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On American Presidential Metaphor and *as if* Constructions
in the Corpus of Political Speeches *

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キーワード：*as if* construction, metaphor, presidential speeches

本稿は Corpus of Political Speeches (COPS) に収録されている大統領の演説 (1796 年〜2015 年) から、*as if* 構文の比喩用法について考察する。昨今の大統領のレトリック研究は、Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005, 2014) の観点から、比喩表現による効果や大統領のイデオロギーの顕在化を問題としている。ところが、*as if* 構文によるメタファー用法に関しては CMA において取り扱われていない。そのため、本稿は *as if* 構文の分析も大統領の演説におけるメタファー研究において重要な位置を占めることを提示する。具体的な用法に関しては、COPS に収録されているロナルド・レーガン、ジョージ・H・W・ブッシュ、ビル・クリントン、ジョージ・W・ブッシュの 4 人の大統領の演説を取り上げて、*as if* 構文のメタファーについて考察する。

　本論文では次の 4 点を主張する。1) Sullivan (2013) で取り上げられている 2 種類の *as if* 構文のメタファーの発展用法として、コンテクストがメタファーを喚起する用法 (CMAC) がある 2) CMAC は、*as if* 節の前のコンテクストに生じる単語がメタファーを喚起する場合とコンテクスト全体が体系的なメタファーになっており、メタメタファーとして *as if* 構文が生じる場合がある。3) *As if* 構文は、国民 (聴衆) に対するある種のシグナルとして機能しており、ある事柄をより聴衆にとって馴染みがあるものへと変化させることで、新たな視点を提供する 4) 結果として、コンテクストの中で要求、批判、再確認、戒める、のようなメタファーによる行為が行われる。

1 Introduction

Metaphor analysis, a widely recognized and critical method for identifying metaphors, has been studied and practiced by numerous scholars. It is fair to say, however, that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are the trailblazers of the field. Their cultivation of metaphor analysis subverted the previously taken-for-granted assumption that metaphor is just a rhetorical flourish. They held that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in

thought and action" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). This fundamental viewpoint lays the groundwork for a well-known theory in cognitive linguistics: conceptual metaphor theory (CMT).

Lakoff and Johnson's work helped pave the way for a number of scholars to apply CMT to critical discourse studies and further afield (van Dijk, 1993, 1997; Hart, 2008; Musolff, 2016). Nonetheless, studies on *as if* constructions have mainly focused on usage, classification of type, and grammatical exposition (Quirk et al., 1985; López-Couso, & Méndez-Naya, 2002; Kashino, 2012; Brinton, 2014). Sullivan (2013), however, focuses on cognitive grammar (Langacker, 1987), frame analysis (Lakoff, 1987; Fillmore, 2020), and CMT. This construction can also connect to contextual information when used in political discourse, creating a systematic metaphorical world (Cameron, 2009). Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2014) analyzes American presidential rhetoric in an effort to reveal how metaphors can help persuade average Americans. His methodology, critical metaphor analysis (CMA), is devoted to identifying what a figure of speech is *doing* in discourse. The reasoning to direct attention to *as if* constructions is threefold: 1) the previous studies tend to focus on merely lexical connections in terms of metaphor analysis. 2) a figurative *as if* construction is linked to a comparison meaning, a fundamental criterion for identifying metaphors, and therein lies its value to the analysis, and 3) The *as if* construction signals a speaker/ writer's viewpoint to augment contextual information when used in discourse, catalyzing metaphorical effects.

Nevertheless, there are few studies on the relevance of *as if* constructions in political discourse; therefore, this study adopts the CMA approach, which considers the effects of metaphorical expressions (Boeynaems et al., 2017), to observe *as if* constructions vis-à-vis their figurative usage in American presidential speeches retrieved from Hong Kong Baptist University's Corpus of Political Speeches (COPS).

In what follows, Section 2 will unpack the general usage of *as if* constructions by reviewing previous studies on the classification. Section 3 will provide an overview of the methodology and data. The remaining sections present a case study to observe how the construction behaves in actual speeches, and the final section concludes.

