

Metaphor in selected items of World War II propaganda¹

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Abstract

The development of cognitive sciences has led to the emergence of a number of theories concerning the possible connections between the mental and linguistic capacities of the human mind. One such theory proposes that metaphor is an important tool for understanding a vast array of concepts by means of metaphors, which is reflected in the figurative language that ordinary speakers use every day. The conceptual metaphor theory, as can be indicated by the evidence included in the present paper, is helpful in analysing the cognitive value of not only linguistic expressions, but also that of pictorial representations.

Keywords

metaphor, conceptual metaphor, cognitive linguistics, propaganda, semantics

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Metafora w wybranych przykładach propagandy II wojny światowej

Abstrakt

Rozwój nauk kognitywnych doprowadził do sformułowania szeregu teorii dotyczących możliwych powiązań pomiędzy zdolnościami mentalnymi i językowymi ludzkiego umysłu. Jedną z tych teorii mówi o ważnej roli metafory dla ludzkiego rozumienia, czego dowodem jest język pełen wyrażenń przenośnych, którego używamy na co dzień. W świetle przedstawionych niżej dowodów można stwierdzić, że teoria metafory pojęciowej jest pomocna nie tylko w analizowaniu wartości poznawczej wyrażenń językowych, ale także przedstawień wizualnych.

Słowa kluczowe

metafora, metafora pojęciowa, językoznawstwo kognitywne, propaganda, semantyka

1. Methodology

The following analysis is ultimately based on the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) which assumes that, by means of metaphorical projections, it is possible for the human mind to facilitate the understanding of many complex concepts in terms of other, less convoluted ideas. The theory itself bears a great resemblance to the earlier observations of a British-American philosopher Max Black (1954, 1979), whose seven central claims of his interaction theory of metaphor can be well identified, at some points, as almost identical to what was later proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. Also, the later findings of Lakoff (1987), i.e. the Ideal Cognitive Model theory, prove to be helpful in identifying and specifying the organised character of the source and target domains which are present in the metaphorical projections involved in the successful readings of the analysed propaganda posters. Due to some shortcomings of the conceptual metaphor theory,

when analysing figurative expressions, as noted by Ungerer and Schmid (2006), it is at times useful to refer to the conceptual blending theory by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). This theory postulates the introduction of an active element of information processing for comprehending novel or less prevalent metaphors that are highly context-dependent. Among the limited number of sources on pictorial metaphor, the works of Charles Forceville (1994, 2007) deserve special attention. One of Forceville's observations is that pictures may connote more information than the words denoting the depicted objects, people or phenomena. Thus, it is argued that for some specific purposes, such as war-time propaganda, it is more appropriate to use posters with pictures in order to achieve the desired effect upon the public, as pictorial representations may serve as richer sources of information for some concepts involved in metaphorical projections.

As propaganda is a complex and intriguing phenomenon in itself, to discuss it at any great length is beyond the scope of this paper. However, Golubiewski (2016), in his article on recruitment posters in World War I, has briefly pointed out several characteristics of a standard and successful propaganda piece. These inherent properties of propaganda which have been covered in his article are by all means relevant to the posters analysed in the present paper.

2. An analysis of World War II propaganda items

The following analysis takes into consideration several examples of spoken and visual propaganda of World War II. The body of pictorial representations has been selected according to its implicit metaphorical value, which is going to be revealed in the course of the successive argument. Furthermore, in order to prove that a particular metaphor theme is active not only in the sphere of visuals, but also in that of language, instances of metaphorical expressions will be presented as evidence. However, it must be stressed that the main focus of the

analysis is the propaganda posters, since the general aim of this thesis is to indicate the conceptual link between visual representations and metaphorical processing. Due to the limited nature of this article, only the theme of labour will be considered. The theories of conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending briefly described in the preceding section are going to be employed in accordance with the rationale of the present work.

2.1. War and labour

First of all, it is necessary to point out the relevant similarities between the concepts of war and labour which, if paired together, provide enough cognitive material for a rich body of metaphorical expressions and representations. A range of propaganda posters revolve around the central theme of labour, and it is assumed that the underlying metaphor *LABOUR IS WAR* does indeed involve the projection of a substantial number of correspondences from the domain of labour onto the domain of war. One such correspondence, which appears to be the most salient when the two ideas are being juxtaposed, is the aspect of physical effort. Many of the posters that are the subject of the analysis depict people engaged in demanding tasks. Very often, the men and women shown in the posters are participating in activities associated with heavy industry, which provides valuable resources for waging modern war. Obviously, working in the heavy “war industry” demands considerable physical effort and may be correlated with the arduous task of serving as an infantryman on the front line. It is beyond all question that fighting has always been a duty destined for men and women capable of enduring not only physical, but also exceptional mental stress. Thus, the correlation between physical effort in the domains of war and labour proves to be motivated by a well-entrenched experiential basis. Another aspect which is readily recognizable as shared by the two considered concepts is the idea of collectivi-

