

Metaphoric Conceptualizations of Georgian Cultural and National Identities in Oliver Wardrop's *The Kingdom of Georgia*

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ABSTRACT

The aspiration of Georgia to be part of the Western Culture has always been an irrevocable vector. Nevertheless, it is of immense importance to discursively scrutinize how Europeans perceive this aspiration. Metaphors possess an inherent capacity to represent cultural values of a society and communicate established or competing worldviews. From this perspective, the choice of metaphors, which is cognitively reinforced, conceptualizes culture-specific and national-emotive attitudes that are ascribed to certain communities. The aim of the present paper is to explore conceptual metaphors that contribute to the representation of Georgian cultural and national identities in the eye of a beholder - Sir Oliver Wardrop, who was a British Diplomat and the United Kingdom's first Chief Commissioner of Transcaucasia in Georgia in 1919-1920 manifesting his take on Georgian cultural and national characteristic features in his work *The Kingdom of Georgia* (1888). Corpus linguistic software tool AntConc® is used for generating concordance lists for a qualitative discourse analysis of a verbal milieu of the target lingual units – Georgia and Georgian. The research reveals that Georgian cultural and national identities manifested in the discursive realm through the observer's lenses, which could be referred to as Georgian cultural and national eye-identities, possess signaling and meaning sides. The latter reinforces the idea that identities function as discursive signs in the narrative of a beholder. What is more, a meaning side of cultural and national identities expressed via the conceptual metaphors acknowledge the emergence of a reshaped Georgian identity that prepared a foundation for establishing Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921).

*Part of how we see ourselves comes from
our perception of how others see us.*
(Cooley 1902)

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1. Introduction

Georgia has seen a lot of foreigners, whose acquaintance with Georgian political and socio-economic situation as well as its history and culture is noteworthy. Sir Oliver Wardrop (1864-1948), British diplomat, translator and outstanding Georgianist (Kartvelologists) was the most prominent person in view. He was the first British Chief Commissioner in Transcaucasia, a founder of Kartvelology (Georgian Studies) at Oxford University and an ardent supporter of Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) and had a solid endeavor to assist Georgia to join the League of Nations.

The first close encounter with Georgia in 1887 was reflected in Oliver Wardrop's book entitled *The Kingdom of Georgia*, which was published in London the following year. As amazing as it may seem, the author provides a detailed, realistic depiction of the history and Geography of Georgia, its language and literature as well as socio-economic, cultural, and political situations.

Particular attention is paid to the Georgian-Catholic Prince Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, who is better known as the father of Georgian nation (with the purpose of getting assistance against Persia, he traveled to Western Europe in 1713-1716 meeting with Pope Clement and King of France Louis XIV, but without any positive outcome). Wardrop writes that Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani: "consulted the translations of Proklus, Platonius, Nemesis, Aristotle, Damascenus, Pseudo-Dionysius, Porphyry, and many other Greek writers. If these MSS (manuscripts) were still extant, they might prove valuable to classical scholars" (1888, p. 138).

After the Bolshevik Aggression in 1919-1920 and the collapse of the short-lived democratic republic of Georgia, Oliver Wardrop established the Georgian Society and the Georgian Committee in London. Along with W.E.D. Allen, he was the founder of the Georgian Historical Society that published its own journal *Georgica*.

It is obvious that Oliver Wardrop's work harbors stances and evaluations with regard to Georgia, its culture, society, and socio-political conditions. The primary goal of this study is to investigate how Georgian cultural and national identities are represented via conceptual metaphors in *The Kingdom of Georgia*. Metaphors as powerful discursive tools have a capacity to embrace all the conceptual ascriptions regarding the target entities – *identities* that accomplish the ideational function of the discourse, i.e. constructing an image or a model of the existing reality.

Traditionally, identity as a Renaissance project of *self* emerges through Shakespeare's 'invention' of human subjectivity (Bloom, 2010). Moreover, discourses of 'selfhood' imply aspects of individual agency that is appealing to the postmodern literary and political flavor. Paradoxically, "selfhood does not exist in isolation, and if it does, it should be seen as abnormally sociopathic" (Pettegree, 2011, p.1). Collective identities are fluid, they are inadvertently shaped and reshaped as individuals continuously perceive and reconsider their social positions. Pierre Bourdieu's take on discourses, culture and society is presented as a conjugation of a dynamic 'field' and 'economy of symbolic capital', where discourse participants/individuals become contenders for controlling discursive symbols. This conception suggests that competitive conditions also tend to facilitate the emergence of identities in a discursive dimension: "in any field, agents occupying diverse available positions (or, in some cases, creating new positions) engage in competition for control of the interests or resources, which are specific to the field in question" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 6). In this competitive discursive field metaphor functions as a generalizing linguistic mechanism mapping *self* onto the community. This idea of transference is reflected in Aristotle's *Poetics*: "A metaphor is an application of a noun, which properly applies to something else. The transfer may be from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species, or by analogy."