2 Metaphoric As If Construction

2.1 Sullivan (2013)

Fundamentally, CMT sees metaphor as less of a linguistic decoration and more a

systematic cognitive function. In the Lakoffian approach, if we have an abstract concept A (target), it is common to use an "A is B" format to grasp concept A in terms of B (source). This, Lakoff proposed, is the conceptual mapping between A and B. In this study, I would like to use the terms "target" and "source" to indicate the interrelation of metaphorical mapping.

There are few, if any, cases in COPS where figurative usage of a construction is coupled with the meaning of the comparison. As such, this section discusses the association between CMT and metaphoric *as if* constructions. Sullivan (2013: 156-158), in this respect, gives insight into the connection in question, presenting the following examples:

(1)   a. It was as if Lucie's pride had been purged away.

       b. The seconds crawl past as if they were anchored to the clock face.

Within the *as if* construction, the entire metaphor in (1a) is evoked by lexical items and constructions. For instance, the source domain of the object event structure metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) is invoked by the predicate heading the *as if*-clause, the phrasal verb "purged away." This predicate indicates the removal of a physical ENTITY or substance. To be more precise, "Lucie's pride" is the argument of the predicate that refers to ATTRIBUTE rather than ENTITY; therefore, the argument of the predicate evokes the target domain in that it is conceptualized as an ENTITY.

In contrast, the Q-clause[1] in (1b) evokes the entire metaphor in which the subject "the seconds" refers to the target domain TIME and "crawl past" illustrates the source domain of physical motion through space. The metaphor, TIME IS A MOTION, exhibits the slowness implied by the mapping from slow movement through space to a perceived slowness of time.

In line with this analysis, Sullivan (2013: 158) yields the following findings: First, "a complete metaphor can be evoked within the *as if*-clause itself via other constructions, such as argument structure constructions," as in (1a). Second, "a complete metaphor may be evoked in the Q-clause," as in (1b). However, the examples above do not touch upon a method for differentiating and categorizing each *as if* construction. This distinction is

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[1] In the conditional *if you drink that much coffee, (then) you won't be able to sleep*, the P-clause is *if you drink that much coffee* and the Q-clause is *(then) you won't be able to sleep* (Sullivan, 2013: 152).

explicitly addressed in Huddleston and Pullman (2002) and Kashino (2012).

2.2 Comparison and Figurative Meaning

Some may argue that an *as if* itself seems to signal metaphorical meaning, and every *as if* construction may be a metaphor. In contrast, Kashino (2012) rightly argues that four disparate types of the construction can come into play: counterfactual (see (2a)), hypothetical (Linda's dog had just died, and she called to it repeatedly, *as if* it *might* come back to her), suppositional (the rocks were so steep that I often felt *as if* I would slip and fall off) and figurative (see (2b)).

He also notes that most of these construction types designate a manner, but the figurative type resorts to a comparison sense that is not synonymous with almost identical counterfactual usage. The difference between counterfactual and figurative meaning is that the former presupposes events that exist in the real world, whereas the latter does not. This distinction implies that a user of the figurative usage envisages an imaginary situation in their own mind that is not linked to the real world. Compare the following two examples:

(2)　a. He acts as if he knew all the answers. (Kashino, 2012: 159)

　　　b. I moved slowly as if I had a big rock on my shoulders. (ibid.: 164)

In (2a), knowing all the answers is counterfactual, which is rooted in the real world. In (2b), however, having a big rock is not the opposite of moving slowly. Instead, the speaker uses an imaginary world to describe how they moved. This can be added to the examples in (1) as an additional type of metaphoric *as if* construction.

Furthermore, Huddleston and Pullman (2002: 1151) provide a criterion for identifying types of *as if* constructions, (3), which I have adopted for the analysis.

(3)　a. Don't attack a mouth <u>as if you're dipping a mop into a slop-bucket</u>!

　　　b. It was highly imprudent of him to drink <u>as if he were a youngster like ourselves</u>.

　　　c. She acts <u>as if she hates me</u>.

　　　d. It seems/looks <u>as if we've offended them</u>.

　　　e. Max seems/looks <u>as if he's in difficulties</u>.

　　　f. <u>As if this news wasn't bad enough</u>, I found that the printer wasn't working either.