ty. Undoubtedly, wars have always been fought by large armies rather than individuals. Even if particular people, such as politicians, were responsible for issuing the formal declarations of war, the conspicuous nature of armed hostilities is marked by their involvement of great masses of soldiers and civilians. Therefore, the propaganda posters usually show people engaged in tasks which cannot possibly be completed by a single person. Building a bomber or manufacturing explosives can be accomplished only through the cooperation of a great number of workers participating in the war effort of their nation. This fact testifies to the correlation between the collective character of the two undertakings.. But what is also important is the fact that in order to work productively and fight effectively, the people involved should recognise a common goal that can be achieved only if it is pursued by honest and purposeful means. In other words, in order to win a war and to produce the end result of any labour there must be a certain degree of commitment displayed by those engaged in production and in fighting. For instance, throughout history, many soldiers have performed outstanding acts of bravery, very often taking life-threatening risks in order to eventually defeat their enemy. The act of committing oneself to some cause can also be directly linked to the concept of labour. An effective, dedicated worker is often motivated by some external factors, such as financial gain or by some more sophisticated, abstract ideals as in the case of some social or political activists. Also, the idea of sacrifice can be related in a way to the aspect of dedication. As has already been mentioned, a soldier may die in the line of duty, thus making the ultimate sacrifice. On the other hand, the people engaged in demanding, physical labour are very often prone to hazards resulting from the exertion they endure. Furthermore, both armies and teams of workers have a common trait which is their organised nature. In a factory, there is usually a person who is responsible for the way the work is carried out. There are foremen, supervisors, bosses, chiefs, managers, inspectors, administrators and many other

people whose main task is to watch and direct other workers in order for the work to be done appropriately. What is especially important about this microcosm of a workplace is the fact that there is a strict hierarchy of all the people involved. A group of people give instructions to others, and this state of affairs cannot be reversed without resulting in disarray and work being left uncompleted. Exactly the same rules apply to the realm of uniformed services around the world. Generally, there is a chief of the armed forces, such as the president or some sort of an authoritarian figure who is responsible for making the original decisions which determine further, genuine, military actions. Then there are the generals who command whole armies through other men such as the commissioned officers. Similar to a well-managed factory, there has to be a hierarchy which enables whole armies to achieve their goals and ultimately secure victory. Another correlation between the phenomena of war and labour is the fact that both involve the employment of specialist equipment. Heavy industry workers are equipped with a variety of tools which make it possible for them to complete their tasks. As shown in propaganda posters, some of the labourers are equipped with hammers, rivet guns or wrenches. Soldiers, analogously, are provided with a wide array of weaponry, such as firearms, grenades, rockets etc. One of the posters which will be analysed in the following section, makes a direct analogy between the equipment of a heavy industry worker and that of an infantryman, as it expresses a visible parallel between a riveting gun and a machine gun. Also, workers are often clad in some kind of special clothing which protects them from the hazards of their workplace. Such clothes are usually uniform, or nearly so, in their composition. With the creation of regular fighting armies, the idea of wearing protective uniforms emerged. Such uniforms, similar to the clothes worn by industrial workers, are designed mostly with utilitarian purposes in mind while their aesthetic values are often deemed to be irrelevant. Thus, all the above-mentioned correlations constitute sufficient evi-

dence to assume that the phenomena of war and the phenomena of labour bear enough experiential correspondence to each other that the conceptual metaphor LABOUR IS WAR is valid for further analysis. Furthermore, such a digression on the nature of the two phenomena involved is inescapable as it is necessary to find all the possible motivations that would prompt the emergence of the metaphorical instantiations which are considered in this article.

Although the general theme of the following collection of posters revolves around the concepts of labour and war, some posters do not exhibit explicit metaphorical relationships between the text and the picture. For example, the British "Attack Begins in the Factory" series of posters depict scenes of aerial bombardment (1a), maritime warfare (1b), a coastal assault (1c), and the landing of airborne troops (1d). All of the posters are supplemented with a large caption reading "THE ATTACK BEGINS IN THE FACTORY" and a short statement printed in very small font directly below the picture. The slogan alludes to the connection between the production of military equipment and the fight that goes on in the Europe, and Mediterranean theatres of war. Undoubtedly, no military campaign can be fought successfully without the proper and continuous supply of all sorts of combat equipment, thus the general message of the posters is indeed valid in terms of the reality of warfare. However, obviously no attack as such begins in any factory. Why, then, did such an utterance make its way onto the posters? Since the poster is a part of the war-time propaganda effort, its intended reading was meant to produce the effect that labour would be perceived as part of the actual fight. If fighting was likened to labour, then some of its features were meant to be transferred onto the realm of labour. Thus, I believe that the conceptual metaphor LABOUR IS WAR underlies the conceptual motivation for the emergence of the caption which accompanies each poster. The propaganda effect was to convince the working force that without their effort, victory would be impossible. Only through hard work would

they eventually defeat the Axis forces. This particular series of posters does not lend itself to a study within the sphere of visual metaphors, since the only source of metaphorical message is the caption itself. Even without the accompanying pictures, the poster would still maintain its metaphorical character.