Nevertheless, in the present study, cultural, and national identities are constructed in the eye of a beholder. By the term *metaphoric conceptualizations*, I mean the text producer's knowledge about Georgian cultural and national identities. More precisely, the conceptual basis and content that plays a significant role in the conceptualization of Georgian cultural and national identities. To achieve this aim, the following research questions will be addressed and eventually discussed:

1. Which conceptual metaphors are used in association with Georgian cultural and national identities?
2. What do conceptual entities reveal about the above-mentioned identities?
3. Does the observer's conceptualization of Georgian cultural and national identities resonate with the realization of Georgian cultural and national *self*?

2. Theoretical Framework

The title of the present article states that it is concerned with the scrutiny of metaphors that shape Georgian cultural and national identities. That is why metaphors come forward as the primary lingual units that are involved in the conceptualization of identities. Linguistic turn in philosophy was a crucial point in the twentieth century concerning the revitalization of metaphor. Friedrich Nietzsche was the first to notice the cognitive and emotive potential of metaphor. Classically, Aristotle (1982) explicated the essence of metaphor in his *Poetics* as a trope alongside simile and epithet that could embellish the logical structure of the language and be firmly grounded it in the realm of poetry. The Greek philosopher closely linked metaphor with rhetoric and aesthetics without considering the idea that this figure of speech is based on a cognitive mechanism that reveals the functionality of thinking processes as well as being involved in collective imagination.

Metaphors appeared to be overwhelmingly used in a variety of spheres ranging from the discourses of myths to mental diseases (Jakobson, 1971; Ricoeur, 1978). The upsurge of metaphoric reasoning was crowned by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's prominent work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) highlighting the discursive and cognitive power of metaphors in structuring knowledge. By transferring meaning from one object or phenomenon to the other, metaphors, on the one hand, provide novel characterizations for target entities, while on the other, they work on a cognitive level as certain mechanisms to make unfamiliar, unexperienced, or complex concepts more comprehensible by comparing the latter with more familiar source concepts.

2.1. Discursive Realm of Identity

Linguistic research on identity has become a focal aspect within sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis, or social psychology. Identity comes across as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that is pertinent to the discourse contexts. Identities as produced in a discursive dimension are based on the following principles (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005): "(1) identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily psychological phenomenon; (2) identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions; (3) identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems; (4) identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between *self* and *other*, including similarity / difference, genuineness / artifice and authority / delegitimacy; and (5) identity may be in part intentional, in part habitual and less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional

negotiation, in part a construct of other's perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures."

I would like to concede that the present article resonates with the above-mentioned stances by focusing on the claim that identity could also be a construct of how others perceive particular social, cultural, and political entities. Language is a medium through which one's sense of self is enacted in communication practices (Block, 2006) and it is quite obvious that without a language, as a symbolic capital, cultural and national identities along with the sense of a territorial integrity could not be legitimized. Discursive dimension of cultural and national identities functions as a focal element in legitimizing nation-states and comes forward as a capacity to mark cultural arena in association with a nation or nationality (Holliday, 2010). In the present paper, cultural and national traits ascribed to Georgia are viewed from the perspective of the observer. My endeavor is to study the language of the observer, which is intrinsically linked to the identity framework (Joseph 2004) as identities as discursive signs tend to be perceived and characterized by other parties along with the people who manifest the essence of *self*.

2.2. Identity in the Eye of a Beholder

As paradoxical as it may seem, *self* is not created in isolation. The concept of *self* derives its essential meaning only in a social context, and it would be appropriate to say that the exact same social context defines the way we see/represent ourselves and others as well as representing our worldviews. Therefore, our reliance on the provision of a social reality is quite plausible as others prepare "social reality", which influences and shapes the way we think, feel, and do (Hardin and Higgins, 1996). Many studies that gain significance with regard to the idea of a looking-glass self, reinforce the idea that our self-perception / representation often coincides with the views others have of us (Beer, Watson, and McDade-Montez, 2013). This could be the indication that identities work as linguistic signs; people (as observers) perceive and discursively manifest their considerations.

Another marker of a collective cultural identity is language and according to the modern theory of nationalism, language is one of the most essential factors contributing to the establishment and reinforcement of a national self-perception. As Boeder mentions, language can become the means of self-identification on specific historical conditions (Boeder 2005, p. 54). Moreover, language could take on the function of not only constructing self-perception of social existence, but also the means of characterization and representation of identities regarding other cultural and national groups.

If we follow the logic of self-representation and observer's discursive realization of other's identities (Reiter, 2014), the suggestion regarding two concepts/terms would be relevant for further scrutiny: 1. "I"-identity as the understanding of individual's perception of self, which is a private identity reflecting the process of identification. In philosophical terms, this notion is closely linked with Bourdieu's (1980) *sense pratique* that denominates cognitive and emotional perception of individuals of themselves and the surrounding social world; and 2. "Eye"-identity as a means of representation or perception of one person or group by another person or group. As a product of categorization, this idea is based on Jenkins' (1994) formulation of identity.