Examples (3a) and (3b) are dovetailed with the meaning of the comparison. Insofar as the comparison's meaning resides in the construction, it can be heralded as metaphorical usage. By contrast, the rest of the examples in (3) are not equivalent to them, and when used as in (3c) – (3f), the construction attenuates the comparison's meaning. This study, therefore, places emphasis on the constructional types demonstrated in (2b), (3a), and (3b), which are of greater interest for metaphorical analysis.

3 Method and Data

I used COPS (corpus size: 4,429,976 words), which helped identify what types of *as if* constructions were used from 1789 to 2015. This database contains a wide range of speeches, including Inaugural Addresses (IA), State of Union Addresses (SOU), Annual Messages to Congress on the State of the Union, National Political Party Platforms, Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speeches (PNAS), Presidential Candidates Debates, and Saturday Radio Address (RA).

The research procedure was as follows: First, I input the keyword *as if* in the search box and extracted the token (frequency) of the construction. I then classified each instance into construction categories based on Huddleston and Pullman (2002) and Kashino (2012), and finally, I observed the metaphoric *as if* constructions. A*s if* constructions appeared 97 times in COPS, but instances from Unspecified (10), Others-Rep (6), Others-Dem (6), and Reagan's IA (1) were excluded from the data. After exclusion, there were 74 instances[2] of the construction in the speeches by 22 presidents. These were further winnowed down to 46 cases for analysis in align with the frequency. The average frequency was 3.36, and if the frequency was over four, I regarded it as a relatively high frequency, as shown in Figure 1 (AIC= *as if* construction, MAIC = metaphoric *as if* construction).

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[2] Figurative usage accounts for 27 % (n=20) (Type1 (n=3), Type 2 (n=13) Type3 (n=4).

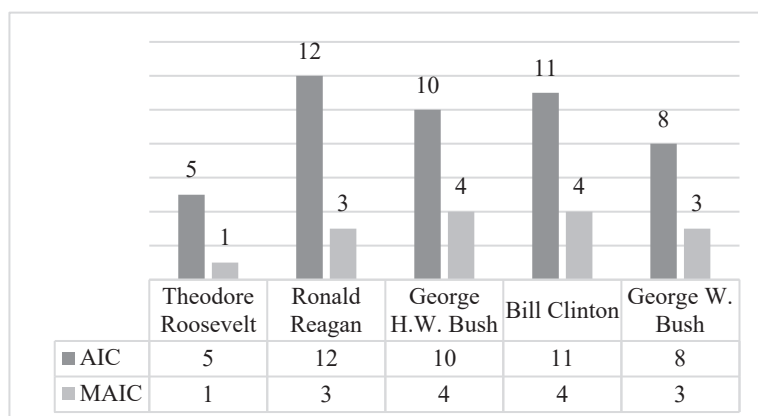|	Theodore Roosevelt	Ronald Reagan	George H.W. Bush	Bill Clinton	George W. Bush
■ AIC	5	12	10	11	8
■ MAIC	1	3	4	4	3

Figure 1. Metaphoric As If Constructions Among the Five Presidents

Of the total 46 cases[3], figurative usage accounts for 32.6% (n=15), of which, some instances demonstrate context before the *as if* construction evoking the source domain. In light of this, it is pivotal to observe metaphoric *as if* constructions accompanied by source domains in context (hereafter called contextual metaphoric *as if* construction (CMAC)). Integrating this perspective, contextual information is an essential step in understanding the features of metaphoric *as if* construction, so the following three types are of great importance for the analysis: Type 1 (n=1) (Q-clause evokes the source domain), Type 2 (n=10) (an *as if*-clause evokes the source domain), and Type 3 (n=4) (context before an *as if* construction evokes the source domain (CMAC)).