The following collection of posters, unlike those mentioned earlier, make explicit use of visuals and employ metonymy, which in most cases becomes an inseparable part of their message. A Canadian poster (2) balances the significance of the visual and textual components and exhibits a substantial metaphorical and less apparent metonymic character. It depicts the same man in two different ways – in the foreground he is holding a hammer, in the background he is wearing a helmet, probably a uniform, and is holding a rifle. His facial expression is identical, showing composure and steadfast resolve presumably while facing the hardships of war. The accompanying caption says: “WHATEVER YOUR JOB MAY BE FIGHT” and is written in black, bold capitals. Again, the conceptual metaphor which belies the utterance is *LABOUR IS WAR* where the features of the source domain of war are projected onto the target domain of working. If there were no picture, just the caption itself, it would still make perfect sense to put up such a slogan inside a wartime factory to achieve a similar propagandistic effect, i.e., to make people believe that their work is a genuine fight. However, in this case, the visual component does not merely provide a simple illustration to the phrase, but carries metaphorical and metonymic meaning. First of all, the single man stands metonymically for the aggregate of people that constitute a given social group. In other words, the man dressed as a soldier represents all of the military men and women participating in the war, whereas the apparent blue-collar worker stands for all of the labourers who contribute to the war effort in factories. Thus, the *PART FOR WHOLE* metonymy has been employed to the effect described above. Moreover, another metonymy is manifested in the objects the two figures are holding. A soldier and a heavy indus-

try worker do not always wield rifles and hammers. There are many other tasks in their line of work aside from shooting and hammering, so both individuals may handle a variety of objects. The hammer and the rifle stand for general activities which we associate with the two prototypical characters in the poster. Consequently, another metonymy involved in the composition is OBJECT FOR ACTION. The colours, which serve as the background for the two figures, are nothing but symbolic. In western culture, red carries the implicit connotations of blood and death, thus it is not surprising that this colour accompanies the soldier. The blue colour, which accompanies the labourer, is associated with the working people and is derived from the colour of their uniforms, which in turn has inspired the idiom *blue-collar worker*, which is well-established in the English lexicon. Also, it may reflect the less violent nature of the task that the workers undertake. Although, both colours are presumably metonymically associated with blood and the natural environment respectively, as blue is the colour of clear skies or water which are both related with tranquillity, in this case the symbolism is much deeper than that of the hammer and the rifle. This is because both colours acquired their symbolic status a very long time ago and they are more conceptually salient in this role.

From here on, the gradual significance of the pictorial element in the overall design of the posters becomes more apparent since the subsequent pieces of propaganda art would make little to no sense if they were deprived of the visuals. Again, the posters rely heavily on the notion of metonymy, yet the central metaphor which dictates their internal coherence is still based on the interplay of the ideas of war and labour. The most compositionally economical collection of posters is the "More Production" series. One of the posters (3a) shows a bomb-shaped object aimed at the Nazi swastika embedded in the flag of Imperial Japan. On the bomb itself there is a large caption saying "MORE PRODUCTION", and one of the stabilizing fins bears a small "USA" inscription. Given the significance of the objects

and the symbols included in the poster, it can be assumed that there are a substantial number of inferences that must be made in order to read the intended message correctly. The prevailing conceptual metaphor which constitutes the cognitive background for comprehending the poster is FIGHTING THE ENEMY IS PRODUCING, where the domain of fighting is represented by the image of a bomb, and the symbols stand metonymically for the Germans and the Japanese, while the context of production is supplied by the caption. Similarly, as in the previous examples, the manufacturing of armaments and supplying them to the fighting forces binds the phenomena of war and labour. The causal inference is that by producing armaments, the war with the enemy can be continued to the point of securing victory. In this case, if the textual element was isolated from the picture, its sole presence would not serve any great purpose of propaganda. Also, another interesting fact is that the metonymically manifested phenomena are capable of providing enough conceptual input for the emergence of a conceptual metaphor. In other words, this poster is a good example of how the two cognitive devices can work in unison. The above-presented conclusions may, however, prompt a question similar to that posed by the critics of the conceptual metaphor theory. Is understanding the poster actually based on the interaction of metaphor and metonymy ultimately being dependent on a single, fundamental conceptual metaphor? In order to explain the cognitive processes involved in comprehending the poster, one may resort to the theory of conceptual blending as well. Although the LABOUR IS WAR conceptual metaphor is psychologically real and may influence one's reasoning, the reading of this particular poster involves an element of dynamic processing of the conceptual input embedded in a certain, relevant context which is one of the defining characteristics of the blending theory.