The idea that identity (not a word, but as a concept for perceiving 'self') by nature is a sign is elaborated in John Joseph's insightful book *Language and Identity* (2004). Given this conceptualization, identities function as signs abiding by the premises of structuralism, nevertheless representing social-discursive constructs, which could not be fixed or static. Rather, they tend to be susceptible to dynamism and change over time, which is reflected in the discourse.

2.3. Georgian Cultural and National Identities: A Brief History

Cultural identity comes across as a basis for ethnic and national identities. National and ethnic identities could be the models of collective cultural identities (Smith, 2004, pp. 32-39). Self-conceptions of individuals about belonging to historically established groups constitute cultural identity, which embrace basic cultural elements – values, symbols, myths, traditions. All these elements are enacted in the collective memory, through perceptions about justice and honor, clothes, rituals, cuisine, customs, ways of establishing relationships with people, etc. Thus, they become the perpetuating elements of the collective constancy and peculiarity (Smith, 2004, 43). However, the collective cultural formations are not fixed and static once and for all, rather they could change, and transform within the premises of strict limitations (Smith, 2004, p. 45).

In the 19th century when Oliver Wardrop visited Georgia, the country was already annexed by the Russian Empire after an extensive period of Turkish and Persian oppression. The cultural and national identities had become dormant under the Russian Rule as if awaiting the moment of the climax that could reshape the understanding of Georgian *self*. Wardrop as an observer and a witness scrupulously depicts the process of Georgian Identity construal, which prepared the basis for the struggle of short-lived Georgian Democratic Republic.

From the historical perspective, the most essential marker of Georgian cultural identity is associated with Christianity. In IV-X centuries the symbiosis of Hellenistic and Byzantine cultures with Christianity embraced the countries of eastern Christianity including Georgia. Since Georgia was immensely influenced by Byzantine political tendencies, its cultural traits became engrained in the process of Georgian cultural identification and self-representation. Georgian philologist and one of the founding fathers of Tbilisi State University in 1918, Korneli Kekelidze refers to this process as “nationalization tendency of Christian-Byzantine culture”, which triggered the development of national writing systems and enactment of religious services in national languages in the countries that acknowledged Christianity (Gamkrelidze, 2001, p. 6). Armenia aspired to emancipate its Christian Church from Greek-Hellenistic influence and aligned with Eastern Christianity (Christian Churches of Egypt, Syria, Nubia, and Ethiopia) denouncing the Calcedonian faith and prioritizing Monophysitism in IV century. Unlike Armenia, autocephaly of Georgian Christian Church along with the process of Georgian national and cultural self-establishment was not characterized by its secession from Greek-Byzantine culture, rather the Georgians acknowledged the universality of Christianity (Pataridze, 2005, p. 223) and did not seek separation. Professor Winfried Boeder explicates the specific and essential attitude of the Georgians towards the world, which is likely to have played a crucial role in the development of Georgian cultural and national identities. This attitude is an exertion to adapt themselves to the ambivalence of belonging and non-belonging by practically and symbolically manifesting their unity with the rest of the world, and yet firmly maintain their identity (Boeder, 2005, pp. 54-55).

The self-identification of the Georgians in V-XI centuries was unequivocally linked with Byzantine cultural space. Georgian Hagiographer Ioane Sabanisidze writes that Georgia identifies itself as a part of the western unity, more precisely a periphery of this unity, as the people who lived to the east and north of Georgia came across as aliens, and the only center they acknowledge was Constantinople (1978, pp. 60-61). Scholastic Agathias (AD VI century) also wrote about the Kolkhi noblemen’s unity with the Byzantine world, he mentioned that the unity is based on common social rules and laws, state structure and faith they shared with the Byzantines. Religious unity was the main factor or the marker that determined attribution of Georgia to the Byzantine culture.

3. Methods

This study adopts a qualitative approach, discourse analysis, which is increasingly prevalent in the field of identity studies, with the primary focus on understanding human society and culture (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Therefore, the research is led by the identification of conceptual metaphors that are associated with Georgian cultural and national identities from the perspective of an observer. The Project Gutenberg E-Book (2015) of *The Kingdom of Georgia* was used for corpus-assisted qualitative analysis of the target text.

The qualitative scrutiny is based on the bottom-up approach, which starts with the investigation of the linguistic / textual metaphors via a corpus linguistic tool – *Antconc*®. Firstly, the concordance lists produced the results in connection with the key words – *Georgia* and *Georgian*. At the next stage, all the word groups in the vicinity of these key words were scrutinized to identify the textual metaphors. According to Kovesces (2010, p.4) “[i]n order to suggest the existence of conceptual metaphors, we need to know which linguistic metaphors point to their existence”. Based on this premise, Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by Pragglejaz group (2007) was applied to determine contrast between the basic and the contextual meanings of the lexical unit in focus. Therefore, if the contextual meaning conveys different, even a contradictory meaning, the lexical unit is marked as metaphorical.

