DE GRUYTER

Research Article

William Ighasere Aigbẹdo*

A critical discourse account of the process of ideological expressions in the Ẹdo (Bini) guilds

Abstract: The study examines how language, peculiar to members of the guilds in Ẹdo, is used to express their cultural ideology. This is expected to provide the necessary insight and comprehension of the nature of the guilds' socio-cultural activities resulting in the distinct ideology expressed by them. Data were purposively collected through the indepth interview of key informants (individuals with knowledge of the activities of the guilds examined) and direct observation of the interaction between the members of the different guilds. The collected data were subjected to discursive analysis. The language used by the guilds in interaction among members is a marker of the guilds ideological orientation as this serves to bring members together while at the same time separates those that are not members of the respective guilds. The choice of language use by these groups therefore is determined by the ideological orientation of the guilds which seeks to maintain the relevance and supremacy of the group in the larger Ẹdo (Bini) society.

Keywords: critical discourse; Ẹdo language; guild system; language ideology

1 Introduction

The term *ideology* is often used in conjunction with that of identity in the literature. The two concepts of ideology and identity represent an interesting area of extensive researches in the social sciences and cultural studies, particularly since the late 1980s, where there has hardly been an academic book or article published in the aforementioned fields without some reference to the terms. This is the case as illustrated in a publication by the sociologist Brubaker (2004) who identified five main uses of the concept in various academic disciplines. In the study of race,

---

*Corresponding author: William Ighasere Aigbẹdo**, University of Benin, Benin, Nigeria,
E-mail: ighasere.aigbedo@uniben.edu

ethnicity and nationalism, for instance, identity is most often used to emphasize either objective or subjective 'sameness' among a collectivity, whereby this feeling 'is expected to manifest itself in solidarity, in shared dispositions or consciousness, or in collective action' (2004: 34). In psychology as well as in nationalism studies, the term is commonly understood as 'a core aspect of (individual or collective) self-hood or as a fundamental condition of social being', which 'is invoked to point to something allegedly deep, basic, abiding, or foundational' (Brubaker 2004: 34).

The study of ideology falls within the tenets of power and supremacy in so-ciolinguistics and represents the major theme of ethnolinguistic investigations (Tajfel 1974, 1978). It has been treated as the socio-psychological theory of social processes (Capozza and Brown 2000). The paper in line with the position above, investigates the Ẹdo guild system with reference to the socio-cultural concept of ideology. The paper examines the discourse patterns of the guilds in the Ẹdo society in the course of intergroup relation (the guilds as a unity) with a view to discerning the ideological structure of the Ẹdo people. The Ẹdo (Benin) society is highly structured and compartmentalized in a hierarchical order with the ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Ọba* 'Monarch' at the centre of political, socio-cultural and economic adminis-tration. The ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Ọba* and his chiefs constitute the principal administrative organ at the centre based in the *Ogbe* quarters of Benin City (the setting of the present study) while other towns and villages are administered by *Enigie* 'Dukes' (Sing. *Enogie* 'Duke'). Sometimes in the absence of an *Enogie*, an *Ọdịọnwere* (eldest man) becomes the administrator of such a village or town. These people owe allegiance to the ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Ọba* and his chiefs in Benin City.

Ẹdo is the name of the language spoken by the people under the present study with historical connection to other languages now called 'Ẹdoid'. This language was classified by Greenberg (1963) as a member of the 'Kwa' branch of the 'Niger-Congo' phylum and by Elugbe (1986) as a member of the 'Central-Ẹdoid' group of languages. This classification by Greenberg (1963) above was modified later by Williamson and Blench (2000) as the West-Benue-Congo under the South-Volta-Congo (Proto-Benue-Kwa) phylum.

Edo is a state in Nigeria with Benin City as capital. It is made up of four major ethnic groups; namely Edo (Benins), Esan, Owan and Etsako. However the State has a high presence of residents from across the country and the world because of its cosmopolitan tendencies. Benin City the capital has a history of being one of the foremost destinations of Europeans during their exploration of the African conti-nent many centuries ago. Some of the flash points have remained enviable tourists' attractions for the state (Agheyisi 1986).

The Mid-Western Region was a division of Nigeria from 1963 to 1991, being known as the Bendel state from 1976. It was formed in June 1963 from Benin and Delta provinces of the Western Region, and its capital was Benin City. It was

renamed a province in 1966, and in 1967 when the other provinces were split up into several states, it remained territorially intact, becoming a state. With an estimated population of 3,218,332 made up of 1,640,461 males and 1,577,871 females and a growth rate of 2.7% per annum, as well as a total landmass of 19,187 square kilometers, the state has a population density of about 168 persons per square kilometres (Oluya 2012).

The Ẹdo (Benin) people are distributed over an area of 10,371 square miles and presently occupy the seven local government areas of Edo State which constitute the Edo South Senatorial District. They are:

1) Egọ, with headquarters at Uselu
2) Ikpoba-Ọkha, with headquarters at Idogbo
3) Orẹdo, with headquarters in Benin City
4) Orhiọnmwọ, with headquarters at Abudu
5) Ọvia-North-East, with headquarters at Okada
6) Ọvia-South-West, with headquarters at Iguobazuwa
7) Uhunmwọdẹ, with headquarters at Ehor

2　Approaches to ideological expressions

The concept of language ideology has its origin in the North American Linguistic Anthropology as a framework within which to explore the "mediating links between social forms and forms of talk" (Johnson and Milani 2010: 4). This concept has gained a wider audience in linguistic investigation and a few of these are examined here.