Another poster (3b) from the aforementioned series depicts a bowling ball striking three bowling pins. The ball carries the "MORE PRODUCTION" slogan, and above the scene is the

“BOWL THEM OVER” caption. The heads of the pins bear the cartoonish faces of the three major leaders of the Axis alliance, Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito. This poster is one of many examples where mockery is employed in order to discredit the enemy and belittle their political position. Once more, the visual and textual components must be presented together for the purpose of maintaining the internal logic of the poster. The element of metonymy is manifested by the faces which stand for the three men, and then the particular figures which stand for the armies engaged in the hostilities, since the depicted trio did not take part in any actual fighting during World War II. The conceptual metaphor which underlies the message of the poster is VICTORY IS INTENSIFIED PRODUCTION. Such a metaphoric theme has been chosen on the grounds that the visual and textual input provide at least three salient domains which are then conceptually elaborated in order to form a coherent mental representation. The aforementioned domains are war, production or labour, and game. Each of these three domains contributes to the overall understanding of the message. The general fusion of the concepts may be well attributed to the workings of the mechanism of blending. The fact that the visual theme of the poster is explicitly related to a game-like activity may also hint, in this case, that war is perceived in terms of competition, downplaying the less appealing aspects of warfare. Also, in order to succeed in a game of bowling, it is necessary to strike as many pins as possible. Since the poster shows all three pins falling down, it can be assumed that the aspect of victory has also been given much prominence. Furthermore, industrial production, which is the main theme of this series of posters, is metaphorically represented by the bowling ball which is the carrier of the force that acts on the pins. All the aforementioned observations fused together by a series of causal links eventually comprise a unified, cognitive structure, which, by achieving its propagandistic effect, may lead to the formation of a novel outlook on the idea of war.

The last poster (3c) of the “More Production” series shows three men running down a slope trying to escape from a giant snowball which is rolling down. The three men are again Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, and once more the aspect of ridicule is remarkably palpable. Hitler and Hirohito watch helplessly as the huge ball of snow rolls towards them, and Mussolini, whose corpulence is somewhat exaggerated, has fallen over and is about to be crushed by the snowball. The fact that Mussolini is in such a predicament may reflect the actual, historical situation of that time as it was his regime that started to fall first. Similarly, as in the previously discussed poster, the political figures stand metonymically for the three nations of the Axis coalition. The “MORE PRODUCTION” caption comprises the entire textual component of the poster and it represents the domain of labour. Of interest is the fact that military production has been likened to a devastating force of nature which will inevitably wipe out the Axis forces. Thus, in this case, the conceptual metaphor can be identified as PRODUCTION IS A DEVASTATING ELEMENT.

Another poster (4), which does not belong to the above-presented series but also exploits the concept of labour, shows an industrial building with two tall chimneys exuding plumes of black smoke. The perspective is specifically oriented on the chimneys, as they are inextricably associated with what is written above them. The smoke coming out of the chimneys seems to keep afloat a large caption reading “BIG GUNS OF THE HOME FRONT”. At the bottom of the poster is written “ACTION STATIONS Everyone” in black and red font of varied styles. Here, the metaphorical connotation of the textual and pictorial component is obvious, as the “big guns of the home front” stand for the chimneys of the apparent military production facility. Furthermore, the metonymic semblance between an industrial chimney and the barrel of an artillery piece, speaks on behalf of the aforementioned observation that metonymy cooperating with metaphor is efficient in creating a meaningful mental representation. The conceptual metaphor

which motivates the emergence of such a combination of text and image is FACTORIES ARE GUNS, which fits well into the overall LABOUR IS WAR metaphorical narration. Factories, similar to guns, must be manned by a crew whose task is to operate them in order to complete a certain goal. The crew in both cases must be qualified for their job and they act in accordance with fixed rules and hierarchy. If it is assumed that the factory depicted in the poster produces ammunition, the final output of both the factory and the metaphorical gun barrel is associated with artillery shells, with the only difference being that a factory produces them from raw materials, whereas a gun delivers them onto the battlefield. Also, the intended message of the bottom caption may be directly associated with the LABOUR IS WAR metaphor since it states that everyone is involved in the war effort in the face of a conflict. Furthermore, the purpose of this poster, in terms of the intended propaganda effect, is twofold. First, it attempts to convince the public that by working in military industry they are actually fighting the enemy. This may have exerted some influence on how people thought about their work during wartime. Second, it is interesting to see how the font style changes from a black, dull and rough "ACTION STATIONS" to a curvy, flamboyant, pink "Everyone". Such a choice of font-style was surely intentional, and it is associated with the industrial strategy which was pursued in many countries whose populations took part in World War II. Since most of those who were directly engaged in combat were military-aged men, the heavy industry factories and other workplaces which employed a male workforce usually suffered from manpower shortages. The governments of both the Allied and the Axis states were well aware of the consequences of a general draft and had to invent a solution to the problem of the insufficient number of labourers. Thus, in order to keep the factories in active and efficient operation, it became necessary for women to enter professions which were commonly perceived as strictly masculine. The font style and colour of the word "Everyone" are typically ascribed to the general aes-

thetic taste of females, thus it might have been the intention of the author of the poster to appeal to women and encourage them to partake in the industrial war effort.