Following the stage of MIP, the focus shifts onto identifying conceptual metaphors. Based on the conceptual mapping of the target and source entities / domains of a cognitive comparison (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), conceptual metaphors were identified, which are supposed to shed light on the conceptual repertoire in connection with cultural and national identities. Traditionally, textual / linguistic metaphors consist of two parts: the *tenor* and the *vehicle* (Richards, 1956), which are supposed to be conditioned by the *target* and the *source domains* of a conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The mapping of the target and the source domains of a comparison reveal a conceptual metaphor.

4. Results and Discussion

In this section of the paper, I will focus on the conceptual metaphors, which as discursive tools constitute the target collective identities. Prior to the discussion of the results, it can be mentioned that a cultural identity is a discursive formation that is conducive to a national identity. A strong national identity is enacted through a loyal member of the nation and is defined by the affection and attachment to the country and specific national beliefs. A national identity is linked with both patriotism and nationalism; However, “the distinction between patriotism and nationalism has been commonplace (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Kosterman & Feshbach 1989; Osborne et al. 2017): the first is conditioned by the love of one’s own country irrespective of ethnic belonging, while the second one is an attachment to the country spilling the hatred and intolerance towards others. Therefore, the observer in his narrative is supposed to provide a relevant scrutiny of a national identity, which could substantiate either patriotism or nationalism.

4.1. Metaphors Conceptualizing Georgian Cultural Identity: Discursive Signals

Given the idea of culture and particular society, the aspect of territory, and a sense of belonging, which localizes the perceptions of *self* as a member of certain cultural and national unity is crucial for understanding how an onlooker might characterize these features. In the very beginning of his work Oliver Wardrop compares Georgia with the European countries:

- (1) *There is no reason why Georgia should not become as popular as a resort as Norway or Switzerland. It is not so far away as people imagine – you can go from*

London to Tiflis, overland, in a week; it is as beautiful as either of the countries just named; it has the great advantage of being almost unknown to tourists; there is none of the impudent extortion which ruffles our tempers nearer home, and it is, after all, a cheaper place to travel in than Scotland.

Through similes (as popular as a resort, as beautiful as either of the countries just mentioned) Wardrop expounds that Georgia aligns with the prominent European countries in terms of becoming popular touristic attraction, which is not an *impudent extortion* or exaggeration. Europeans of various vocational backgrounds could find the country appealing. Nevertheless, the characterization of the territorial beauty morphs into the characterization of Georgian people:

- (2) *The botanist, the geologist, the archeologist, the philologist will all find there mines of rich materials yet unknown to their respective sciences. The mountaineer knows the country already, through Mr. Freshfield's excellent book; the sportsman knows it too, thanks to Mr. Wolley. Artists will get there a new field for the brush, the pencil, and the camera. But, after all, Georgia's chief attraction lies its people; the Georgians are not only fair to look upon, but they are essentially a lovable people; it is a true proverb that says, 'The Armenian's soul is in his head, the Georgian's in his eyes;' to live among such gay, open-hearted, open-handed, honest, innocent folk is the best cure for melancholy and misanthropy that could well be imagined.*

In the passage above, by the textual metaphor '*the Georgian's soul is in his eyes*' Wardrop resonates with Biblical conceptualization "*The light of the body is the eye; if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness*" (Matthew 6:22-24, King James Bible) and Shakespeare's popular phrase "*The eyes are the window to your soul*". The eye of a Georgian person is a target domain that is compared to a source domain – window through which the soul could be seen. The mapping identifies the metaphorical use of the source domain eye, which reflects the Georgian soul. This cognitive proposition highlights the openness and humility of a Georgian character.

The resemblance of Georgian appearance to Europeans depicted in the following passage is another discursive signal: traveling to Poti (ancient Phasis) Oliver was amazed by the sight of some fine faces at the roadside stations – "*one poor fellow in a ragged sheepskin cloak quite startled me by his close resemblance to Dante Alighieri*". As it seems, Oliver Wardrop focuses on the visual as well as spiritual connectedness that Georgian people may share with the people of Europe.

Another marker of a cultural identity is closely linked with literature. Oliver Wardrop's sister, Marjory Wardrop, was the first to translate the greatest Georgian masterpiece of all times "The Man in the Panther's Skin" written in the 12th century by Shota Rustaveli. Oliver expounds about the poem:

- (3) *From "The Man in the Panther's Skin" we learn that ideal hero of Rustaveli's times was distinguished for bravery, truthfulness, loyalty to promises, self-sacrifice, munificence, and burning love ... The ideas of love expressed by Rustaveli are partly of the Ovidian type, without any of the indelicacy of the Latin poet. But he had not studied Plato for nought, and we see in his work traces of those metaphysical theories which S. Bonaventura, Dante, and many of their contemporaries and successors found in Christianity (Wardrop, 1888, pp.142,143).*

Wardrop's considerations regarding Georgian literature is essential, as it encompasses the signals of cultural and national identities, which align with the conceptions and epistemic developments of the western world:

- (4) *In the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era the relations between Georgia and Greece were of the most intimate character. The young nobles of the court of King David the Renewer and his immediate successors frequented the schools of Athens and brought back with them Platonic and Aristotelian teachings which exerted a very powerful influence on the intellectual and social life of that period and prepared the way for the golden age of Georgian Literature, which dawned on the accession of Queen Tamara* (Wardrop, 1888, p.139).

