wife to change her hair style (line 268). Instead, the audience donates to its own advantage and if they do not donate, or donate with the wrong attitude (that the pastor will get rich), it is to their disadvantage for they become the losers themselves (line 268). To avoid this, the audience is encouraged to take the first opportunity availed to them to make donation hence the speaker proposes:

(3)³⁰⁸ Rĩrĩa mũhunjia arũgama haha kana mũtongoria wa gĩthomo arũgama haha auga, “it is ³⁰⁹ time to give” **wagĩĩre kũ march haha ta mũthigari** ugĩĩte it's an opportunity...na ³¹⁰ wahothe ũcokie ngaatho, na wangora harĩa ũnjĩre **thengiũ bishop nĩ kuoya mũhothi yakwa...**

[³⁰⁸ when a pastor stands here or the service facilitator stands here and says, it is ³⁰⁹ time to give, **you should march here like a soldier** saying it is an opportunity ...and when ³¹⁰ you donate, you **thank** (the church) and if you get me there (as you offer), you tell me **thank you bishop for taking my donations...**] KenG1-Y2:308-310.

Here, the speaker does not only give the audience an opportunity to give but even tells them to be thankful for the opportunity. In line 310 he says that if the members of the audience meet him as they offer, they should thank him for accepting and receiving their donations since in accepting the offerings, the speaker gives the audience a chance to manipulate God into meeting their desires. With this information, the audience will update its belief-system values to include that giving is beneficial to them. So the audience, believing what the preacher says, will self-persuade to donate in order to achieve benefits from God for if they do not donate, then they will not be blessed by God. What is covert here is that the speaker is a direct beneficiary of the said donations for in this PG theology, proceedings from free will offerings belong to the pastor.

The speaker further elaborates on the mapping of the feature “fully consumed at the altar” to the audience offerings by teaching the audience that “¹⁷² burnt offering nĩ mũhothi ũcio wa kũneana ¹⁷³ kĩndũ, gigathira, na ndũrakinyĩra, na ndũrenda kũmenya,” (a burnt offering is giving out something which gets fully used without you following how it has been used and indeed do not want to know how it was used). This upholds the speaker's altruistic nature by portraying him as a non-beneficiary of the donation for it gets consumed at the altar. On the flip-side, this advice encourages the audience to trust the speaker for the audience never knows how their donations are utilized which in turn shields the speaker from calls of accountability. This way, the metaphor builds the audience trust on the speaker as the audience is convinced that its sacrifice reaches God and is not consumed by the pastor.

The burnt sacrifice metaphor facilitates the persuasiveness in this sermon by proximizing distance at the axiological, temporal, epistemic and emotional axes. At the axiological axis, the audience's presupposed belief in a God who reciprocates to their donations with prosperity²⁰ is activated and brought to the foreground making the speaker's claims believable. The assumed audience prosperity desires and the importance they attach to such desires are stimulated to show the gap between their current life state and the state they hope for or should hope for. This creates an axiologically motivated urgency to do as the speaker bids thereby showing trust in his prosperity algorithm. This in turn implies that axiological proximization may not only designate value-guided conflicting camps but also conflicting states within an individual; states which originate from similar rather than different values, that is, the audience predisposition towards prosperity. At the temporal axis, the metaphor proximizes previously learnt features concerning God to the ‘now’ of the discourse. The ‘now’ also hosts the desire for a better envisioned future hence; the past and the future are compressed into the present. Also, it is the undesirable present, and not the past as assumed in MPA theory which triggers a conflict in the individual.

²⁰ Also refers to wealth, health and influence among similar others.

Epistemically, the burnt offering metaphor presumes audience knowledge concerning God and sacrifices. However, the speaker severally updates this assumed knowledge by educating it on the burnt sacrifices thereby reducing the epistemic gap between him and the audience and in the process reducing the cognitive resources committed to the interpretation of the metaphor. Thus seen, epistemic proximization enhances the knowledge similarity between the speaker and the audience. The reduction of these distances provokes emotional reactions to the new knowledge compared to the current state of the audience.