Another poster (5), which demonstrates the usefulness of the conceptual blending theory, depicts two figures, each of them operating an object which is indicative of their occupation. Again, some minute features in the appearance of the two individuals suggest that they may be the same person, only dressed differently. The labourer with a handheld rivet gun is shown in a more detailed manner, whereas only a dark silhouette of a man wearing a helmet can be seen below. The bottom figure is apparently a soldier, which is indicated by the presence of a helmet and the fact that he is looking down the sights of a portable machine-gun. The caption accompanying the picture says "GIVE 'EM BOTH BARRELS". In this case, the textual and visual components are inseparable and supplement each other, since if either were absent, the poster would not serve any apparent purpose of propaganda. Although the general theme of the poster revolves around the importance of labour in the wartime economy, and the workings of the LABOUR IS WAR conceptual metaphor are still recognizable, the reading of the poster may well be attributed to the mechanism of conceptual blending. The input spaces of war and labour are represented by the two distinct figures who are themselves representative of the people involved in the military and industrial efforts of World War II. What renders the fusion of the two concepts possible is the accompanying caption, which refers to the mechanical properties of the two items held by the characters. Both a rivet gun and a machine-gun utilise a long, cylindrical shaft, which is essential for the correct operation of both. In the case of the machine-gun that hollow cylindrical shaft is called a *barrel*. Since no information on the technical details of a rivet gun is readily available, it is assumed that the tip of the rivet gun, which is in contact with a rivet and flattens it by the actuation of highly pressurised air, bears enough resemblance to the actual machine-gun barrel that the same

term can be used for both. However, if no part of a rivet gun has ever been called by that name, the explanation may rely on the metaphorical assumptions provoked by the external similarity of a machine gun and a rivet gun. Also, the interpretation of this poster must take into consideration the historical context of World War II, since the abbreviated pronoun “them” refers to the nations which at that point in history were hostile to the Allies. The blended space, which is the result of fusing the concepts of war and labour together through the causal and metaphorical implications, gives rise to a mental representation where the two phenomena are equalled in their importance. In other words, the two different figures, who most likely represent the same man, prompt the metaphorical correspondence between the realm of fighting and working. Even though it may be suggested that the poster attempts to equate the two concepts, it is the author’s impression that the intended message of the poster was not meant to imply a reciprocal relationship, but rather a one-way correspondence. Since the specific message of this poster was probably supposed to appeal to workers, and not to soldiers, it is more likely that the target domain is that of labour and not of fighting. However, in order to achieve a different propaganda purpose, such as downplaying the less appealing aspects of taking part in war, the situation can be reversed, as politicians often speak of war as if it were a matter of performing a job. Thus the target and source domains become inverted on such occasions.

Presenting the significance of industrial production during wartime was universal among the nations that were engaged in the conflict, regardless of their side. Some of the German propaganda posters of that period give examples of this significance of industrial production. One such poster (6) shows a German soldier and an industrial worker who is apparently passing a bundle of hand grenades to the soldier. The composition of the poster is organised vertically, as the backgrounds for the two figures differ from each other. What can be seen in the background accompanying the labourer is a vast industrial

complex, while the soldier is shown in the midst of a battle. The caption reading “Schafft Waffen für die Front”, which translates into English as “Produce weapons for the front”, is divided into two graphically equivalent parts, one of them is hovering above the labourer, and the other directly below the soldier. Also, the two halves of the caption correspond with what the people in the poster are currently occupied with, as “Schafft Waffen” is on the left very close to the worker, and “für die Front” is positioned on the right side of the poster where the soldier is. Although the textual component of this propaganda piece is rather straightforward in its meaning and does not exhibit much metaphorical character, the image of the two men being in such close proximity supplemented with the scenes of a battle and an industrial area renders much more interesting conclusions. The manner in which the visual components of the poster are organised makes the caption redundant since the pictorial composition itself is so conceptually powerful that it would be possible for the image to stand completely on its own. The aforementioned conceptual potency is realised throughout the employment of a genuine visual metaphor which is evident even without much elaborate insight. First of all, the two domains which are heavily articulated by the visual context are those of labour and war, however, the specific aspects of both are manifested throughout the act of passing the hand grenades. The two scenes, the one of a raging battle, and the other of a busy industrial complex, are presented in surreal proximity. Although the poster depicts the men physically performing the act of passing munitions, the two places cannot be merged in any possible manner. It is understandable that the two characters stand metonymically for the general body of workers and soldiers respectively, and their backdrops are meant to show the causal connection between the work of heavy industry and the progress of actual fighting. The act of passing the hand grenades is the ultimate, metaphorical indicator of how labourers contribute to the military effort, thus the conceptual metaphor, which underlies the

message of the poster, and, also fits well in the LABOUR IS WAR general theme, can be identified as PRODUCING MUNITIONS IS SUPPORTING THE FIGHT.