Wardrop's attention is attracted to Ladies' Gallery where he gained an unforgettable sight of: "these handsome, warlike Asians in their picturesque garb, conducting their proceedings exactly in the same **order as British investors do every day in the City of London. Try and imagine the heroes of the Elizabethan Age** at Cannon Street Hotel discussing the current dividend of the S.E.R., and you will have some idea of my feelings."

Another discursive marker of the characterization relates to representing Georgian women. In the preface Oliver Wardrop clearly states the incentive of publishing the extensive and comprehensive notes about Georgia: "*I have had but one object – to excite the curiosity of my fellow countrymen; ...Georgia is practically unknown to the British public; well-educated people know that the country is famous for its beautiful women, but they are not very sure whether those charming creatures live under Persian, Turkish, or Russian rule, while not one person in a thousand knows that the Georgians and Circassians are distinct peoples.*" (1888). Even the extended title of the book includes the aspect concerning women - *The Kingdom of Georgia: Notes of travel in a land of women, wine, and song*.

Wardrop aptly uses Alexandre Dumas the elder's statement: "*La Grèce, c'est Galatée encore marbre; la Géorgie, c'est Galatée devenue femme.*" *Greece is white marble Galatea, while Georgia is enlivened woman Galatea*. The insertion of Dumas' textual metaphor - the Galatea metaphor is the most crucial in terms of understanding the essence of Georgia as a cultural entity. This does not have to be just the comparison, which aligns Georgia as a target entity / domain with the source entity / domain of femininity. Rather, it is a hermeneutic connection with Greek mythology via a metaphor. Thus, Georgia is the creation that resembles animated Galatea, the creation enlivened with love and enchanting femininity conditioned by the conceptual metaphor ***Georgia as the source of femininity***.

Nevertheless, the author mentions that Georgian women as the most conservative and simultaneously, most patriotic part of the society may induce: "to restrain their husbands and sons from **a too hasty advance in the slippery paths of modern progress.**" Here, the *journey metaphor* takes over comparing *modern progress* (target domain) with a *slippery path* (source domain), indicating that the journey might not be easy, and that it requires steady and determined navigation to achieve long-awaited condition.

Traditions regarding hospitality and its discursive representation is yet another aspect of cultural identity. The passage below is a vivid representation of Georgia's connection with the western world through Christianity and close affiliations with Greece and Rome: "*I never heard them without thinking of the sad but glorious past of the Georgian kingdom, nobly holding its own, unaided, and witnessing for Christ and His Cross against all the hosts of Islam, performing prodigies of valour that would have added to the fame of Greece or Rome. God grant thee the victory, brave Georgia!*" In this passage *Georgian Kingdom* is the target domain, which is compared to a *person* that could hold, witness and perform acts of Christian valor.

Here the cognitive mapping promotes **country / kingdom as a person** conceptual metaphor, which presupposes the existence of cultural and national identities.

Cultural unity with Europe is also stressed in the work through a well-argued passage: “*this is not the only case in which **Georgia has turned her back on Asia and opened her arms to Europe** – Parisian fashions, German rationalism, English sport and other products of civilization are beginning to have an influence*” (Wardrop 1888, 165). And again, Georgia in this passage is associated with a person that can embrace an amiable friend. This comparison is based on a conceptual metaphor: **nation is/as a person**, which is conjugated with establishing European cultural traits in an ancient country.

A significant role adheres to the standardization of Georgian language and establishment of schools across Georgia. Wardrop writes:

- (5) *It is a significant fact that the pure Georgian language is now far more generally spoken than it has been for many centuries, and that the dialects are rapidly disappearing. This is due in a great measure to the growth of a taste for literature, which is fostered by the newspapers and other periodical publications. There are, besides, many schools where the language is taught, for the Georgians have hitherto escaped the fate of the Armenians, whose schools were closed after the recent insurrection, and a society exists in Tiflis for the dissemination of the national literature among the peasants.*

This passage shows that a linguistic symbolic power that is enacted through standard, official language was getting stronger at the time of Wardrop's travel to Georgia as *The Society for Spreading Literacy among Georgians* was established in 1879¹ and dissemination of the national literature among peasants was crucial for unification of the country as well as encouraging a national spirit. A common standardized language has a propensity to create a symbolic power and in Bourdieu's terms:

- (6) *Symbolic power – as a power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself, an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization – is a power that can be exercised only if it is recognized* (Bourdieu 1991, p.170).