5.2.METONYMY FOR SPEAKER ALTRUISM AND TRUSTWORTHINESS

The previous section was about the use of metaphor for showing speaker altruism and trustworthiness. Using an example from the sermon KenG1-Y4, this section works out how metonymy may be used to show speaker altruism and produce speaker trustworthiness. The sermon talks about the importance of an altar under the title “ngiri na igana” (a thousand and one hundred) and the speaker promises prosperity via God’s response to the audience sacrifices upon the altar. The sacrifices are in the form of kind deeds (Philanthropy) to the church and to others and the speaker advises the audience that it should “⁸² reke igongona riria warutira ngai riarie ari rio” (⁸²let the sacrifice you have offered to God speak itself) thereby positing that sacrifices speak for those who offer them. To support this argument, the speaker gives the example of Dorcas’²¹ resurrection and in the process uses voice as a metonymy as captured below.

(4)⁸⁵Let me teach you something. Nikūri indo itarĩ kanua ciaragia. Kagoti ta gaka ⁸⁶ ugakora nikariirie nginya Ngai akauga, ‘ndĩrakiigua **mūriro** wa igoti, rĩrakaya... ⁸⁷ Mwarĩ wa ithe witũ Dorcas akua na athikwo kwanja aigwo ⁸⁸ nyũmba ya igũrũ... ⁹² na rũrĩmĩ rwake rũkirĩte, atumia akũrũ ta acio mauma haha, makiumĩra ũguo mehumbĩte ikoi na tũburana ta tũtũ na igoti manyitite ũguo makiũga ⁹³ ‘Dorcas must come...’ nginya Ngai e igũrũ akĩigua kĩrĩro gia tũgoti, ⁹⁴ akiuga he mũgambo wa gikoi. He gikoi he mũringiti. Hindi iyo nayo Petero he handũ ⁹⁵ ahunjagia akirikia crusade iyo akĩigua **mũgambo** wa mwira ‘mũndũ, ndũkũinũka ikũrũka Joppa’ akimũria ‘nĩkĩĩ’ ‘kũrĩ ũndũ ndiraigua kũu. ⁹⁶ Agikinya Jopa arona atumia na tũbuti ũũ, na maburana. Maramwira Dorcas must come.

[⁸⁵ Let me teach you something. There are some things which do not have a mouth but they speak. ⁸⁵ A coat like this one ⁸⁶ talks until God says, ‘I can hear the crying²² of a coat crying...’ ⁸⁷ our sister Dorcas dies and is buried but first is kept in the ⁸⁸ upper room... ⁹² and when her tongue was silent, old ladies like those who were here came out wearing shawls and cardigans holding coats like this saying ⁹³ ‘Dorcas must come ...’ until God in heaven heard the cry of coats and said ⁹⁴ there is **the voice** of a shawl, there is a coat, there is **a blanket**.’ At that time, ⁹⁵ Peter was preaching somewhere and on completing that crusade, he heard a **voice** tell him ‘man, you will not go home, go down to Joppa.’ He asked, ‘why’. ‘There is something I hear there.’ ⁹⁶ On reaching Joppa, he saw women with coats and cardigans telling him ‘Dorcas must come...’] KenG1-Y4:8-96.

This extract has a number of metonymies including shawls, coats, blankets²³ and a voice. This analysis however focuses on the NP “mũgambo” (a voice) which has been used in in two different senses. In the first sense, the NP is used in a case of personification where a shawl is given the ability to speak as in line 94 (there

²¹ A variant name for Tabitha.

²² This is a derived NP which can be seen as metonymic. The act of ‘crying’ is used instead of the noun ‘a cry’ leading to an ACTION FOR THE ACT metonymy. For this reason, it is followed by the verb crying now signifying the act of shedding tears or wailing. However, this metonymy will not be analysed here since the interest is on the metonymies with a religious source domain.