Haviland (2003: 765) treats language ideology as 'the structural and conceptual diversity of languages and understood as codes, which are elaborately structured devices for representing different physical, social and cultural realities and hence potential vehicles for expressing and reproducing conceptual differences among group of speakers'. He treats the different views of language as held by different authors within the mind-brain orientation as instances of language ideologies. This will then imply that language ideologies or ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties, and map those understanding unto people, events and activities that are significant to them.

Hunjo (2010) examines Soyinka's discursive foregrounding of resistance ideologies in his non-fictional texts to raise consciousness for genuine decolonisation of Nigeria's democracy. It examined Soyinka's deployment of metaphor, intersexuality, lexicalization, passivisation and transitivity to account for his handling of the discourse. He argues that the knowledge of how political processes are represented with linguistic features such as lexicalisation, passivisation, metaphor and intertextuality in texts describe ideologies contextualized for exactly this purpose.

Johnson and Milani (2010: 4) are of the opinion that language ideology is 'a mental schemata, or framework of social cognition and how these cognitive patterns end up in people's mind as a collective phenomenon. They went on to show how linguistic phenomena are invested with meanings and values through the reproduction, production and contestation of conventional indexical ties between the following:

 i) perceived or presumed features, genres styles or varieties of language, and
 ii) broader cultural representations of their purported speakers in terms of nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, aesthetics, morality and others (Johnson and Milani 2010: 4).

In the conceptualization of ideology among political actors in the Nigerian election scene, Osisanwo (2011) investigates the ways the cover stories in two Nigerian news magazine, Tell and The News, linguistically and visually, express the ideological pursuits of social actors in the 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria. He adopts Fairclough and van Dijk's models of critical discourse analysis, complemented by Halliday's systemic functional grammar, Leuwen's representation of social actors, and Kress and Leuwen's representation and interaction theory on reading images as theoretical frameworks.

He found out that the discourse of the stories indicated an attempt to shape the perspective of readers in election. That both magazines examined used linguistic tools to represent their ideological affiliations, that is, election in Nigeria is a dirty game and politicians are insincere.He therefore concludes that the knowledge of how both magazines use linguistic patterns and visuals to represent social actors aid the discovery of ideologies. The magazines' representation of electoral issues, realised through linguistic processes and visual strategies, plays a fundamental role in the propagation and perpetuation of implicit and dominant ideologies.

Ideology of language is not about language alone; rather it is about the ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality and epistemology. Based on this, language ideology not only involves linguistic forms but also the idea of a person and a social group, and such fundamental social institutions as religious rituals, child socialization and gender relations. This reflects the scope of the present paper based on our conception of the guild's ideology along religious and ritual lines with a direct link to the centre of the socio-cultural existence of the Edo people.

In the realm of the expression of ideologized gender distinction in Nigerian literatures, Ezeife (2014) investigates the gender issues, contextual beliefs and lexical indices that characterize gender ideologies in selected Nigerian novels in order to determine the ideological contents expressed through vocabulary choices. She identifies nine gender issues in all the texts which were: family, divorce, legal

system, marriage, relationships, career, age, widowhood and female trafficking. She equally identified two classes of ideologies in all the text: patriarchal and feminist.

She concludes that Nigerian novelists deploy gender issues with situated lexemes in portraying patriarchal and feminist ideologies. Therefore, understanding gender ideologies in Nigerian novels requires background knowledge of the lexical resources which novelists draw upon in their discourse.

The issue of linguistic differentiation has also been treated as the core of language ideologies and practices of speakers (Hollington 2015). Language ideologies comprise all sorts of ideas, practices and beliefs about a language, linguistic practices and speech forms and in turn it relates to attitudes of speakers, identity, aesthetics and epistemology (Schieffelin et al. 1998). It can therefore be viewed and treated as the intersection of the different social factors that create distinction in a language and a society.

According to Hollington (2016: 16), "ideology is one of the main motivators of distinctiveness, identity and language change". They have great influence on linguistics and social practices and represent a driving force of language manipulation. He came up with this position in his examination of Ethiopian youth language practices and ideology where he noted the issue of linguistic differentiation and style as the practices adopted by the youth in creating their own code of communication 'Yarada K'wank'wa'. This is as a result of the ideology of association or solidarity and dissociation (differentiation). He posits that "consciousness plays an important role in many linguistic practices which is amply demonstrated by the creations of Yarada K'wank'wa speakers" (pg. 139).

Language ideology has also been seen as social practices, which are embedded in one's social world by some scholars. For instance Bourdieu (1991: 89) argues that:

> Not only are linguistic features never clearly separated from the speakers' whole set of properties (bodily lexis, physiognomy cosmetics, clothing) but phonological (or lexical, or any other) features are never clearly separated from other levels of language.