Apparently, Sir Oliver Wardrop witnessed and explicitly related the transformation of linguistic practices in terms of recognizing the essence of a common standard language as a means of symbolic power that could initiate a social change in Georgia with the aim of insurrection against the excruciating Russian governance. Wardrop's close connection with Georgia is notable. Andre(w) Gugushvili, the 1st Secretary of the Georgian Legation in London until Georgia was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1921, declared at the informative event in London that England owed the knowledge about Georgia exclusively to W.E.D. Allen and Oliver Wardrop, whose contribution was invaluable.²

¹ National Archives of Georgia <https://archive.gov.ge/en/tsera-kitkhvis-gamavrtselebeli-sazogadoeba-1>

² <https://prosopography.iliauni.edu.ge/persons/1591-jon-oliver-uordropi>

The prosopographic Database of the 20th century Georgia has been funded by Ilia State University and its Institute of Linguistic Research. The axis of database is the person as the essential unit for the prosopographic research. The facts and sources are all linked with the person. This page includes 622 facts with regard to Oliver Wardrop as an active member of *The Society for Spreading Literacy among Georgians*.

4.2. Metaphors Conceptualizing Georgian National Identity: Awakening Captured in Discourse

National identity is enacted through the representatives of a society who nurture the national spirit and disseminate patriotism with a specific social goal. In effect, Ilia Chavchavadze is the personality that is supposed to represent the image of the whole nation. Oliver Wardrop's friendship and close connection with Ilia (Georgian writer, also known as the father of the nation) is a remarkable part of his work. While speaking of him, Oliver mentions that Ilia: "*is in many respects the most remarkable man that Georgia possesses. All his poems, and indeed all his work, whether as a poet, a novelist, a journalist, an orator, or a financier, breathe a spirit of loftiest patriotism*" (Wardrop, 1888, pp. 150-152).

In the passage above, the textual metaphor [all his poems] *breathe a spirit of loftiest patriotism* compares the target domain – *patriotism* with the source domain – *air*, which could be inhaled. The patriotism metaphor mappings bring forward the following conceptual comparison *patriotism is/as air*. The source entity *air* indicates that given the essentiality of breathing air to sustain life, patriotism is significant for the nation to exist. Moreover, there is an accompanying metaphor suggesting that Ilia's *all works are living beings due to the sense of patriotism*. Wardrop adduces once again that "Chavchavadze's tales and poems have done more than anything else to *awaken the Georgian people to a sense of the duties they have to perform in the altered conditions under which they now live.*" The metaphor of awakening implies the moment of reforming a national identity, which cannot exist as a taken-for-granted establishment. Rather, it comes along with duties to perform, which in that the specific discursive context implies retaliation against the oppressive Russian Rule. In effect, Wardrop views Ilia as the epitome of Georgian cultural and national identities by focusing on how Ilia reminds the matrons of Georgia of their faithful service to the country when they commissioned their warrior sons to stand against the foe courageously and unremittingly in the hour of misfortune. Wardrop also adduces that "at first, the more conservative part of the nobility were bitterly opposed to the radical ideas of Chavchavadze, but he has now succeeded in bringing round the majority of them to his way of thinking."

Yet another essential metaphoric association in connection with Prince Ilia Chavchavadze is 'Georgian Gambetta'. Leon Gambetta's contribution into establishing Third Republic during Franco-German War (1870-1871) was immense. As a republican statesman he defended France by three essential activities: firstly, his article and speeches persuaded many Frenchmen to side up with the ideals of democratic republicanism. Secondly, his political affiliations and personal social contacts gained the electives for the Republican Union (democratic political party), and finally, by opposing Bonapartists and Royalists, he played a great role in developing a parliamentary republic. Ilia's contribution to the establishment of Georgian national, political and economic mindset is crucial, that is why Wardrop provides further explanation: "The public meetings of the shareholders give an opportunity for discussion and speech-making, and it is in this 'Gruzinskii Parlament' (as the Russians nicknamed it) that Prince Chavchavadze has gained for himself the not unmerited title of the 'Georgian Gambetta.'"

A supreme aspect of cultural and national identity formation is the language to which Wardrop pays due attention. He fairly notices that: "*It is a significant fact that the pure Georgian language is now far more generally spoken than it has been for many centuries, and that the dialects are rapidly disappearing. This is due in a great measure to the growth of a taste for literature, which is fostered by the newspapers and other periodical publications.*" And the dissemination of schools where any citizen could learn to read and write enhanced the perception of the literature and periodicals that "**helped to produce a national feeling, stronger than any that has existed since the fatal partition of the kingdom in the fifteenth**

century.” The passage is an indication that the writer knows the history of Georgia quite well and argues appropriately that the establishment of schools produces a national feeling. And here we encounter another metaphor with the basic comparison: **a national feeling is a solid product** that is created, it is not an inborn quality. In this proposition, the target domain of *a national feeling* is mapped onto the source domain of a *solid product*. This notion focuses on the constructive nature of a national identity that requires a discursive mode for its dynamic existence.