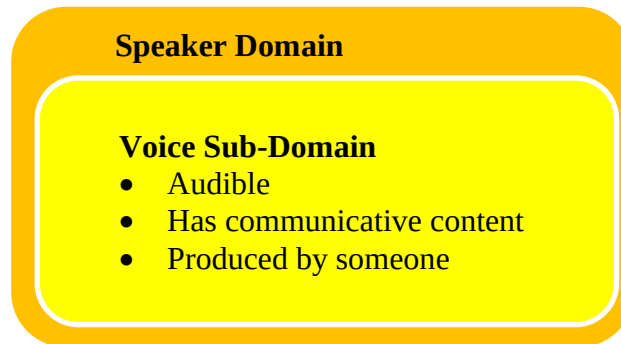
²³ Shawl, coat and cardigan are also metonymic. They are used for the ‘old ladies’ who possess them. However, they do not qualify for inclusion here for they do not have a religious concept as a source.

is the voice of a shawl...). In the second sense, the NP is used metonymically hence in need of interpretation. As a result, the audience appealing to its background knowledge concerning “a voice” constructs a voice domain to host the encyclopaedic entries for the NP “a voice.” Such features include that:

- a) It is audible
- b) Has some communicative content
- c) Has a source usually a human being

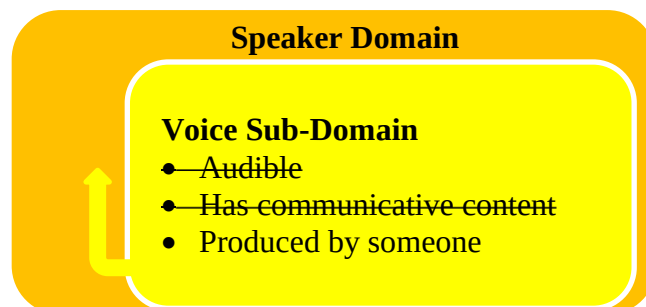
On noting that the voice may not exist without a source, the audience also constructs a speaker domain as the matrix domain containing “voice” as a sub-domain as shown below.

Figure 1.0: The Speaker Domain



From these features, the audience picks the most probable in the given context possibly the one not overtly deciphered. Encyclopaedic feature (a) is made explicit by the claim that Peter heard the voice as recorded in line 95 that “... he heard a voice...” As such, the audience may not expend effort in finding out whether the voice was audible. Similarly, the communicative content is also openly stated in line 95 as “...you will not go home, go down to Joppa.” Consequently, this feature does not require any further interpretation leaving the voice source as the only feature in need of an interpretative mapping. This way, voice is construed as accessing its producer as in the next figure.

Figure 1.1: Voice-Speaker Mapping



As seen above, this mapping links the voice to its producer. Nevertheless, the audience still needs to construct the identity of the voice producer. This is facilitated by the context of the sermon. Firstly, the extract above shows that the voice had authority to command Peter to move to Joppa and according to line 96, Peter promptly obeyed. Secondly, the sermon records in lines 92-93 that the beneficiaries of Dorcas’ benevolence were holding a demonstration in Joppa demanding for her immediate “come-back.” Indeed, the shawls and the coats that she made while alive cried unto God until, according to the sermon, God said “⁹⁴there is the voice of a shawl...”, that is, God detected their cry. Now, the sermon records that “⁹⁴...at that time, ⁹⁵Peter was preaching...and on completing..., he heard a voice.” The usage of the Prepositional Phrase “at that time”

implies some concurrence between the cry of the shawls, God paying attention to their cry and the voice that commanded Peter. This suggests that it might have been God who in response to the “cry of the shawls” spoke to Peter via the voice. As a cue towards this, the speaker says in line 93, “...God in heaven heard the cry of the coats and said ⁹⁴”, there is the voice of a shawl, ...a coat...a blanket...” Accordingly, voice²⁴ is here used as a metonym to access God leading to a PRODUCT FOR THE PRODUCER metonymy.