This position was re-echoed by Irvine (2001), who claims that ideology can also be related to a style while the linguistic practices associated with it may be called stylect. Style is also distinctive and may constitute an aspect of language variation. Linguistic distinctiveness, arising from linguistic differentiation, derives, to some degree, from local ideologies of language and the principle of distinctiveness that links language differences with social meanings.

In the context of post-colonial judicial adjudications of the juvenile welfare court system in Nigeria, Bolade (2017) examines the discourse features of the juvenile welfare court in Ibadan in the light of the contextual situation, interactional structure and participant roles. This was done with a view to establishing the bipartite nature of adjudicatory proceedings in the post-colonial Nigeria context. The researcher observed in her findings that the juvenile court was characterized by conflict and culture where

the former were resolved by the latter. She concludes that the juvenile welfare court, Ibadan despite its restrictive formal conventions, adjudicates by cultural values.

The overriding implication of these different views of ideology is that it is a property of language bestowed by the social setting where such a language is used. It is a socio-mental phenomenon linked to the use of language in any human society and exists as a sort of code, morals, values and regulation governing language use and which every member of such a society is expected to be conversant with. It is therefore the opinion of this study that ideology is a feature of language bestowed by the cultural precepts of the society by which individual's linguistic orientations are transformed to conform to certain norms of language use.

On Critical Discourse, van Dijk (2016), socio-cognitive representation is not an individually held mental model (not based on the psychological orientation of an individual) but of cognitive structures shared by members of a particular group. This will in turn construct such a group as socially and discursively constructed in the course of communication, establish social ideologies and relations by being communicated and are the subject of continual transformation through the activities of intergroup interactions. The focus of this model is therefore on a group of individuals as opposed to a single individual with a shared trait (as in the case of the guild system) and mental orientation.

He is often referred to as the most referenced and quoted authority in critical discourse analysis (Sheyholislami 2001). The research foray of van Dijk started in the 1980s when he started to apply his theory to media texts with emphasis on the representation of ethnic groups and minorities in Europe. He advocated for a thorough analysis not only of the textual and structural levels of media discourse but also for analysis and explanations at the production and comprehension levels. By structural analysis, he advocated examination of linguistic structures at various levels of description which is not only the grammatical, phonological, morphological and semantic levels but also higher level properties such as coherence, overall themes and topics of news stories and the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimension of texts. According to him, structural analysis may not suffice however because: "discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception presses" (van Dijk 1988a, 1988b: 2).
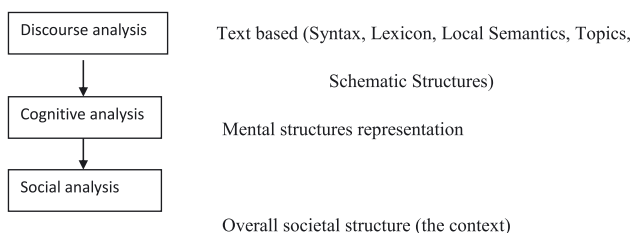
2.1 Theoretical orientation

We adopt for the purpose of analysis, the socio-cognitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The proponents of the socio-cognitive approach to discourse

analysis are van Dijk (2009) and Chilton (2005). The socio-cognitive approach was initially conceived of as an analytic tool for group social identities but will be modified in the present study to accommodate the ideological dimension we are evaluating with the aid of CDA. This method of socio-cognitive representation (henceforth SCR) combines with Fairclough (2003, 2005) socio-cultural representation to produce the following analytic parameter to be employed in this study.

van Dijk is one of the leading figures and pioneers of study and research in domain of CDA. Most of his critical works are concerned with prejudice and racism in discourse. In his early works, he has considered the problem that how Netherlander and Californian Caucasians talk about ethnic minorities, and what role do these conversations play in the reproduction of ideology. In fact, analysis of the topics that people talk about represents the things that exist in their minds. In Van Dijk's viewpoint, those things are mental and personal tenets about ethnic events. He believes that the major premise in talking about others includes positive self-representation and negative other-representation.

In doing CDA, Van Dijk offers some practical principles and guidelines and asserts that he has no special school or approach. This paper will in the course of presenting the different texts of the guilds discourse, critically evaluate the discourses of the guilds in order to illuminate the ideological components of their activities in the Ẹdo society. As one of the models of CDA, different socio-cultural expressions (discourses that are socially grounded and culturally regulated) will be sampled and the different linguistic strategies employed discussed.

One of the principal motivations for employing the socio-cognitive model of CDA in the present research has to do with the conception of discourse analysis here as ideological analysis (van Dijk 1990) which is the principal theme covered by this approach in the study. According to van Dijk, ideologies are typically though not exclusively expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies (1995: 17). He therefore proposed a three parts or dimension to ideological analysis which are: social analysis, cognitive analysis and discourse analysis as represented by the schema below (Figure 1):

| Discourse analysis | → | Text based (Syntax, Lexicon, Local Semantics, Topics, Schematic Structures) |

Mental structures representation

Overall societal structure (the context)

Figure 1: The socio-cognitive model of CDA.