An extensive use of **nation as a person** metaphor is plausible in the body of the text regarding the political ideas of the country: “It is interesting to notice that the **political ideals of the country are borrowed from Western Europe.**” Wardrop is amazed by the fact that Georgia as a person borrows political ideals from Western Europe and passes directly from feudalism to liberalism, the instance of which is hardly found anywhere in the world except for Japan: “The grandsons of absolute monarchs, the men who little more than a quarter of a century ago were large slaveholders, are now ardent champions of the democratic idea, and loudly proclaim the freedom, the equality, the brotherhood, of prince and peasant, master and man.” Nation as a person metaphor is vividly given in the following phrase as well: “and when **Georgia’s voice** is again heard in Asia, **she will speak** with that authority, which belongs only to a united, patriotic people.”

The final passage of Wardrop’s text is noteworthy, as it stresses the amiable nature of the Georgians to maintain good feeling towards the Russians on the condition that they are kindly treated. **National spirit metaphor** emerges here expounding that if the Russian Tsar’s ministers “attempt be made **to crush the national spirit**, the descendants of the men who fought under Irakli will, at least, show despots how men can die.” This metaphor explicates the idea that national identity exists as a constructed dynamic entity that can be reinforced, weakened, or destroyed. However, Wardrop’s evaluation of the Georgian spirit is associated with the insurrection in the case of oppression, as the people who fought under the King Irakli could show the despots how men die.

Oliver Wardrop evaluates the political situation in Georgia, which was a part of Russian Empire at that time: “*Some time ago the young Georgian nobles who were serving in the Russian army became **infected with the doctrines of revolutionary socialism**, and not a few suffered for their imprudence; at the present time the national feeling has become so strong as to leave no room for these ideas*” (Wardrop, 1888, p.162). The textual representation of the metaphor **Georgian nobles ... became infected with the doctrines of revolutionary socialism**, puts forward the conceptual basis comparing the doctrines of revolutionary socialism with the disease that infected the young nobles. Thus, Wardrop promotes the idea that ties with Russia are supposed to be detrimental for Georgian national, cultural and political identities and contends that Georgia was historically united with Europe both politically and intellectually:

- (7) *It is interesting to notice that political ideals of the country are borrowed from Western Europe. Excepting in Japan, perhaps, there is no such instance of a people passing directly from feudalism to liberalism. The grandsons of absolute monarchs, the men who little more than a quarter of a century ago were large slaveholders, are now ardent champions of the democratic idea, and loudly proclaim the freedom, the equality, the brotherhood, of prince and peasant, master, and man.*

Oliver Wardrop delineates on the condition of political and national feelings in Georgia through reminiscing about the volatile historical period of multiple wars, being conquered, and still more often conquering, but the intrepid tiny state was never trampled or submitted to the ‘*fierce fanatics whose fame made all allied Europe quake*’. The writer contends that the sleepiness of the Georgian national spirit was conditioned by the Russian rule, the mild and beneficent rule

of that ideal Tsar, Alexander I., represented by such worthy lieutenants as Tsitsishvili and Yermolov. But the end of sleepiness and the awakening of the national spirit was caused by the harsh Russian measures, which reached its climax in 1887 in the enforcement of the military service. Nevertheless, without a simultaneous advancement in the intellectual and social establishment of the nation, the slumber would have become persistent. Therefore, the above-mentioned extended textual metaphor is conditioned by the conceptual model indicating that ***a national spirit is a constructed entity that can be either dormant or active.***

Wardrop mentions that the awakening of the national spirit is hard to explain; nevertheless, the national identity working its way in the specific context and reality induces a feeling of attachment conducive to a revolutionary action: *“it is hard to give any definite description of the channels into which national activity is finding its way.”* The metaphor highlights the following cognitive structure: *national activity is a stream* that tries to find its way; thus, it renders a national identity as a dynamic entity, which changes in accordance with specific social context. Moreover, Georgian national identity is compared with the Armenian one. The national activity as a signaling side differentiates Georgian and Armenian national identities: *“In any case it may be safely said that the Georgian people are not likely to imitate the imprudent conduct of their neighbours the Armenians, who have, more than once, unseasonably provoked popular movements which they had not the power to bring to a happy issue. The character of the Georgians is too frank and open for the hatching of plots; however strong their feelings may be, they know how to wait until an opportunity arrives for the satisfaction of those feelings;”*

The passage above alludes to the behavioral changes Georgian national activism could involve; From a dormant state it can morph into a consolidating, unifying force that induces Georgian national identity to be non-conformist towards the Russian Rule.

4.3. Cultural and National Identities Function as Discursive Signs

Being discursively constructed, identities function as signs. Cultural and national identities are not an exclusion. Scholars' opinions divide on the nature of identities: some hold the idea of essentialist structuralism, which views identity as a fixed and stable formation. However, another major direction is aligned with the social constructivist idea, which sees identity as dynamic and fluid, influenced by interactions and social milieu. This notion of identity pertains to a poststructuralist perspective (Block, 2006). The discursive construction of cultural and national identities in this paper resonates with the poststructuralist vision. Identities are dynamic and may change over time due to the versatility of social, political, and cultural environments. This view is exemplified by the *awakening* and *nation as a person* metaphor, which conceptually pertains to action, transformation, and dynamism, and hence, it is discursively detectable not only in the representations of *self*, but in the descriptive-evaluative narratives of the beholders.