As noted above, the speaker’s main message is that every believer should carry out acts of philanthropy towards others which according to the speaker are sacrifices to which God pays attention and reciprocates. The voice metonymy is used here as evidence to support this stand. Following the discussions above, the voice came from God in response to the cry of Tabitha’s philanthropic acts in Joppa. Subsequently, God’s voice confirms the veracity of the speaker’s assertions concerning philanthropy. This in turn portrays the speaker as believable hence trustworthy. This is in spite of the inconsistency in his usage of the voice and the biblical account of Tabitha's story in Acts 9:36ff²⁵ which shows that the believers in Joppa sent for Peter. So, the voice metonymy is the speaker’s creation to support his view thereby building his trustworthiness. This in turn reduces counterarguments against his message hence persuasiveness.

Further, the voice metonym demonstrates that Tabitha benefited from her kind deeds by being resurrected and as a parallel, the audience would also benefit from its own acts of philanthropy for they would attract God's attention. God’s attention is desirable to the audience for it means that He will help the audience achieve their prosperity desires a view that is augmented by the belief that God is fair as to recognize and reward their philanthropy. Through this conceptualization, the speaker is portrayed as one who does not seek self-benefit from the audience’s philanthropy but seeks the betterment of the audience state by advising it on how to benefit from God. The speaker is therefore altruistic since he “...disconfirms the audience’s expectations about ...” (O’Keefe 2016:292), his intent to benefit himself. Accordingly, the speaker can be trusted for seemingly, he is not out to exploit but benefit the audience. Correspondingly, the speaker’s claims become of relevance to the audience as they resonate with the audience’s self-interests. This encourages the audience to be philanthropic in order to achieve their desires, that is, for as long as one has a need, he/she will make donations for God to meet those desires. This in turn fuels an enduring form of self-persuasion. Thus seen, CPG thrives on the egoistic needs of the audience by manipulating the desire to achieve health and wealth to encourage the audience to make donations. No wonder, Mwikamba et al. (2015) contend that CPG is ...contextualized religion ...relevant and fitting to the poor, (2015:141).

The voice metonymy relies on a religious concept to access its target. This can be deduced from the fact that in metonymy, both the source and the target are in the same domain and since the target of this metonymy is God, then even its source is a product of God. The use of voice for God can only be correctly interpreted by a specific in-group of believers hence its use marks the user as a member of such a group here comprising of the audience. Therefore, the use of voice by the speaker as well portrays him as belonging to the audience’s in-group with the effect of encouraging the audience to accept him as a member of their in-group. The acceptance entreats the audience to trust the speaker as they share similar values for instance the belief in a God who speaks. The trust thus formed makes it easy for the speaker to become believable again enhancing his persuasiveness.

Additionally, since the members have certain religiously sanctioned values such as honesty, and the speaker now belongs to their in-group, then the audience concludes that the speaker also bears such values. This leads to

²⁴ The use of ‘voice for God’ (voice for the speaker) is a common metonymy in Christianity. see Matthew 3:17; Matthew 17:5, Mark 1:11, 9:7; Luke 3:22, 9:35, and Acts 9:7 for some examples.

²⁵ Acts 9:38 shows that the disciples on learning that Peter was in Lydda, a neighbouring town, sent two men to fetch him and verse 39 shows that he went with them. The bible does not talk about a voice anywhere.

a trust on the speaker based on their own self-evaluation which might in turn inspire a liking²⁶ for the speaker. The liking, on the other hand, "...is much more likely to influence one's judgments about the communicator's dispositional trustworthiness (the communicator's general honesty, fairness, open-mindedness, and the like)," (O'Keefe 2016:298). In other words, it is easy to trust a speaker one judges as similar or likable and this happens to the speaker in the current sermon.