Taking our stand from a CDA point of view, language does not possess power per se. It takes its power from the powerful people who make use of it. This is the very reason that why, in a majority of cases, critical linguists pick the view of deprived people and set out to analyze language critically, because those who are in power are responsible of the social inequalities. Power does not derive from language; rather language is used to fight against power.

3 Methodology

Data for this study were collected through in-depth interviews and observation. As a result of the fact that the identified population for the study was too large given the scope of the present study and time frame, a selected representation of the target population was adopted. The sample which is a representation of the totality of the research population (3,000 members of the different guilds) reflects the characteristics of the whole in this regard. Due to the aforementioned constrain, and in order to meet our research objectives, a total of thirty-five (35) persons were purposively selected as the sample population. Of this number, five were purposively selected based on their positions in the guilds for an indepth interview (two each from Igun Ẹrọnmwọ and Èmátọ̀n each and one from Ogbe-laka), the reason for this being that these guilds possess two hierarchy of leadership, the supervisor (a Chief in this case) and a political leader, an *Ọdiọnwere* 'oldest man' in that order. As for *Igun Ẹrọnmwọ* and *Igun Ematọn/Ugbọha*, the two categories of leadership were consulted while for *Igun Ogbelaka*, the supervisor also happens to be the political leader and as such, one person was interviewed giving rise to the unbalanced figure of five mentioned above. In addition to this, ten members each from the three guilds were observed in their workshop doing their casting, smelting and (for ogbelaka) meetings and songs recitation with their respective leaders in attendance.

The data obtained from the study were first of all organized into two sets: the interview transcript and the extract of recorded interaction through direct observation. The latter of this was presented on a clause by clause basis after transcription. We employed for the simplification of analysis, the GAT (discourse and conversation analytic transcription system) which is used for noting the wordings and prosody of natural everyday talk-in-interaction (Auer et al. 2015). This method entails the representation of interactional and talk-in-interaction data employing the standard orthography of the linguistic community such was obtained from. The transcribed information was analyzed in two ways resulting from the different research instruments employed. In the first instance, interview data were analyzed using the method of discourse analysis where focus was on

identifying expressions that reflect the ideology and social status/power of the guilds examined. This was closely followed by the description; discussion/ evaluation of the different responses in line with the principles of van Dijk's socio-cognitive representation model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was adopted for our investigation. This theory was adopted in such a way that the ideological issues in the study could be properly evaluated in a step-wise procedure schematized below (Table 1).

Table 1: The categories of socio-cognitive representation.

| S/N	Categories	Explanation
1	Social actor	This is the feature that bridges content and linguistic analysis at the text level, asking question such as: What groups and individuals are referred to and how? Are social actors excluded, genericised or specified, activated or subjected?
2	Processes	This parameter helps to examine the patterns of transitivity in texts by investigating the process types ascribed to social actors. It focuses on how particular domains of experience such as processes, participants and circumstances are constructed in discourse.
3	Evaluation	This is the examination of the qualities associated with groups and individuals and how they are evaluated. It helps to shed more light on the norms and values component of a specific socio-cognitive representation of social actors as well as on the related emotions.
4	Modality	This parameter examines the following questions in discourse: What does the author perceive a social group to be like in the past, present and future? What possible developments are constructed for them? And how would the text producer like them to be?
5	Inter-textuality and inter-discursivity	This is based on Fairclough (2003) premise on doing CDA and answers the questions of: What other concrete texts are incorporated into the data at hand? What other genres and discourses do authors align themselves with?
6	Metaphoric expressions	These are the linguistic or semiotic realisation of underlying conceptual metaphors at the cognitive level. It is the socio-cognitive interpretation of text based on the conceptualisation of shared collective ideology and identity by a community. It answers the question of How do the underlying metaphors structure the representation of social actors and their actions and the relations between them?
7	Semiotic analysis	This is the representation of the visual features of a text such as: images, gestures, facial expressions, body posture, colour, and layout which are intended to fulfil the communicative purposes of the text.

Adapted from Koller (2012: 25).

These parameters as modified in this study will serve as the basis for the analysis of the ideological dimension of the research in order to fully account for the linguistic expression of ideology in the guilds' discourse. The ideological dimension to this study was drawn from the central tenet of CDA that discourses entail ideological work in that participants draw on linguistic resources to encode combinations of beliefs, values, norms, goals and emotions.

4 Linguistic strategies for ideological expressions in the guilds

As mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, the focus of this aspect of our investigation is the different expressions and linguistic devices portraying the ideological orientation of the guilds in the Ẹdo society. In this section therefore, such focus will be on such elements of socio-cognitive representation like relational modality, honorifics, indexicality and order of discourse.