From a post-structuralist perspective, a linguistic sign always possesses a partial and provisional meaning, which emerges from the endless process of differentiation. That is how words may gain new meanings due to shifting from one to another discursive dimension instead of a direct reference to the physical world. Analogically, identities as discursive signs gain their meanings through the various conceptual and signaling distinctions from other identities. This feature credits identities with dynamism and capability to be changed over time. Words as linguistic signs are the designators arbitrarily created, nevertheless, could be used by the native speakers as well as other people who acquire them. Regarding identities as signs, they are constructed for the purpose of self-perception and representation, as well as being perceived by others who establish either likeness or difference of the specific identity from other ones.

Humans possess empirically identifiable properties, which do not carry any value or meaning unless a society assigns a status function to them. That is when these features become signals of identity signs, which are detected by the members of the social groups or by the observers who characterize them. The significance of signaling collective identity was first explicitly expressed by Fredrik Barth (1969). As for the meaning side of identity, it is the presence of core, shared values that are principal to the group's self-identification and existence (Smolicz, & Lean, 1980).

Figure 1. below represents compatibility of a linguistic sign with an identity as a sign. Saussure's (1959) structuralist understanding of a linguistic sign is concerned with the identification of a signifier (sound pattern) and a signified (concept). With regards to identity, a signifier is language, apparel, traditions, religion, etc., while a signified is the conceptualization of values and ethnocentrism as well as emotional and experiential belonging to certain cultural groups. Both a linguistic sign and identity have the signaling and meaning sides, which coincide with the signifier and the signified respectively. The linguistic signs and identities derive their meaning through the difference from one another.

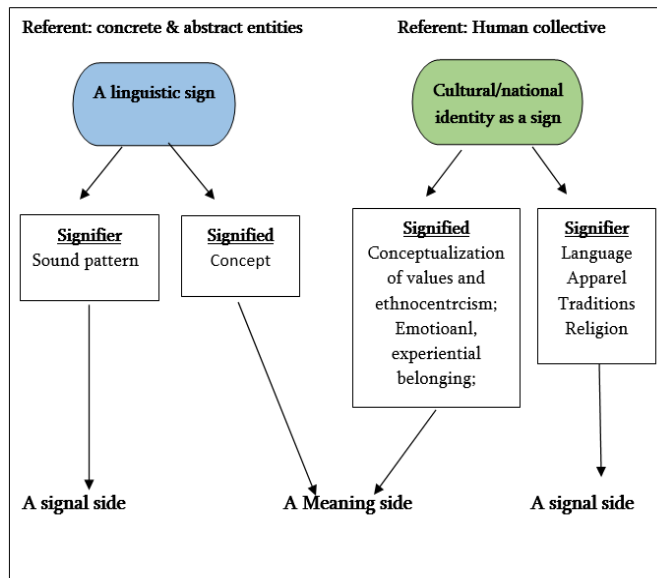


Figure 1. Compatibility of a linguistic sign with *identity* as a sign

The instantiation of this could be the language and apparel, traditional routines, etc., that are the signals of different ethnic and social categories. The post-structuralist understanding is associated with a social kind, the formation of novel features due to the social conditions that contributes to the dynamic nature of identities. The analysis of conceptual metaphors indicates that Georgian national identity can alter its discursive manifestation due to certain social and political contexts; In this specific case, the oppressive Russian Rule appeared to be a malignant force that awakened a national spirit from slumber and triggered patriotism that is concomitant to a reshaped Georgian identity. Oliver Wardrop's conceptualizations fully resonate with the Georgian perceptions of the self.

5. Conclusion

The concept of *self* is crucial for representing oneself as a member of a group. Nevertheless, how others perceive cultural or national existence of other people is essential for the synchronization of the concept of *self* and how others perceive your *self*. Possessing a cognitive basis, metaphors can harbor a signaling as well as a meaning side of identities. Sir Oliver John

Wardrop's work is essential in a way that the metaphoric representations of Georgian cultural and national identities as discursive signs display a signaling side ascribed to the nation's existence through the linguistic, social, cultural, and ethnic practices. As for the meaning side, it comes across as a driving force for the cultural and national identities to be extant as dynamic socio-discursive formations.

Georgian cultural and national *eye-identities* seen through the lenses of the observer resonate with the representations of Georgian cultural and national *self*: the *eye-soul* metaphor along with a *femme* metaphor highlights openness, frankness, tolerance and hospitable nature of Georgians engrained in traditions, culture and countenance. As for the *nation as a person* metaphor could explicate the demeanor that the Georgians had developed in accordance with the versatile social positions, social and historical contexts.

Oliver Wardrop's narrative captures the momentum of dynamism, variability of a stagnant/dormant national spirit being transformed into an active/awoken entity. The metaphoric awakening being captured in the discourse is conditioned by an oppressive social position reaching its limits for the Georgian people at that time. Nevertheless, unanimous retaliation could not take place without the linguistic symbolic power that worked discursively and thereby, discursively constructed Georgian patriotic spirit.

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