Also, the voice metonymy proves that the speaker's teaching on how to access help from God is truthful. For example, by responding to Tabitha's alms, the voice confirms that God listens to acts of kindness and that indeed the said acts cry unto God. This in turn portrays the speaker as knowledgeable in Christian prosperity matters by supporting his prosperity formula hence an expert. Expertise on the other hand contributes to his trustworthiness. Related to this, the speaker does not withhold information on how to gain God's attention and achieve one's desires via sacrifices. In so doing, the speaker presents himself as one who openly shares the information he knows therefore honest and worth of the audience trust. The result is that the audience would be willing to execute his advice; in this case, to make donations to others.

Noted above, the voice metonymy confirms that God responds to a person's sacrifice of kind acts to others. This gives validity to the speaker's teachings for instance that the audience must have an altar upon which to offer the sacrifices. Progressing with the sermon, he asks the audience, "¹⁰⁸ nimwetikira tuume kanitha riu. Tuwe sisi ni watu wa madhabahu" (¹⁰⁸do you accept that we stop being church people, we become altar people?). The audience gives a positive response after which the speaker teaches them on the requisites of an operational altar thus:

(5) ¹⁴³ ...He indo ithatũ mūtũrĩre-ini waku itekwenda ũkaaga...kĩgongona, na ¹⁴⁴ igongona na mũruti wa igongona niwe mũthĩnjĩri.... ¹⁴⁵ Kĩrĩa gĩtũmĩte wone akristiano ¹⁴⁶ mena mathina maingĩ na mĩnyamaro nĩ tondũ athĩnjĩri mena o, kĩgongona mena kĩa, ... ¹⁴⁷ ... no mbũri cia guthĩjwo hatirĩ ... Nĩkĩa tũmaũndũ tũnini mũno tũrĩkũnyariraga.

[¹⁴³...There are three things in your life which I would rather you do not miss, an altar, ¹⁴⁴ the sacrifice and the one to offer that sacrifice, that is, the priest; ¹⁴⁵.... The reason many Christians ¹⁴⁶ have problems is because they have priests, they have an altar... ¹⁴⁷ ...but they do not have the lambs for a sacrifice...That is why small issues oppress you]. KenG1-Y4:141-147

In this excerpt, the speaker starts by educating the audience that a functional altar requires a sacrifice, the priest and an altar. The speaker notes that unfortunately, the current audience has an altar and a priest but lacks the sacrifice. As such, their altars are not functional and cannot attract God's attention hence the reason '¹⁴⁷small things oppress' them. Implicitly, the audience is prompted to believe that in order to avoid the oppression, it should make sacrifices in the form of kind deeds similar to what Tabitha did. This again leads to self-persuasion.

The use of the voice metonymy has a proximizing effect at the spatial and the axiological axes. Spatially, the Christian God, who is spiritual, is brought into the embodied human environment. Unlike the incorporeal God, voice is a common human product with physical characteristics such as tone and loudness perceivable via the human sense of hearing. As such, it is nearer human beings than God who cannot be physically perceived. Its use therefore brings God nearer to the audience by using that which is in the audience environment. This way, the metonymy crosses the spatial divide between God and the audience by presenting God as perceivable through the human sense of hearing. This attracts more audience attention since concrete objects '...have more salience for us than abstract objects,' (Radden et al. 1999:45) which gives them more relevance for they are

²⁶ Likability comes from a perceived similarity, charisma, dressing and pleasantness among others. (See chapter 9 of Rice and Atikins, 2001 for the debate).

more consequential. Also, the audience does not spend a lot of energy understanding God since God is accessed via a feature the audience can easily identify. As such, they concentrate more on the content of the speaker's message. Besides, the speaker's claim that physical alms appeal to a spiritual God is supported by God's response via a physical voice further enhancing trust in the speaker. This would not be possible without the assumption of the audience knowledge of and belief in the ontology of God.