As we saw in Section 2, Sullivan (2013: 156-158) depicted the nature of metaphoric *as if* constructions based on Types 1 and 2. Crucially, she maintains that "*as if*-conditionals are much like the meta-metaphorical conditionals in that each clause evokes both domains of the same metaphor, the two clauses collaborating to build up a more intricate system of mappings." Her main argument merely touched upon the two clauses in *as if* constructions. Analyzing the "meta-metaphorical" function related to the outside of the

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[3] These constructions can be categorized as follows: One (2a) type ("You have to pay income tax on those 3,500 additional dollars just as if you gained that much in purchasing power" Reagan/RA/1984), fourteen (3c) type (e.g., "Some persons speak as if the exercise of such governmental control would do away with freedom" Roosevelt/SOU/1906), six (3d) type (e.g., "it looked as if America's first Christmas as an independent nation might also be its last" George W. Bush/RA/2008), four (3f) type (e.g., "As if this weren't irresponsible enough, ..." George W. Bush/RA/2007), one allusion ("The Federal Government too often treats government programs as if they are of Washington, by Washington, and for Washington" George H. W. Bush/SOU/1991—alluding to "government of the people, by the people, for the people" from Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (1863)), and nine others (e.g., "you're their accomplice as much as if you were behind the wheel yourself" Bill Clinton/RA/1994).

clauses is essential in providing a deeper insight into its aspect. This is not to say that her analysis and mine are not necessarily incompatible. On the contrary, it is equivalent in the sense that I aim to develop and supplement her theory; the only difference is that this study will incorporate contextual information (e.g., lexical unit, conceptual metaphor) into the analysis, as there is room for further consideration as to "meta-metaphorical," pertaining to the outside of the clauses. Given this outlook, the next section will overview the three types in turn. The research question of this study is as follows:

● Research Question (RQ)
✓ How are the three types of metaphoric *as if* constructions used in speeches (RA, SOU and PNAS) delivered by Presidents Bill Clinton, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and George W. Bush?
✓ How is a target concept conceptualized by a source domain?
✓ What kinds of effects and actions are generated by metaphoric *as if* constructions?

4 Type 1
There is only one instance of this type: Bill Clinton used the style in an RA on March 4, 2000.

(4) Gun crime prosecutions already are up 16 percent since I took office, but we should do more. In a country of 270 million people, no law can stop every act of gun violence. But we can't just throw up our hands as if gun safety laws don't make a difference.

Clinton puts greater weight on gun regulation related to the crisis unfolding around the country in the speech given in (4). Observing the *as if* constructions, we can see that the *as if*-clause does not evoke the source domain. I will briefly discuss Goossens' (1990) metaphor classification to confirm its behavior, the Q-clause, "we can't just throw up our hands," which functions as the hallmark for integrating several metaphorical operations.

Goossens (1990: 332-338) lucidly explains the underlying system for the ways in which metonymy interacts with metaphor in figurative language. In general, while metaphors involve two discrete conceptual domains, metonymy involves a single domain. Mapping metaphor from metonymy occurs within the overlapped domain with which metonymy is fused into metaphor, adding up to a metonymy-based metaphor. This facet

applies to "throw up one's hands,"[4] since the conceptual link of metaphor from metonymy can be confirmed in the expression. In the context above, the literal meaning of the phrase cannot be applied to (4). Yet, it is possible that the figurative meaning is a pun in conjunction with the literal meaning. "Gun violence" in (4) is discussed as a social problem in the U.S. Considering the matter, the metaphorical meaning can evolve into the literal usage by which the phrase stipulates an actual crime occurring in society. As a rule, when encountering a person holding a gun, we would raise our hands immediately in a reflexive action to protect ourselves.

On account of this, the idiom is well suited for the classification of metaphor from metonymy in that the phrase derives from the literal use, enlarging its explication to metaphor. Example (4) also offers a window into how the *as if* construction functions: the *as if*-clause serves as a manner adjunct for the Q-clause, thereby the adjunct explicates how we throw up our hands. Construed literally, the interpretation of the phrase is unnatural. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the idiomatic expression in (4) is licensed as a metaphor, a source domain that is invoked not so much in the *as if*-clause as the Q-clause. In this case, however, the *as if*-clause itself does not have a figurative meaning in (4), for it describes the counterfactual, rendering the clause complement. In the end, the metaphor interpretation of (4) is that he is requesting that people support his opinion, a view that gun safety laws would decrease crimes and protect people.