4.1 Relational modality

This is one of the modalities for discourse analysis as advocated by Fairclough (2005) and it involves the dissection of interaction along different socio-cultural lines based on the relationship between interactants. The exploration of ideological expression serves as the backdrop to the composition of this section with the socio-cognitive model of CDA as a benchmark for this. The ideological orientation of the larger Ẹdo society and those of the guilds are typically expressed by a variety of linguistic strategies. One of the linguistic strategies associated with this is the concept of relationality modality which was proposed by Fairclough but which is modified in this study as a socio-cognitive representation due to the mentalistic nature of this model of ideological analysis. The relationality modality typically expresses the relations of authority and that of personality in a social group as manifested in the discourse of such a group. This tool of CDA exploration employ such linguistic elements as the modal auxiliary verbs, adverbials and honorifics to portray such ideological orientation as, solidarity, leadership hierarchy and commonality as the case may be. This position can be aptly captured by means of the schema designed for this study to capture the link between discourse, ideology and social context below (Figure 2):

Discourse Structure

Ideological

Expressions

Discourse Actors
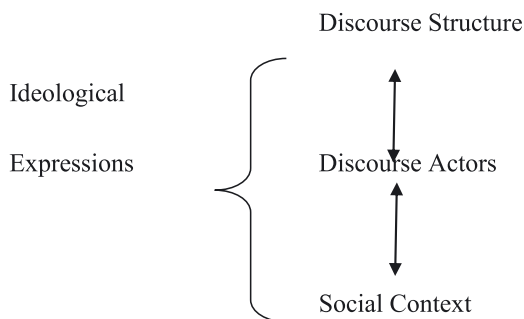
Social Context

Figure 2: The discourse flow chart.

This is a model of ideological expression that demonstrates the inverse link between discourse structure and discourse participants on the one hand and social context and discourse participants on the other hand. The manifestation of this socio-cognitive model of discourse orientation will suffice from the examination of some of the discourse of the guilds obtained for this study. Consider the following sample of expressions as an instant of this representation.

Excerpt 1   *Ávbéꞌtàꞌma érhá ọ̀ghé ímà ghẹ̀ ọ̀khaẹ̀mwẹ̀ Ínẹ̀ nè ọ́ yá lá kòdẹ̀ ké òdẹ̀ wẹ́ ọ̀ khẹ̀ké nè ọ̀ ná ré ènọ̀nwárẹ̀n nè ọ́ yá ékhọ̀è ènọ̀nwárẹ̀n yà mù òtù nà khìán nè ìmà níí kẹ́rè miẹ̀ èkè ná ghá lélè ẹ̀ré khián vbọ́ rhùnmwùdá íghó nè á yá rrìè èvbàré ùkpó níí ọ̀ má hàá ẹ̀ré gbá, àwàrọ̀kpá níí ọ́ná ghì khàré wẹ́ íghó níí ìrẹ̀n ghá hà ẹ́ré vbè ẹ̀ghẹ̀ nè ẹ̀ khìán kpẹ́ gbé ò.*
                    "We also told our father, Chief Inẹ to employ every means possible as he is an elder in the group to use the mind of an elder in heading this group. This will make it possible for the rest of us to follow in his footsteps because he is yet to pay his dues for the past year though he has currently assured us that he will pay everything in no distant time".

An examination of the different components of this discourse will reveal the following: that the head (supervisor) of this guild is affectionately referred to as érhá ọ̀ghé *ima* 'our father'. In the presentation of the fact that he is yet to pay his dues/levies unlike other ordinary members of the group, a more polite appeal is made to him thus *ne ọ́ nà re ènọ̀nwárẹ̀n* 'as he is an elder' and *ye ékhọ̀è ọ̀ghé enọ̀nmwarẹn* 'use the mind/wisdom of an elder'. This is a strategy to soft pedal on the accusation of indebtedness which is against the rule of the guilds, by the chief heading it. In this way, by placing the head as an elder, he is expected to behave as such by being an example of order and adherence to the rules of the group. As a result of this polite appeal/presentation, the chief promised to pay up even why the

deliberations were still on. This therefore represents one of the several instances of relationality in terms of appeal to a particular authority and an instance of the employment of varied linguistic devices for the dissemination of ideological orientation. Another instance of this is illustrated by means of another discourse extract as seen below.

Excerpt 2   *Èmítìn òkàrò ẹ̀rè nà khín, ọ̀mwá nè ọ́ nà èrhùnmwù ne a yá kie owa keghi re ọtẹn ima ighẹ Ìkpọ̀nmwósà nè ọ́ nà re èmítìn òkàrò vbè ùkpó nà, à má rré rré suẹn rhùnmwùdá èmwá níí bún má rré rre rré vbè íràn má rẹ̀n ghẹ́ ẹ́rẹ̀ nà ẹ̀rè èmítìn suẹnrẹ̀n.*
             "This is the first meeting and the person that said the opening prayer is our brother Ikponmwosa. As this is the first meeting for the year, we did not start on time due to the fact that many of us did not arrive on time as they did not know the meeting would start today".

The above extract represents one of the instances of the guilds discourse which was recorded during one of the meetings held by the group that the researcher was allowed to be present in. A careful observation of this speech sample will reveal a variety of linguistic devices employed in portraying the ideological orientation of the group. In this extract, attention will be paid to some of the subtle reference to the ideology of the guild, the first of which is the use of the term ọ̀tẹ́n (brother). This term is employed here as a reflection of the socio-cognitive orientation of members who see themselves as a unit of a family. This representation appeals to the sub-conscience of the members of the guild in the course of projecting tenet of oneness that made it possible for the activities of the group to be obscured from other members of the Ẹdo society.