During World War II, a kind of persuasive rhetoric, which permeated the domain of spoken discourse, was very often focused on the concept of labour as the politicians on both sides of the conflict on numerous occasions spoke about conducting warfare in terms of work. As far as political speeches and their nature is concerned, it is not surprising that metaphor was employed. However, when both speeches and posters are juxtaposed, an interesting fact can be observed. Since the analysed posters are thematically focused on labour, labour naturally becomes the target concept for all of the observed metaphorical projections involved in the posters. By contrast, in the spoken medium war is usually treated as the primary subject. As a result, the status of both concepts as the target and source domains is reversed, and as war receives more primacy, the metaphorical projection also undergoes a change. Such a state of affairs is a consequence of the pragmatic goals which are supposed to be fulfilled by the particular type of propaganda, as both the posters and the speeches are meant to shape a specific outlook based on their major themes. The following excerpts come from the speeches of major political figures of the time, and serve as proof for the employment of metaphorical language which, in terms of successful propaganda, may be indicative of how warfare was meant to be perceived.

Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, and every year he would give a speech on the anniversary of his appointment as Reich Chancellor. On January 30, 1940, during one of these speeches he said:

[...] Indeed, Britain did not want to be the sole champion of God, so it always invited others to come join this noble fight. It did not even try to carry the main burden alone; if you are doing work mandated by God like this, allies can always be sought. [...]

One of these sentences includes at least two metaphors which are related to the idea of war. First, the phrase “carry the main burden” was used to the effect that the aforementioned “noble fight” is seen as a physical weight which has to be carried, and thus physical effort must be exerted. A second, more important quote is: “if you are doing work mandated by God like this, allies can always be sought”. What preceded this passage was an sarcastic comment on the British double standards regarding their attitude towards war. Hitler had pointed out that British politicians had no reservations about waging colonial wars in Africa but, at the same time, they abhorred the imperialistic ambitions of Germany. The presence of the word *work* within the context supplied by the aforementioned quote suggests that it is possible for acts of warfare to be referred to in terms of simple labour. Thus, the conceptual metaphor WAR IS LABOUR may be responsible for the emergence of such linguistic constructs.

Another series of quotes whose metaphorical meaning suggests the workings of the aforementioned conceptual metaphor indicate that it is universal among the speakers of different languages, as both the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler refer to the fighting of military forces as “work”:

[...] Many of our soldiers coming back have not seen the air force at work. They only saw the bombers which escaped their protective attack. This was a great trial of strength between the British and German Air Forces. [...] ²

[...] Now there are U-boats on all the oceans of the world, now you will see how our submarines carry out their work, and however they may look, we are armed for everything, from North to South, from East to West. [...] There is just one thing which I must emphasize again and again; that is our infantry. And behind these forces stands a gigantic communications organization with tens of thousands of motor vehicles and railroads, and they are all going

² From the speech by Winston Churchill delivered to the House of Commons on June 4th, 1940.

to work and will master even the hardest problems. [...] And I want to assure them at this point, insofar as those who are on that icy front can hear me today: I know the work you are doing. And I know also that the hardest lies behind us. Today is January 30. The winter is the big hope of the Eastern enemy. [...]³

As has already been stated, the particular aim of propaganda dictates what metaphor is likely to be used in order to achieve the desired effect. In the following quote, Winston Churchill makes a profound comparison between acts of war and the efforts of the civilian population who supply the military with the necessary provisions and equipment:

[...] There is another more obvious difference from 1914. The whole of the warring nations are engaged, not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women and children. The fronts are everywhere. The trenches are dug in the towns and streets. Every village is fortified. Every road is barred. The front line runs through the factories. The workmen are soldiers with different weapons but the same courage. These are great and distinctive changes from what many of us saw in the struggle of a quarter of a century ago. There seems to be every reason to believe that this new kind of war is well suited to the genius and the resources of the British nation and the British Empire; and that, once we get properly equipped and properly started, a war of this kind will be more favourable to us than the sombre mass slaughters of the Somme and Passchendaele. [...]⁴

For the purpose of emphasising the importance of the work done by the civilian population, Churchill bluntly describes their work in terms of actual military action. The result is similar to the one achieved by the propaganda posters discussed earlier, as factories, and “towns and streets” become the metaphorical battlefields. Also of interest is Churchill’s implication

³ From the speech by Adolf Hitler delivered to the German Reichstag on 30th January, 1942.

⁴ From the speech by Winston Churchill delivered to the House of Commons on 20th August, 1940.

that the current conflict will result in fewer casualties than the Great War did, because of the technological progress and the industrial potential of Britain which will minimise the losses sustained by the military.

The examples presented above indicate that World War II propaganda was prone to exploit the themes of war and labour together for its own ends. The reason for this exploitation may be the very close, conceptual relationship between the two ideas. Nevertheless, the metaphorical and metonymical representations which have been examined testify to the omnipresence and efficiency of such devices in the realm of public discourse regarding the phenomenon of warfare.