5 Type 2

5.1 Clinton's speech

Type 2—an *as if*-clause directly linked to the source domain—has been used widely. This subsection zeros in on Clinton's RA delivered on July 22, 2000. He began his speech by stating that "Today I want to talk about securing our economic future by keeping our prosperity going and extending its benefits to all Americans." The central theme of the address is the economy and on tax cuts for which people had voiced concern. The president goes on to say that:

(5) Now we have the chance to pass responsible tax cuts as we continue to pursue solid

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[4] If someone throws up their hands, they express their anger, frustration, or disgust when a situation becomes so bad that they can no longer accept it (Collins (online)). / To raise one's hands in a gesture of submission to someone; to surrender. Chiefly in imperative. figurative. To display or express horror, despair, frustration, etc.; (in later use also) to disclaim responsibility (*OED*).

economic policy. But instead of following the sensible path that got us here, congressional Republicans are treating this surplus as if they'd won it in the lottery.

His remarks in (5) capture much of what the Republicans would agree upon; the only difference is that the president's ultimate goal was to use the surplus moderately. The depiction of the way in which the congressional Republican were treating the budget surplus is designated by an *as if*-clause with a metaphorical meaning. The mapping between the target and source domains is delineated in Table 1.

Table 1. The Lottery Metaphor Mapping

Source	Target
lottery ⟶	financial resources
won it in the lottery ⟶	gain financial resources unexpectedly
treating this surplus as if they'd won it in the lottery ⟶	waste the surplus without thinking about the outcome

In (5), the *as if*-clause incorporates the source domain, the target of which is shown in the table above. As a result, President Clinton condemns how the opponent party attends to the issue using metaphor, implying that his policy is more tolerable.

5.2 George W. Bush's speech
This subsection presents another example situated within Type 2: George W. Bush's SOU delivered on January 29, 2002.

(6) Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

At the beginning of the speech, President Bush insists that "As we gather tonight, our Nation is at war; our economy is in recession; and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers," implying the 9/11 attack. Just immediately before (6), he also comments on the terrorism: "None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September 11." A crucial

metaphor, a mirror metaphor, is shaped by the terrorism mentioned above, thereby creating the dichotomy between evilness and goodness. Nevertheless, (6) should be categorized as Type 2 in that the *as if* clause alone evokes the mirror metaphor. See the following table.

Table 2. The Mirror Metaphor Mapping

source	target
entire country ⟶	American people
looked into a mirror ⟶	contemplating Americans' roles objectively
our better selves ⟶	citizens with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history / think about what the good Americans can do

The mapping of the metaphor shows that its effect is to reconfirm (*reconfirmation*) how Americans should behave and what it means to be Americans, which results in *comfort*. According to the data, Type 2 (n=10) is used twice more than its counterparts, so it behooves us to consider this type prototypical (see the appendix for details). Finally, the following section focuses on Reagan's and George H. W. Bush's speeches to analyze CMAC.

6 Type 3 (CMAC)

6.1 Reagan's Speech

This subsection seeks to uncover Reagan's use of the metaphoric *as if* construction in a speech on April 5, 1986. It is noteworthy that even a single word or its phonetic element situated within a speech can set off a systematic metaphor-led discourse. The context below is an example of the extent to which a single word can elicit a metaphorical interpretation that emerges before the construction.

(7) But certain steps that would make the Department even more shipshape[5] can take place only with congressional approval. You know, it's as if the Pentagon can swab the decks on its own, but only the Congress can grant permission to polish the brasswork.

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[5] Arranged properly, as things on board ship should be; trim, orderly: originally Nautical but frequently in general use. Sometimes passing into adv., in a seamanlike manner, in trim fashion (*OED*).