4.2 Honorifics

This is another instance of the expression of ideological orientation by the guilds through the use of honorifics. This consists of the appellation made to the titles, ranks, status and positions of certain members of the group and the general Ẹdo society at large within the hierarchical framework of the socio-cultural organization of the society. Honorifics serves as a very important aspect of the discourse structure of the guilds as careful attention are clearly paid to the proper representation of titles and ranks and the allusion made to personalities or figures associated with the different aspects of the guilds activities. This property of discourse is illustrated by the following expressions from the expression below:

Excerpt 3 *Ákọ̀wé ọ́ghé òwá nà kèghí gù òwá nà gùan wẹ̀ èvbé nè ìmá kà yá gùan ì ẹ̀ghẹ̀ ì mòbọ́ rrọ̀ nè ìmá khìan tá vbè ẹ́rẹ́ nà. Wè à gbé ìsẹ̀lògbé nè ègbé vbè ọ̀fùmwègbé vbè ùkpó ọ̀gbọ̀n ẹ̀rè mòbọ́ nọ̀ kèvbé wẹ̀ Ávbé ẹ̀mwẹ̀ nè ọ̀rrọ́ hìá nè à mú ọ́nrẹ̀n khẹ̀ èmèétìn nè ọ́ dé. Ùgbẹ̀nmwẹ́ ọ́ ghí gùan ghẹ́ ọ́tẹ́n ìmá Àkèghé nè khèrhé ghẹ́ Ìkpọ̀nmwósà wè nè Ákọ̀wé ọ́ghé òwá nà nè ọ́ gbẹ̀nẹ́ vbènè á yá lò íghó ọ́ghé ùfòmwẹ́ ọ́ghé ùkpó làdián.*
"The secretary of this house spoke to the house concerning the issue of time as there was none for the day's deliberations. That we have to wish each other a new year and glad tidings and that all deliberations should be moved to another day. While our brother Akeghe was speaking, the young man Ikponmwosa told the house to instruct the secretary to write out how money was spent for entertainment in the previous year".

The extract above represents another instance of the guild and a careful examination of which will reveal certain linguistic strategies. This discourse came from one of the meetings of the guild of bronze casters where the focus of their deliberation is on the financial transaction of the group. This may also be treated as a representation of the socio-economic orientation of the group whereby financial irresponsibility and impropriety are strictly frowned at by the group.

The use of the expression *Ákọ̀wé* which stands for an educated person is very interesting in this context as virtually all the members of this guild of bronze casters in the course of our interaction with them are very well educated. So the allusion of the character of an 'educated person' to a particular individual in this context is very significant as the underlying meaning here is that of a secretary or the person that keeps the records of the activities of the group. This position also happens to be the most important after that of the supervisor and most times, very few persons are actually interested in heading such due to its tasking nature as observed from our interaction with the guild. This is further reflected in the discourse below:

Excerpt 4 *Èvbáẹ̀ré Ákọ̀wé ọ́ghé íghó òwá nà wẹ̀ èbé hìá nè ọ́ gù ìrẹ́n ghẹ̀ èhìá gbàré. À nà ghí wé nè ọ́ tìé ẹ̀ré, ùgbẹ́n vbẹ̀ ọ́ ghí tìé ẹ̀rè nẹ̀, Aìgbé nà wẹ̀ ọ́ tè gha rré ìrẹ́n òrhìọn vbè ẹ̀dẹ́ nè á rrìè èvbárè èmwí úkpó níí nè ìrẹ́n hàé íghó nìi yè àzá ọ́ghé Ogbẹmudia nè ọ́ re àkó ọ́ghé òwá nà nà mìẹ̀ nà rrìè íghó nìi lá èmèétín né à mìẹ̀ nà yá dẹ́ èmwí ne àghá lò.*
"It was at this junction that the financial secretary of the house informed all that the records with him are in order. He was then told to read it out and after doing so, Aigbe then said that it was in his mind on the day they celebrated the New Year to pay his own money to Ogbemudia who is in charge of money in the meeting to enable the house buy the things they needed".

This extract portrays the discourse aspect of the guild which reflects what van Dijk (1990) calls the 'systematic linking of discourse structures with ideological structure'. This is a socio-cultural way of constructing the guilds world centering on a critical evaluation of the underlying ideology of honoring personality's perception among the members of the social group (guilds). Therefore, in the social and cognitive world of the guilds, the person handling the intellectual organization of the group is regarded as a very important component of the overall structure of the group. There are numerous aspects of the socio-cognitive expression of honorifics in the guilds discourse structure which will suffice here. The appellation to the monarch is actually one of such aspects which reflect in the interactions of guild members in virtually every aspect of their activities. It is a virtual sacrilege to not acknowledge the monarch (usually referred to as ọmọ́ ne Ọba 'his majesty the king') in the discourse of members of this group as will be demonstrated from the following illustrations in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 5   *Ẹ̀h èmwá ọ̀vbèhé ghí sẹ̀tín làhọ̀ dó rùẹ̀ ọ̀ré, ọmwá ọ̀kpá nè ọ́ mwẹ ẹ̀tín*
              nè àyá rrì ọ̀mwá ọ̀ ghí rrì ẹ̀rè ghá dé ọ̀ní ọ̀ré ọmọ̀ nè Ọba nè ọ́ dó rùẹ̀ ọ̀ré,
              Ọba ghá tọ̀ kpẹ̀ré – Isẹe

              "Other persons cannot enter the group or become a member of the
              group in order to learn about their activities. The only person with
              the authority to recruit anyone to the group is the Ọba. May he live
              long, Amen".