3. Conclusions

The general aim of the present work has been to show that metaphorical thought permeates the discourse concerning the phenomenon of warfare. Furthermore, the theories of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Fauconnier and Turner (2002) have proved to be useful in analysing not only spoken, but also visual metaphors. This testifies to the versatility and validity of these theories. As has been indicated, the major political figures of World War II used metaphor in their speeches to an effect which cannot be ultimately resolved upon, however, it is evident that, as propaganda is designed to exert influence over people's beliefs and actions, metaphor, due to its cognitive significance, becomes an ideal tool for this purpose. This is most visible in the analysis of the metaphors involved in the propaganda posters whose purpose eludes any ambiguity. What speaks to the conceptual power of metaphor is the fact that the posters considered in this thesis are rich in the use of this trope in their composition. Although not all of the presented examples of propaganda posters employ genuine visual metaphors, it is my conviction that none of them would have emerged without the human ability of metaphorical thought, as the theories which have been used in order to conduct the

analysis, even though originally concerned with language, proved to be applicable to visual representations too. Such observations may be indicative of the future direction of cognitive studies, that is, for a complete understanding of human reasoning, all spheres of human experience should be considered, with language being one part of many.

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Appendix



Figure 1a



Figure 1b

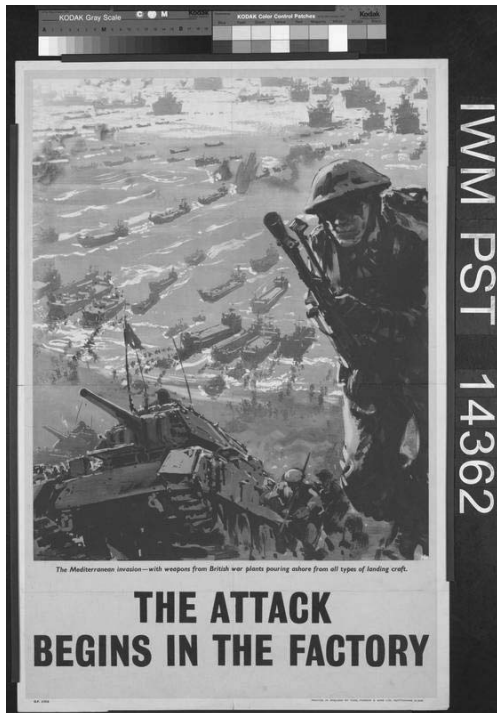


Figure 1c

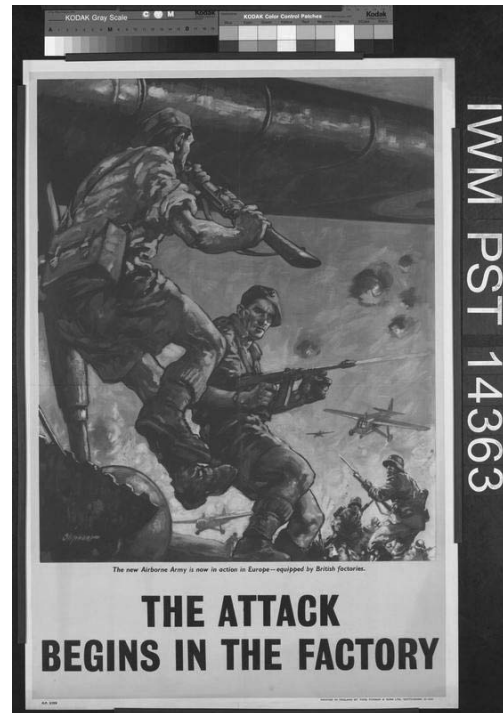


Figure 1d



Figure 2

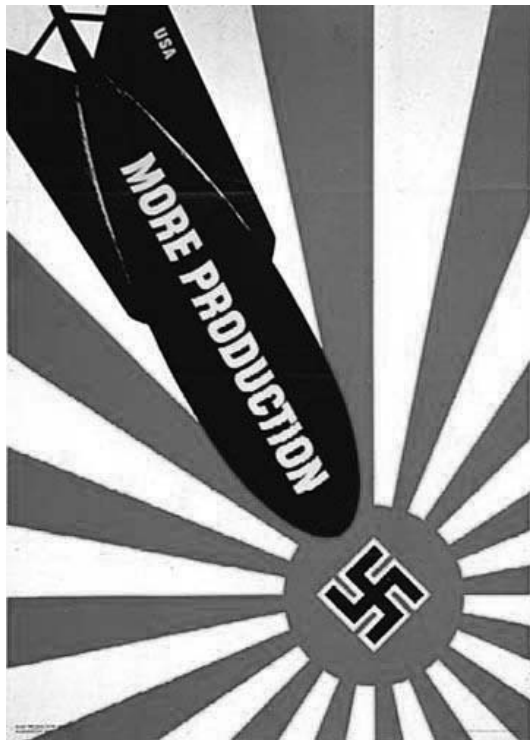