Note that the theme of this speech is "reforming the Defense Establishment"; in line with the topic, focusing on lexical elements, "swab,"[6] "decks,"[7] and "polish the brasswork" enables us to see the well-ordered metaphorical interrelation. The words "swab" and "deck" can be safely assigned to the nautical category. Conversely, the noun "brasswork" alone cannot reveal the whole picture; "polish the brasswork" plays a large role as the interlocking system for the ship metaphor. The comparison between "swab the deck" and "polish the brasswork" is projected onto each target domain in accordance with the ship image, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Ship Metaphor Mapping

source	target
(crew) ⟶	(the Pentagon)
swab the deck ⟶	do a tedious task
(captain) ⟶	(Congress)
polish the brasswork ⟶	do an important task

The source domains, "crew" and "captain," can be drawn from the frame "ship," albeit they are not directly expressed in the speech. Concerning a frame analysis, Sullivan (2013: 18) convincingly argues that "many words are interpretable only if we have some kind of access to frames and their elements." Drawing on this methodology and perspective, the figure below represents the elements that constitute a ship frame.
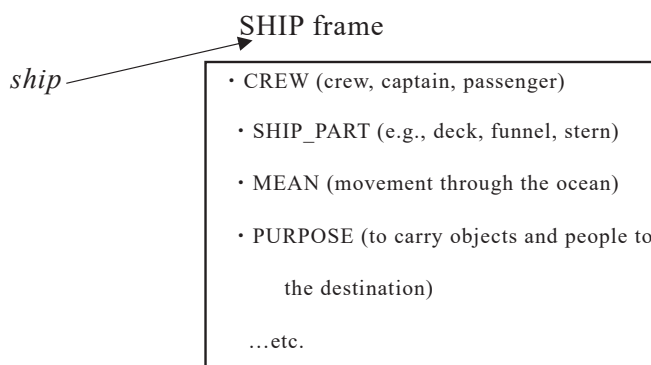

Figure 2. The Noun "ship" Evokes the SHIP Frame

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[6] A mop made of rope-yarn, etc. used for cleaning and drying the deck, etc. on board ship (*OED*).

[7] Nautical. A platform extending from side to side of a ship or part of a ship, covering in the space below, and also itself serving as a floor; formed of planks, or (in iron ships) of iron plating usually covered with planks (*OED*).

This frame makes all of its elements potentially available to the audience, and the accessibility of the frame hinges on the keyword "shipshape." The original meaning stems from the nautical sense, and thus it is certain that "shipshape" lends itself well as the metaphor trigger. Although the keyword is used as an adjective in (7), the phonetic factor leads one to conjure up an image of a ship. Subsequently, this metaphor results in successive metaphorical expressions in the speech, creating organized web-like connections in the *as if* construction, whereby the *as if*-clause serves as "meta-metaphorical." Here, it is the single word outside of the *as if* construction that invokes the ship metaphor.

6.2 George H. W. Bush's Speech

The foregoing section dealt with Type 3, focusing on a single word, through which we were able to observe how the frame outside of the *as if* construction works. This subsection covers Type 3, the one in which the expanded context related to the *as if* construction predicts the subsequent metaphor. In this case, a metaphoric world is not shaped by a single word but an entire context that renders the clause's supplementary metaphor exposition. Excerpt (8) below was extracted from a PNAS (August 18,1988).

(8) We're on a journey to a new century, and we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind. Some people who are enjoying our prosperity have forgotten what it's for. But they diminish our triumph when they act as if wealth is an end in itself. There are those who have dropped their standards along the way, as if ethics were too heavy and slowed their rise to the top.

The first line, "We're on a journey to a new century, and we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind," is replete with metaphorical devices, such as "journey," "the tired old baggage of bigotry," and "behind." This manifestation evokes the journey metaphor, the most conventional yet intriguing trope in shaping the fabric of American presidential speeches. The successive context exhibits different styles of the *as if* construction, whereas the first type is regarded as a manner complement ("as if wealth is an end in itself"), the last instance is a figurative one. With the content of the *as if*-clause, "as if ethics were too heavy and slowed their rise to the top," the components ("heavy," "slowed," "rise to the top") reinforce the coherent journey-related metaphor. Notably, a

linchpin underpinning the metaphor can be "rise to the top," which brings a mountain image to the fore. The phrase conjuring up the mountain image, the unequivocal journey metaphor—climbing—emerges from the context, and the correspondence between the target and the source can be portrayed as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The Journey (Climbing) Metaphor Mapping

source	target
journey ⟶	the process of achieving a national goal
old baggage ⟶	bigotry
drop ⟶	discard standards
(baggage) ⟶	ethics
slow ⟶	disturb the process of achieving a national
rise to the top ⟶	goal
	achieve a national goal