This example of the allusion to the significance of the monarch in the activities of the guilds can further be seen in another extract of discourse where the different important personalities in the life of the guilds are presented. This presentation represents the order of significance of the different position of authority in the guilds and these reflect in the socio-cognitive knowledge of members in their ability to make this distinction on a practical basis. Consider the extract below:

Excerpt 6   *Òkàró, Ọba mwà tòbọ́rè, ìrẹn ọ́ nyàẹ̀ ìnwínànà, ìrẹn Òsá yá rè wé,*
              nògìévà, ọ̀ré ọ̀khàẹ̀mwẹ̀, Ìnẹ̀ nè ìgúnẹ̀rọ̀nmwọ̀ nè èbó tìẹ̀ré
              custodian.Ìrẹn ọ́ gbé àró ghé ìnwínà nà vbè òdìn Ẹdo hìá fẹ̀fẹ̀fẹ̀.èmwá
              vbè hìá vbè rrọ́ Ávbé Ehanire, Ihama, Ávbe Akẹnuwa ènì hìá fẹ̀fẹ̀fẹ̀ vbè
              rrọ̀, té à rriọ̀ré vbè úkhù.

              "First of all, it is the *Ọba*himself, he owns the works of the guilds,
              and it is to him God gave these artefacts. Secondly, is the Chief, *Inẹ*
              of the bronze casting guild who is the custodian of the group. He is in
              charge of the work of the guild in the Ẹdo society on behalf of the
              Ọba. There are other people of prominence in the group like Chiefs
              Ehanire, Ihama, Akenuwa and so on all of which are hereditary
              positions in the Ẹdo society".

In this second extract, concrete reference is made to the authority of the monarch as the only one with the power to determine the membership of the guilds. In the same vein, Chief *Inẹ* is presented as the person who acts on the monarch behalf in the guild while the other categories of chiefs like *Ehanire, Ihama* and *Akenuwa* are also mentioned to reflect the hierarchy of authority in the group. These later mentions notwithstanding, the *Ọba* still remains the single most important authority/power guilding and dictating the activities of the groups in question while the others are merely nominal authorities.

4.3 Indexicality

This is another aspect of discourse structure for the expression of ideology among members of the different guilds examined in this study. This is the phenomenon in socio-pragmatic and semiotic investigation adopted into CDA for the purpose of signifying certain properties of ideology and identity in discourse. It has to do with the phenomenon of pointing out or signifying (indexing) certain objects in the context of discourse in which they occur. Indexicality typically make reference to a time frame, locational frame as well as the moment a particular interactive expression is made with functions similar to deixis as the following expressions will portray here.

Excerpt 7   *Sòkpán ìmẹ nà tá má ọnrẹ̀n wẹ ghè ègbé íghó vbè rriọ àbọ ọghé èmwíkù rrọ̀ nẹ̀ sòkpán vbè nè èghẹ̀ khàré. Á vbè tárè sẹ rriọ wẹ Íràn nè ọ zẹ̀ íghó ghẹ̀ghẹ́ nè ọ má zẹ̀ íghó fò nè á khìàn yá ruẹ̀ èmwí ùkpó ghẹ̀ íghó ọghé Íràn ọ gbé ò.*

"Though I told him that with respect to such money, there is already an error in its computation, but nothing could be done due to time constraint. It was also discussed to the extent that those that paid a part of their levies and are yet to pay in full for the New Year celebration have forfeited their money".

The above extract explores the viable aspects of the guilds' discourse dwelling on the distinction between those that are indebted to the group and those that have fulfilled all their financial obligations. Reference is made here by means of the pronominal Íràn 'they' as those who are still indebted to the group, *imẹ* 'me' to the speaker who is not in that category and má for every other member who has fulfilled all financial obligations and are therefore no longer indebted to the group as illustrated by the discourse so presented. This is therefore an important linguistic tool of expressing the distinction between persons in the group. It is also important to note here that the setting of the discourse while not of paramount

importance in pointing out this phenomenon which we may tag: socio-economic status of members plays a role in outlining the linguistic pointers in this discourse. For instance, the reference of *imẹ* 'me' is used to indicate the speaker who in this context happens to be the secretary Ákọ̀wé as noted earlier on whose position as not a debtor to the group empowers him to identify those who are indebted. As one of the rules of these groups, a debtor irrespective of his position within the group cannot preside over the deliberations of any meeting as this is seen as an affront to the integrity of the group.

There are numerous aspects of the socio-cognitive expression of honorifics in the guilds discourse structure which will suffice here. The appellation to the monarch is actually one of such aspects which reflect in the interactions of guild members in virtually every aspect of their activities. It is a virtual sacrilege to not acknowledge the monarch (usually referred to as ọ̀mọ́ ne Ọba 'his majesty the king') in the discourse of members of this group.