Figure 3a

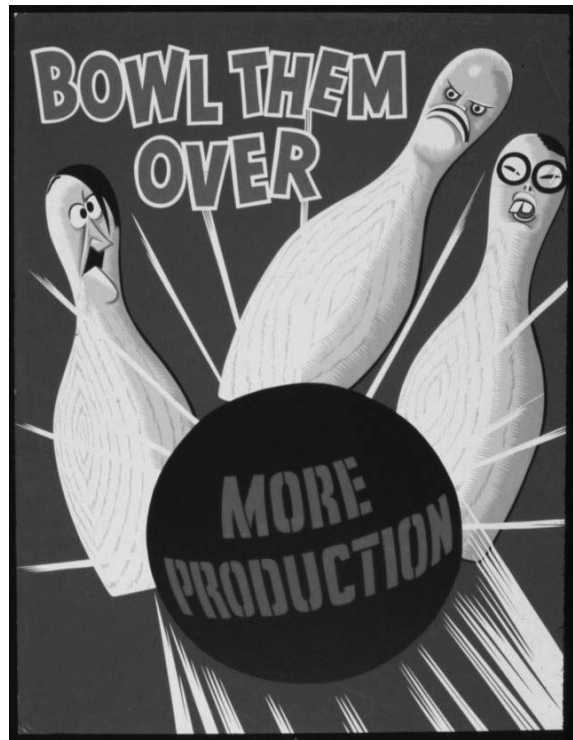


Figure 3b

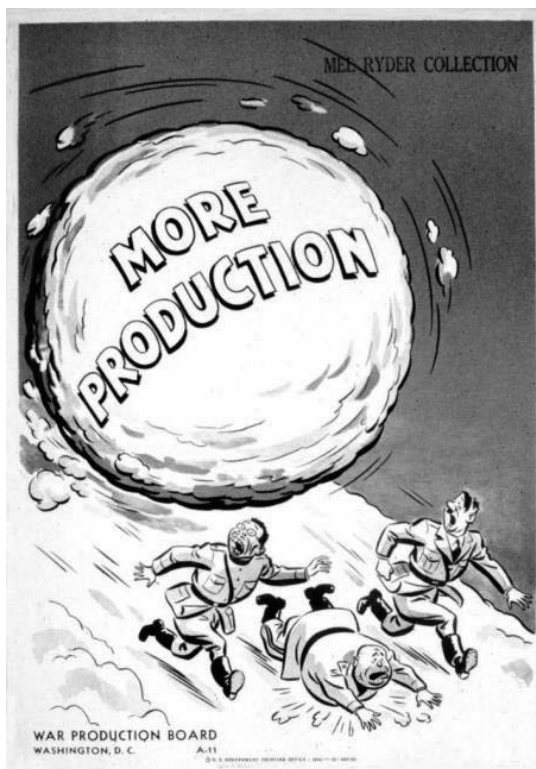


Figure 3c



Figure 4



Figure 5

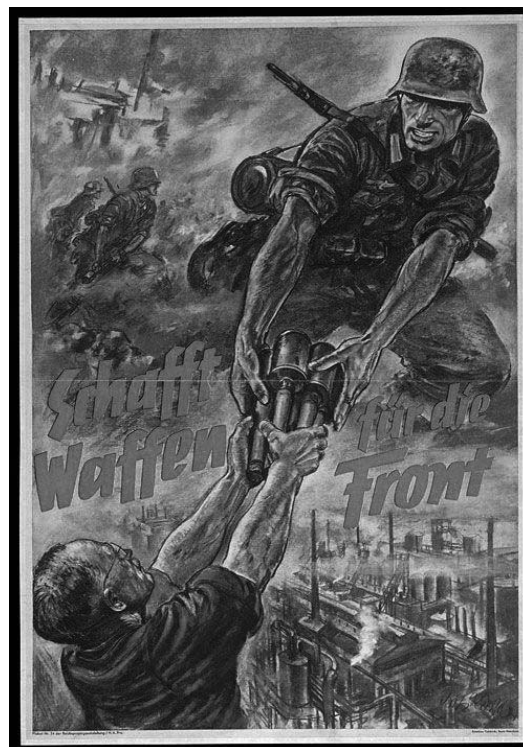


Figure 6

Appendix: Sources

Figure 1a: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/148/media148585/large.jpg?action=d&cat=posters>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 1b: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/150/media150595/large.jpg?action=d&cat=posters>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 1c: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/156/media156595/large.jpg>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 1d: available at <<http://media.iwm.org.uk/iwm/mediaLib/148/media148759/large.jpg?action=dcat=posters>>. Accessed 15.05.2016.

Figure 2: available at <<http://www.fortmissoulamuseum.org/WWII/images/posters/1986.004.003.jpg>>. Accessed 16.05.2016.

Figure 3a: available at <http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/stamp_em_out/image_html/images/more_production.jpg>. Accessed 16.05.2016.

Figure 3b: available at <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bb/Bowl_them_Over._More_Production_-_NARA_-_534570.jpg>. Accessed 16.05.2016.

Figure 3c: available at <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/wpcontent/uploads/sites/16/2014/06/wwii_us-553.jpg>. Accessed 16.05.2016

Figure 4: available at <<http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/images/LC/biggunsofthehomefront.jpg>>. Accessed 17.05.2016.

Figure 5: available at <http://uh8yh30l48rpize52xh0q1o6i.wpengine.netdnacloud.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/34408_d01768ab83f5b10b_b.jpg>. Accessed 17.05.2016.

Figure 6: available at <<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/01/db/95/01db952a9701bec370c5989b3ad02f1b.jpg>>. Accessed 17.05.2016.

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