Again, the source domain "baggage" for "ethics" is not straightforwardly articulated in (8), and yet the noun "ethics" is conceptualized as a heavy object, incorporating the representation into the journey metaphor via the frame components. The Commander-in-Chief attempts to illuminate that solely pursuing wealth should not to be a solution for all, and he steadfastly maintains that ethics regarding equality is an integral part of American politics. It is certain that the *as if* construction results in the antithetical corollary: the *as if*-clause highlights the fact that ethics is not a burden for climbing, but rather it is high-priority. Overall, CMAC is divided into two patterns: while a single word evokes the source domain in (7), the whole context invokes the journey metaphor in (8).

7 Discussion

The preceding sections explored metaphoric *as if* constructions by observing presidential speeches. The analysis revealed that, in addition to the classifications propounded by Sullivan (2013), the CMAC—context before an *as if* construction that evokes the source domain—is essential in its own right. The Lakoffian approach presupposes that our ideologies can be manifested by metaphorical expressions. However, the degree to which CMT affects the audience cannot be measured because we cannot get inside people's heads; for the same reason, even if a speaker sounds right, we cannot assume it is her or his genuine ideology either. It requires examining what is being done in the discourse

beyond just identifying metaphors. Here, emergent effects play out that are contingent on the dynamic and fluid nature of discourse. Each *as if* construction discussed in this study uncovers the presidents' ideas, attitudes, and values, conveying their intentions, bringing about effects and actions (Edwards, 1997) enriched by metaphor, such as *request*, *criticism*, and *admonishment.*

In Clinton's remark in (4), his skillful rhetoric is a cogently balanced combination of the metaphor from metonymy within the Q-clause and the *as if*-clause associated with the notion of the counterfactual. He asks people to accept gun regulation, thereby contributing to the rhetorical effect *request* (by using the bodily image tied to metonymy in the Q-clause that combines the *as if*-clause) rather than just stating his own point of view.

Conversely, Clinton's following speech pinpoints how Republicans were handling the surplus, and he doubles down on the criticism by using the *as if* construction. Within the general knowledge or common sense of winning a lottery, it is natural to postulate that money would vanish into thin air; the Democratic leader at that time wanted to use the money more responsibly. In effect, the clause "as if they'd won it in the lottery" is a hyperbolic description by which the rhetorical effect of *criticism* is at the foreground of the context (by dramatizing the ways in which the surplus was being wasted by the Republican). Another Type 2 example, George W. Bush's *as if* clause, functions as *reconfirmation* and *comfort* in the wake of the 9/11 attack.

The same holds for Reagan's speech, a CMAC in that the *as if*-clause is instrumental in comprehending the effect of the construction. He aspired to transform the Defense establishment in an effort to take control over the budget without full consent from Congress. Comparing the two standpoints with the ship metaphor, he chastised the acts of Congress, claiming that only Congress can "polish the brasswork." This statement goes beyond describing the circumstances, and the president urges people to support his view, which leads to *criticism* by comparing the statuses of Congress and the Pentagon.

Notwithstanding that the construction falls under CMAC, the final example, George H. W. Bush's speech, is somewhat different from Reagan's: whereas a single word produces the former, the latter is generated by the entire context. The systematic journey metaphor is evoked by the context in the first line, which seeps into the entire narrative. Above all, the journey is conceptualized as the process of achieving a national goal, which is based on Purposes Are Destinations derived from event-structure metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). The journey metaphor is generally used for the sake of unity or uniformity

to move forward to the same goal. It appears that the president is denouncing those who are bigoted in (8), which may be a part of the function, but his real intention is to unify people and heal divisions. Consequently, the ultimate effect of the rhetoric is not *criticism* but *admonishment* (by calling attention to unity to move forward in the right direction).