Axiologically, the voice metonym by accessing God excites several encyclopaedic features concerning God in the audience background knowledge. Such features may include his abilities as well as nature such as being fair and just. The features are presumed latent but constitute the audience belief-value system and by the metonymy provoking them, then it proximates them to the discourse foreground. That is, the values concerning God are used to influence attitude towards the current topic on charity. This way, the metonymy implicitly implores the audience to give more alms. Besides, the metonymy is effectual for it supports the audience's egoistic interests of achieving their desires. As such, the values they attach to such desires are also activated. Further, it is a value judgement which admits the speaker as a member of the audience in-group. In sum, the voice metonymy provokes different types of values which lead to trust on the speaker. This again assumes a basic belief in the ontology of God.

6. Conclusion

This article discussed the role of figuration in the persuasiveness of a preacher in Christian Prosperity Gospel (CPG) sermons done in the Gikũyũ language. As the analysis shows, metaphor and metonymy are useful in invoking the Christian faith to engender speaker altruism and trustworthiness. It is demonstrated that the 'burnt sacrifice' as a metaphor for donations creates speaker altruism by implying that such donations benefit the audience. This is affirmed by the 'voice' metonym which shows that Tabitha benefited from her own acts of charity. The speaker's demand for donations and alms is thus an act of good-will towards the audience hence speaker altruism. Altruism, on the other hand, motivates the audience to rate the speaker as trustworthy for apparently, he does not seek to exploit the audience for his own benefit. Speaker trustworthiness is also engendered in other ways. The metaphor shows that God trusts the speaker with His (God's) sacrifices thus the audience can trust the speaker as well. Besides, the metaphor portrays the speaker as an expert in religious matters hence believable. The voice metonym, on the other hand, supports the veracity of the speaker's claim that God responds to audience charity and in so doing, portrays the speaker as truthful hence trustworthy. In showing that audience donations of various types benefit the audience, the speaker is portrayed as one who honestly reports the reality he knows again making him trustworthy. As such, both expertise and altruism lead to speaker trustworthiness.

Speaker trustworthiness covertly induces persuasion by making the audience believe in the validity of the speaker's claims which in turn reduces possible audience counterarguments. Further, the metaphor portrays the speaker as asking for the burnt sacrifices on behalf of God. This in turn demands for audience compliance not with the speaker but with God hence speaker persuasiveness. Additionally, in portraying the speaker as an expert, the metaphor eliminates possible audience doubts on the speaker's qualification to make the said claims again leading to possible obedience. Besides, speaker trustworthiness persuades by facilitating the acceptance of speaker within the audience group leading to likability. Altruism persuades in two ways: first, it leads to the evaluation of the speaker as trustworthy leading to persuasion as above and second, it convinces the audience that it benefits from its own acts of donations and charity. In this manner, altruism reduces audience feelings of being taken advantage of but promotes the feeling of having agency in its own success by making the audience believe that its prosperity comes from its actions. This way, the audience self-compels to make donations and offer acts of charity leading to self-persuasion. Failure to make donations leads to the undesirable end of missing their prosperity goals again leading to self-persuasion. Seen this way, audience persuasibility in CPG is mainly egoistic.

The analysis further suggests that Metaphor and metonymy are useful in proximizing at different axes. Axiologically, they provoke several pre-learned values in the audience belief-value system from their background to influence attitude formation in the foreground. Also, axiological proximization establishes an undesirable present which motivates actions to change it to a better future hence self-persuasion. The analysis also shows that temporal proximization can be a product of the axiological proximization where values learnt in the past are temporally brought into the present. Epistemically, it is assumed that the audience knows and believes in the ontology and manipulability of God. Besides, the speaker educates his audience concerning sacrifices thereby reducing the presumed gap between his knowledge and that of the audience. The provocation of the undesired present promotes an emotional reaction to the present hence emotional proximization. Spatially, the voice metonymy proximizes God from the spiritual to the physical realm. Contrary to the theoretical predictions, the present may also bear undesirable values while axiologically, the threats may come from a value conflict within the same individual rather than different camps and also from similar rather than different values. Future research will need to determine whether the findings presented here also abide in the use of figuration in mainstream sermons.

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