There is finally, the fact that the guilds project a unique cultural ideology which confers on them the authority to perform certain rites/rituals normally presided over by the Monarch thereby making the guild to be a kind of a state within a state with all the trappings of traditional political authority and prestige. Based on the objectives and goals of the present study, we propose an understanding of language ideology as "the set of socio-cultural values, norms, attitudes, beliefs and orientation regarding the use of language by a group of people in a society". In other words, different sections/segments of a society could possibly possess different orientation about a language in addition to the general norms regarding the language. This leads to differences in language use and eventually gives way to variation in the language.

5 Conclusion

It has been represented in the course of our analysis, the ideological orientation of the guilds, the discursive practices of the guilds so examined in this study alongside the different linguistic strategies employed for the expression of the groups' linguistic ideology. It was also shown that the ideologies expressed by the guilds in the course of members' interaction and the different linguistic devices used to convey these from a socio-cognitive and cultural perspective.

It was observed based on the selective analysis of different discursive extracts using a socio-cognitive model of discourse representation that the following ideologies are expressed by the groups with respect to their interactional structure.

– Patriarchal ideology whereby every activities of the group including the process of new members induction is based on a link to the father's side of one's

heritage. Little or no significance/consideration is given to those from the mother's side. Also in the discourses of the guilds, it was found out that reference is often made to the legacies of fathers' érhá as our data examination reveals, and

– Gender ideology which is another orientation of the guilds' discourse based on the patriarchal system presented above. It was observed that a lot of gender bias exists in the guilds as females are generally restricted from the activities of the guilds. It was seen from our examination of interactions that this gender restriction to the activities of the guilds extends to the process of membership adoption/initiation wherein those from the paternal side are automatically taken as opposed to those from the maternal side of a heritage.

References

Agheyisi, Rebecca. 1986. *An Edo-English dictionary*. Benin City: Ethiope Publishing.

Auer, Anita, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.). 2015. *Letter writing and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bolade, Ayo O. 2017. *Discourse features of selected adjudications in the post-colonial context of the Juvenile Welfare Court, Ibadan, Nigeria*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan dissertation.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. *Ethnicity without group*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Capozza, Dora & Rupert Brown. 2000. *Social identity process*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Chilton, Paul. 2005. Missing links in mainstream CDA: Modules, blends and the critical instinct. In Ruth Wodak & Paul Chilton (eds.), *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis*, 19–51. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Elugbe, Ben. 1986. *Comparative Edoid: Phonology and lexicon. Delta series*. No. 6 Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press.

Ezeife, Amaka C. 2014. *Gender ideology and lexicalisation in selected Nigerian novels*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan dissertation.

Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, Norman. 2005. Critical discourse analysis. *Marges Linguistiques* 9. 76–94.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. *The languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Haviland, John B. 2003. Ideologies of language: Some reflections on language and U.S. law. *American Anthropologist* 105. 4.

Hollington, Andrea. 2015. Reflections on Ethiopia youths and Yarada K'wank'wa: Language practices and ideologies. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 10(1). 135–152.

Hunjo, Johnson H. 2010. *A critical discourse description of the language of Wole Soyinka's non-functional texts*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan dissertation.

Irvine, Judith T. 2001. Style as distinctiveness: The culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. In P. Eckert & J. Rickford (eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation*, 21–43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, Sally & Tomasso M. Milani. 2010. *Language ideologies and media discourse 1: Texts, practices, politics*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Koller, Veronica. 2012. Critical approaches to discourse analysis across disciplines 'CADAAD'. Available at: wp.lancs.ac.uk/cadaad/journal. 5(2): 19–38. ISSN: 1752-3079.

Oluya, Donatus Sunday. 2012. *Bini customary law of inheritance shift in igiogbẹ as a case study*, 1–53. Falun, Sweden: Dalarna University MA thesis.

Osisanwo, Ayo A. 2011. *Language and ideology in news magazines representation of Nigeria's 2003 and 2007 general elections*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan dissertation.

Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity. 1998. *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sheyholislami, Jaffer. 2001. Critical discourse analysis. http://www.carleton.ca/~jsheyhol/cda.htm (accessed 10 December 2014).

Tajfel, Henri. 1974. Social identity and intergroup behavior. *Social Science Information* 13. 65252–65293.

Tajfel, Henri (ed.). 1978. *Differentiation between social groups*. London: Academic Press.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1988a. *News analysis: Case studies of international and national news in the press*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1988b. *News as discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1990. Social cognition and discourse. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology*, 163–183. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

van Dijk, Teun A. 2009. Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, 62–86. London: Sage.

van Dijk, Teun A. 2016. Sociocognitive discourse studies. In *Handbook of discourse analysis*, 1–26. New York: Routledge.

Williamson, Kay & Roger Blench. 2000. Niger-Congo. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *African languages: An introduction*, 11–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bionote

William Ighasere Aigbẹdo
University of Benin, Benin, Nigeria
ighasere.aigbedo@uniben.edu

William Ighasere Aigbẹdo, PhD, is Lecturer I of Department of Linguistics Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Benin, Nigeria.