8 Conclusion

This study attempted to develop a theoretical framework with which *as if* constructions can be addressed in explicit CMA. This study also intended to reveal how metaphoric *as if* constructions are used in the political arena and supplemented this aspect, or the lack thereof, to further cogitate upon the construction and its effects in presidential speeches.

As a result, four noteworthy findings were identified: 1) In addition to the two types of *as if* constructions discussed in Sullivan (2013), there is another related type, CMAC, in which context before a Q-clause evokes the metaphor; an *as if*-clause functions as "meta-metaphorical" in this case. 2) CMAC can be divided into two patterns: a single word metaphor evocation and an entire context metaphor evocation. 3) *As if* constructions play a vital role in persuading the public (the audience) and can transform a complicated issue into a concept more accessible to the audience, and 4) metaphorical effects and actions, such as requesting, criticizing, and admonishing, manifest themselves in the context.

I would like to stress that these significant findings will contribute to the CMA approach to investigating presidential speeches. Since this study only focused on the RQ qualitatively, extra corpus research is undoubtedly needed to gain quantitative data from all-encompassing presidential speeches. In order to generalize metaphorical effects and acts in other speeches, further meticulous analysis is required. This study, however, reveals that a general function of *as if* construction is to shift the audience's attention to a particular issue, a signal to make them pay attention to the clauses, emphasizing a metaphorical use and its effects. This perspective will help us discover how *as if* constructions are efficaciously utilized for political leverage and add heft to a wide variety of political speeches.

Appendix A

Other Metaphoric As If Constructions Among the Five Presidents

presidents / speech genre	Other metaphoric *as if* constructions (n=10)	types of the construction / source and target domains / effect
T. Roosevelt	advancing as if to take the hand out-stretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship. (SOU/ 1901)	Type 2 (to infinitive) ・source: take out-stretched to him (metaphor from metonymy) ・targe: to welcome him ・effect: approval
Ronald Reagan	1 It's as if they understand the future is great and huge and waiting for them. (RA/ 1984)	1 Type 2 ・source: future ・target: person (personification) ・effect: reconfirmation
	2 High taxes, we are told, are somehow good for us, as if, when government spends our money it isn't inflationary, but when we spend it, it is. (PNAS/ 1980)	2 Type 2 ・source: low taxes ・target: inflation ・effect: criticism
George H. W. Bush	1 Some want us to respond to these challenges as if they were a bad dream. (RA/ 1992)	1 Type 2 ・source: bad dream/ hide under the covers and hope it goes away ・target: people regard challenges as fantasy and do not take measures against them. ・effect: reconfirmation
	2 politicians in Washington have acted as. if the Federal Government could solve every problem from chigger bites to earthquakes. (RA/ 1991)	2 Type 2 ・source: from chigger bites to earthquakes ・target: from tiny problems to serious ones ・effect: criticism
	3 I feel as if I'm returning home to friends. (SOU/ 1989)	3 Type 2 ・source: returning home to friends ・target: delivering a speech as a reliable president effect: appealing

Bill Clinton	1 it was as if Lincoln had stretched out his long arms to gather up the people from every region. (RA/ 1994)	1 Type 2 ・source: stretch out his long arms ・target: to welcome ・effect：approval
	2 it seemed to many Americans as if the forces of crime and violence had gained an intractable hold over our country. (RA/ 1997)	2 Type 2 ・source: force of crime and violence ・target: person's force or natural force ・effect: reassurance
George W. Bush	1 But a lot of people feel as if they have been looking through the window at. somebody else's party. (RA/ 2001)	1 Type 3 ・source: party/ looking through the window at somebody else's party ・target: Those who wish to enter the middle class do not have a way to do so. ・effect: sympathy
	2 Some politicians in Washington act as if the threat to America will also expire on that schedule. (RA/ 2004)	2 Type 2 ・source: threat/ expire ・target: object or person / disappear or die ・effect: criticism

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